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**Canada's Cultural Media Policy and Newfoundland Music on the Radio:
Local Identities and Global Implications**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Sara Beth Keough
May 2007

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Acknowledgements

To begin, I would like to sincerely thank my dissertation committee: Dr. Tom Bell, Dr. Lydia Pulsipher, Dr. John Rehder, and Dr. Leslie Gay. The support and attention I received from you made this experience so rewarding. I learned so much from your comments and suggestions. Dr. Bell, I couldn't have asked for a better advising experience from you. Thank you for all the extra time and effort you spent reading my journal articles and my grant applications, writing letters of recommendation, and having me over for Peggy's wonderful holiday meals.

I would also like to thank the agencies and organizations that provided funding for this project: The Government of Canada and the Canadian Embassy in the United States, the Association of American Geographers, the Cultural Geography Specialty Group, the Society of Women Geographers, the W.K. McClure Foundation for the Study of World Affairs, and the McCroskey Foundation. A big Thank You also goes to the Memorial University of Newfoundland, specifically the departments of Folklore, Geography, the Center for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, the Center for the Study of Music, Media, and Place, and the Folklore and Language Archives. I am forever grateful for your unfailing help and support during my time in Newfoundland.

There are some individuals in Newfoundland that went above and beyond the call of duty in helping me out. Philip Hiscock, this topic came alive through conversations and email correspondences with you. Thank you for taking time for me and helping me develop my ideas. Beverly Diamond, thank you for all your support, and also for helping me develop my ideas. It is an honor to know you. Jo Shawyer, your encouragement and enthusiasm for my project meant so much. Other people helped in more ways than I can

mention: Chris Sharpe, Sarah Moore, Alison Copeland and the MUN Geography graduate students that welcomed me into their office in the summers, Peter Narvaez, Neil Rosenberg, Keith Storey, Judith Klassen, Holly Everett, Glen Tilley, Glen Colten, Don Buell, Shirley Maher and her family, Elke Dettmer, Carole Anne and Ken Coffey, Richard Beaton, Mont Keough and family, and my dear friend in Ferryland, Rhonda O’Keefe Arsenault. And thank you to all the radio station personnel, listeners and musicians who agreed to participate in my study. You all made my Newfoundland experience positively unforgettable.

I would also like to thank Tony Lawson and the rest of the WDVX station personnel for introducing me to the world of radio and showing me the ropes. I will always be a faithful listener, regardless of where life takes me.

Another group of folks in Ottawa made my research possible, and I am indebted to them for their kindness and consideration. Thanks to all the folks at the CRTC who gave me office space and helped me better understand Canadian radio: Nick Ketchum, Mike Amodeo, Annie Duquette, Peter Foster, Jane Britton, Naneo Kachi, Yolanda McMillan and Lorraine Pigeon.

I would not have gotten to this point in my career without consistently excellent advising from my three advisors: Dr. John Garrigus at Jacksonville University, Dr. Bonham C. Richardson at Virginia Tech, and Dr. Thomas L. Bell at the University of Tennessee. I am honored to have worked under such excellent scholars.

Many people helped and supported me each in their own ways. While I cannot name everyone here, I especially want to mention Ray Oldakowski, Marcelle Bessmen, Douglas Hazzard, Sally Horn, Carol Harden, Bruce Ralston, Soren Larsen, Billy Terry,

John Moore, Joe Scarpaci, Lisa Kennedy, Lynn Resler, Bill Carstensen, Bob Morrill, Paul Knox, John Browder, Ed Schwartz, Eddie Watson, and Michelle Brym. To Russell, Jean, Robert and Eric Shock: thank you for making me part of your family. Your generosity is too great to expand upon, but will always be remembered. To the entire Sauerkraut Band, thank you for being some of the best friends I've ever had, and for knowing all my faults and liking me anyway. Leaving you all is the hardest part of leaving the area. I also want to acknowledge the two graduate students at the University of Tennessee, Matt Durnin and Elizabeth Trail, who helped process my data. I would not have finished on time without their help and dedication to a project that wasn't even theirs. Thank you! Also, a thank you goes out to my high school English teachers, Louis Lanthier and Greg Pratt, who so patiently worked to hone my writing skills. Your efforts have paid off!

Finally, my most sincere thanks goes to my family. Grandma (and Grampa), thank you for all the letters and cookies, and for keeping better track of my life than I can! Mom and Dad, thanks for always believing I could do it, and for never letting me doubt for a minute that you were proud of me. Matt (and Bladen), thanks for all your support, and for putting up with all the work and papers I brought home (and will continue to bring home) with me on breaks. Matt, thanks for framing my favorite map! Wynde Kate, thank you for all your support, for being the wonderful person that you are, for being, hands down, my best friend, and for screaming the loudest over the phone when I told you I was now a doctor. Last, but certainly not least, thank you to Gordon, who had to deal most immediately with both the stress and the joy of my PhD experience, who took

scouting trips to Newfoundland with me and helped me develop my ideas, and who is the best entertainment director in the world!

Abstract

As our access to information increases with the aid of communication technologies, there is concern about cultural homogenization. Ironically, however, in the face of globalization in the media, the local often becomes increasingly important. This study explores how Canada's cultural policy toward the media, known as the Canadian Content regulations, has both local and global implications. I examine how Canadian Content regulations apply to radio, and how these radio regulations influence broadcasting in the St. John's, Newfoundland radio market. Interviews with radio station personnel (e.g. DJs, program directors, music librarians) and radio listeners show that radio stations in St. John's emphasize local (Newfoundland) music in the face of more popular Canadian and American music. In addition, this emphasis on local content ensures the survival of these stations in light of new radio broadcasting technologies such as the Internet and satellite radio. Furthermore, the act of broadcasting local music on the radio in St. John's has allowed radio listening to become incorporated into listeners' Newfoundland cultural traditions. In this way, the radio becomes a medium through which station personnel and listeners present their culture by showcasing music and actively preserve their culture through the broadcast of music that speaks of times past, or current issues facing Newfoundlanders. Finally, when talking about their experience listening to Newfoundland music on the radio, several themes emerged: connection between Newfoundlanders and their identity and culture, connections with other Newfoundlanders in Newfoundland, connections to Newfoundland as a place, and connections with Newfoundlanders living off the island. Generally speaking, this study

shows that radio technology brings both the local to the global through Internet broadcasting, and the global to the local through satellite radio broadcasting.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In his book, *Radio in the Global Age*, David Hendy (2000) expresses his fear that the domination of the radio industry by a few multinational chains leads to a lack of variety in radio programming, leaving listeners with the “homogenized and banal” content typical of present-day radio broadcasts (p.7). It is understandable, then, how the market-driven broadcasting practices of many commercial radio stations might lead one to fear that we will become culturally homogenized through exposure to mass media. In an effort to ensure heterogeneous radio broadcasting trends, some countries have instituted protectionist policies designed to emphasize their own culture over that of others. Canada’s Canadian Content media policy is one example. This policy, inspired by the huge presence of American popular culture in Canada, sets minimum requirements for the broadcast of Canadian music on Canadian radio stations. While Canadian Content regulations have been praised for spurring growth in the Canadian music industry, they have also been criticized because many Canadian radio stations use the regulations to play music by Canadian musicians who have already achieved a national or international audience, rather than highlighting lesser-known musicians.

This dissertation presents a case study of the impact and influence of Canadian Content regulations on a specific radio market: St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador. Radio stations in the St. John’s market are an exception to the homogenization trend because they use Canadian Content media requirements to focus on more local, less market-driven content. Such stations provide an interesting study of the interaction between the local and the global in an industry that is becoming increasingly globalized. The stations in the radio market of St. John’s provide one example of how local music

can be emphasized alongside, or, in some cases exclusively against, mainstream Top 40 music. In this radio market, which reaches at least two-thirds of Newfoundland's population, *all* the stations emphasize local culture by playing, to a greater or lesser extent, music about Newfoundland or by Newfoundlanders. Interwoven between the popular music driven by (mostly American) recording companies and record labels, the broadcasts of Newfoundland music in the St. John's radio market are collectively both local and, through Internet broadcasting, global in their influence. I argue that by using Newfoundland music to fulfill Canadian Content media requirements, disk jockeys (DJs) help to create a national identity that attracts a listening audience, thus giving stations the demand they need to justify these music broadcasts.¹ I believe that the sense of place evident in Newfoundland music, including that which is broadcast on the radio, creates a special sense of identity among Newfoundlanders that separates them culturally from the rest of Canada.

While issues of Newfoundland identity appear to be a very local issue, current trends in radio broadcasting (through the Internet and satellite radio) and national cultural policies in Canada (such as Canadian Content) turn this local phenomenon into a global issue. Internet and satellite radio have the potential to change national media policy, and help connect and renew a Newfoundland national identity among displaced Newfoundlanders in other parts of Canada and North America. In short, results from this study will help to answer social-

¹ I use the term "national" to refer to Newfoundlanders' identities because the thoughts and feelings that add meaning to experiences, and thus create identities, are often shared among Newfoundlanders. I use "national" rather than "provincial" in this case because a provincial identity would include the identities of those who live in Labrador, the mainland portion of the province. Many residents of Labrador maintain an identity that is distinct from the island of Newfoundland. In other words, a "provincial" identity would not be an accurate picture of the identities discussed in this research.

cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's (1996) question, "What is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow?" (p. 178).

Research Topic

Within the context of Canadian Content regulations, this dissertation explores the music broadcasting practices of radio stations in St. John's, Newfoundland, and the influence of these broadcasts on the sense of national identity of selected rural and urban members of the listening audience. Specifically, I explore how program directors and DJs define "Newfoundland music," and the process by which Newfoundland music becomes material for broadcasting. In addition, I examine how the listening audience (those who make a conscious decision to listen to Newfoundland music on the radio) perceives these broadcasts. Using qualitative interviews, I show why people chose to listen to these broadcasts, and what this choice says about their identity as Newfoundlanders. I believe the local content of Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio is important on regional, national and global scales. It is this local content that program directors feel make their stations unique, differentiating them from stations located in other parts of Canada and North America, and beyond.

Purpose of Study

The foremost purpose of this study is to examine a case of the interaction between local and global cultures through a particular medium—radio. I show how Canadian Content media regulations influence the music chosen for broadcast on St. John's radio stations, and how Newfoundland music played on the radio contributes to the

construction of Newfoundlanders' identity. I explore and compare individuals' definitions of "Newfoundland music," especially differences that might be influenced by religion, location (rural or urban) and gender, and the role radio plays in these definitions.² In addition, this project shows how a federal cultural policy plays out at the local level. The results help explain why radio technology is important to cultural identity construction in and outside of Newfoundland. In a broader context, this study provides an example of the complex interdependency between the local and global aspects of radio broadcasting.

Generally speaking, radio studies are important not only for what they reveal about radio, but also for "the light [they] throw upon the ordinary means by which we perceive the world or upon the more conventional ways in which its messages are conveyed" (Crisell 1994, 226). In other words, while this study examines radio music broadcasting in Newfoundland, it is significant because it will inevitably lead to a better understanding about how music becomes a means of cultural expression.³

I take a multi-scalar approach to studying cultural policy in Canada and its influence (through radio broadcasting) on the national identity of Newfoundlanders. Results from this study answer three research questions, each of which addresses a different geographic scale:

1. How does Newfoundland music achieve airtime on Newfoundland radio stations and how do the Canadian Content regulations influence programming in the St. John's radio market?

² Underlying this project is a complex cultural industry system in St. John's, Newfoundland (Adorno and Horkheimer 1993: 33; Lewis 1986, 31). Through this study, I explore the complex interrelationships among listener, radio stations, the music industry, and musicians.

³ While this study does not expand upon other forms of mass media (TV or film for example), I will note that there are more local radio stations in St. John's (11) than there are television stations (3). Therefore, local music has a greater number of broadcast opportunities on radio than on television.

2. How does the Newfoundland content (especially music) broadcast on the radio influence the construction of a Newfoundland national identity?
3. How do changes in radio technology and the globalization of media and music influence local radio broadcasting, and what do these changes mean for cultural policies that govern media?

Significance of Study

Studies on radio broadcasting are significant because they can draw attention to the presence of cultural powers and contribute to the debate on global homogenization or hybridization through the media.⁴ In this case, Newfoundland exemplifies how a small culture group maintains its cultural identity amidst culturally and politically hegemonic neighbors such as the United States and the rest of Canada.

Understanding how people use the radio, and for what purposes, can also influence local and national media policy. In 2006, radio was used to rally protesters in cities across the United States to speak out against immigration laws. In Los Angeles, Latino radio stations were described as “a major force in mobilizing people” as they collectively promoted the April 10th immigration rights rally on the air. WWRU-AM, a Korean radio station in Manhattan, aired announcements urging immigrant listeners to participate in the rally in New York City. In addition, WSKQ-FM and WPAT-FM, two Latino music stations in New York City aired public announcements about the rally and hosted call-in shows where listeners could discuss their opinions on the immigration policy up for debate in Congress. Partially as

⁴ Those who support theories of global homogenization (Robins 1995 for example) believe cultural distinctiveness will be lost through increased globalization. The hybridization theory supporters (Knox 2005 for example) believe that globalization will result in a mixing of cultural characteristics, but that individual characteristics will remain distinct.

a result of the stations' efforts, rallies in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York City saw strong participation from immigrant groups. These examples show the mobilizing effect that mass media communications can have. They are examples of the importance that radio plays in communication and collective community building among listeners (Miller 2006).

Studies on music radio broadcasting provide a social-geographic perspective on current trends in the interaction between music, place, and politics. In Ukraine, for example, the effort to preserve Ukrainian culture amidst Russian influence is being contested through the media. In April 2004, Ukraine banned the use of the Russian language on all Ukrainian national radio and television broadcasts in an effort to preserve the Ukrainian language. This action was justified through a European Union charter, signed by Ukraine in 2004, which promoted the preservation of minority languages in the mass media (Radio Free Europe April 16, 2004). Now, Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, a Ukrainian pop star, is using his notoriety to promote Ukrainian language music radio broadcasts (National Public Radio January 17, 2006). There are, therefore, parallels between Canada and Ukraine in terms of preserving cultural identity through media broadcasts. Studies of such parallels are excellent ways to help state and international communities negotiate cultural flow in the mass media. These parallels are especially relevant in Canada, where the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requires that 35 percent of the content broadcast on Canadian radio stations be Canadian. My research is timely in that the radio portion of this policy is currently under review by the CRTC.

This project marks the first comprehensive study of the St. John's radio market. It is also one of the few studies that use qualitative methods to study radio audiences. Most geographic studies of music have either examined song lyrics, mapped the diffusion of music genres, or described a region's dominant music (Carney 1994; Carney 2003; Leyshon *et al.*

1998). This study goes one step further by linking the music of a *medium*, in this case radio, to issues of identity in a specific region. It is relevant to two of George Carney's (2003) taxonomies of music geography: 1) the psychological and symbolic elements of music pertinent to shaping sense of place and place consciousness; and 2) the spatial organization of the music industry.⁵

Rationale for Study

A study on local music programming on the radio could be done in many geographic settings. It is particularly fitting, however, that this research will take place on the island of Newfoundland because of the pivotal role the island has played in wireless communication (See Appendix A). Since the first trans-Atlantic wireless transmission was received from Europe in St. John's by Guglielmo Marconi in 1901, radio technology has remained an important aspect of Newfoundland and Labrador culture.⁶

As an island, Newfoundland has been physically separated from countries it has interacted with the most and continues to interact with politically, financially, and economically--namely Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. This physical isolation led to the evolution of strong cultural traditions, some of which were musical in

⁵ Carney's remaining taxonomies include: a) the delineation of music regions and interpretation of regional music; b) the evolution of a music style with place; c) the origin and diffusion of music phenomena; d) the spatial dimensions of music dealing with human migration, transportation routes, and communication networks; e) the effect of music on the cultural landscape; f) the relationship of music to the natural environment; g) the function of "nationalistic" and "anti-nationalistic" music; and h) the interrelationships of music with other cultural traits in a spatial sense.

⁶ As of 2004, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador was home to 108 radio stations compared to 87 in New Brunswick, 70 in Nova Scotia, and 11 in Prince Edward Island (CRTC Licenses by province as of March 31, 2004). The province of Newfoundland is smaller in population (512, 930) than both New Brunswick (729,498) and Nova Scotia (903,007) (Canadian Census Population Counts 2001). Residents of St. John's, NL (pop 172,918) receive approximately 515 kilowatts in radio signals. This is comparable with other cities of similar size. The residents of Regina, Saskatchewan (pop 178,225), also a provincial capital city, receive approximately 586 kilowatts in radio signals (Canadian Census Population Counts and Community Profiles 2001).

nature, that were unique to Newfoundland and to the feeling that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders, although part of Britain for many years and now a part of a province of Canada, are a separate nation, or a group of people with a common identity (Calhoun 1970, 163-64; Moore 2002, 68).⁷ Thus, the island of Newfoundland presents an interesting case where ideas about what constitutes “Newfoundland music” are no doubt linked to this feeling of national identity.

Understanding the many facets of Newfoundland’s national identity is crucial to the preservation of Newfoundland culture. Newfoundland was originally a colony of Great Britain, but became self-governing in 1855. After a series of financial disasters, however, Newfoundland became the only nation to ever willingly give up its independence. The island returned to British control in 1934, leaving the world with the impression that Newfoundlanders could not take care of themselves. After World War II, as Newfoundland’s economy prospered, Newfoundlanders were asked to vote on a return to independence, or to enter into confederation with Canada. With only a two percent margin, the vote for confederation was passed (51% in favor, 49% against). Yet, since Confederation, Newfoundlanders have often felt neglected and misunderstood by the rest of Canada. Realizing this, the Newfoundland government, in 2003, formally encouraged the development of a Newfoundland identity by enacting the government-sponsored program, Our Place in Canada. This program used interviews with Newfoundland residents to help strengthen Newfoundland’s cultural and political place in Canada (Royal Commission 2003, vi).

⁷ The idea of “nation,” as used here, is different from a “state.” Nation, here, refers to a group that thinks of itself as a cultural unit. Such a unit may or may not be an actual political state or country.

The provincial capital of St. John's has the largest agglomeration of radio stations of any city in the province. Listeners who live within the St. John's radio market may choose from among eleven stations: two CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) stations, which are public; two stations owned by religious organizations (one of those a "volunteer" station); one college station; and six commercial stations, four of which are owned by the Newfoundland Capital Corporation, or NewCap. I chose to conduct my study in the St. John's radio market because I felt that with a variety of listening options, listeners would be more purposeful in their choice of programs. While including some of the French communities in the western part of Newfoundland might provide an interesting insight into another issue of Newfoundland identity based on language, those communities are part of a different radio market, and would thus be difficult to compare with listeners in the St. John's market. Therefore, my study focuses on radio stations in St. John's and listeners within range of the stations' terrestrial signals, both in rural communities (called outports) and in the city of St. John's.

The fact that all of the radio stations in St. John's play Newfoundland music to some extent makes the city a unique case study for an examination of local music on the radio because it indicates a collective dedication to promoting local music by the radio stations. One might expect the local CBC public station to feature local artists, but the commercial stations, typically more concerned with profit margins than their public or community station counterparts, also feel that playing Newfoundland music, as they define it, is important to attract and maintain a listening audience.⁸ This implies a deep

⁸ Participants' definitions of Newfoundland music are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Five and Six.

connection between Newfoundlanders and their music. My research shows that radio stations serve as a reflection of, or window to, a better understanding of that connection.

My Connection to the Research Topic

Listening to the radio was a common activity in my household growing up. Usually the radio was on while mom was cooking, or while dad was doing construction, or while we were driving in the car. My most consistent memory of the radio was listening to Garrison Keillor's "A Prairie Home Companion." I found the soft, patient sound of his voice very relaxing.

I grew up in a small town in the middle of the Adirondack Mountains in upstate New York. Due to the remoteness of the region, we had only a few radio listening options and Internet radio was not yet a reality. None of the stations emphasized Adirondack musicians. The National Public Radio stations we received, our best chance for hearing local music, were all located outside the six million acre state park, closer to cities and larger music markets. If there was a local music scene, it did not depend on radio airtime for its success.

The generic radio programming to which I succumbed growing up helped me to appreciate stations that made a conscious effort to emphasize aspects of local culture. These stations were often marginalized in a larger regional radio market or geographic area. For example, whenever I went someplace new, I would flip through the radio dial to see if I could tell where I was by what I heard on the radio. I noticed some large regional trends, like more country and religiously oriented radio stations in the Southeast than in

the Northeast. But, most of the time, I could not get a feeling for the subcultural groups that occupied the area of the United States through which I was driving.

Some exceptions to this experience were my trips to Newfoundland, Canada. I heard a lot of local music and political discussions on the radio while driving. Furthermore, the local music I heard told me a lot about the island of Newfoundland, important political issues of the time, and it gave clues about the identity of Newfoundlanders. I knew I was in Newfoundland when I was listening to the radio there.

Hearing Newfoundland music on Newfoundland radio stations further sparked my curiosity. How did these musicians get airtime? Why was I hearing more Newfoundland music and more Newfoundland-focused programs than other (American or Canadian national) programs? I began to explore Canada's radio broadcasting policies and stumbled across the Canadian Content regulations. I wondered if I was hearing Newfoundland music on the radio because Newfoundland radio stations fell under Canadian Content requirements, or if there was something else driving the demand for Newfoundland music on the radio.

Although I discovered that many countries have content quotas for radio broadcasting, I chose to study Canada's policy simply because I wanted to learn more about the country. Canada and the United States share the longest national border in the world, and Canada provides the United States with more energy than any other country. Yet, Canadian history, culture, and politics are not part of the elementary or secondary school curriculum in the United States. In fact, I did not have the opportunity to take a class on Canada until I started graduate school. The United States and Canada have very strong political, economic, historical, and financial ties, but Americans seem to know

much less about Canada than Canadians know about the United States. This point was made clear when I took my first class that covered Canada to any substantial extent. The class consisted of a three-week train trip across the northern US from Washington D. C. to Seattle, and then from Vancouver, B.C. to Montreal. The Canadian section of the trip opened my eyes to the differences between the United States and Canada. Like many Americans, I was guilty of assuming that Canada was just a cultural and economic appendage of the United States. That train trip made me realize that I had been grossly mistaken. On that trip, Canada became a truly separate entity in my mind, and I decided I had a lot of Canada to catch up on. Thus, I chose to study cultural media policy in Canada as a way to learn more about the country.

I approach this study as an “etic” researcher because I am not from Newfoundland or Canada, and because I had no prior connection to the island and the country, other than being a tourist.⁹ My experiences in Newfoundland have led me to believe that Newfoundlanders consider themselves culturally distinct from the rest of Canada and the world. Leslie Bella (2002), a scholar doing research in Newfoundland who was not originally from the province, relates a comment from a friend that she “will never be a Newfoundlander” (p. 1). This comment most likely applies to me as well, and it certainly influences my interpretations of the data I collect and their larger implications within Newfoundland culture. In one sense, Newfoundlanders are an “other” in comparison with myself, an American. It is possible that my interpretation of Newfoundland culture is a result of cultural privilege, and may unwittingly be filtered through the lens of my own

⁹ An etic researcher is one who is considered an outsider (versus an emic researcher, or insider) in the society studied. This person may consider himself or herself an outsider, and/or be considered an outsider by their participants.

culture. I realize that there will be aspects of Newfoundland culture that I do not understand. However, as an etic researcher I feel my position in Newfoundland culture can provide a unique perspective on music, radio, and identity in Newfoundland. After all, “the intervention of a value-laden researcher is an inevitable part of the construction of knowledge” (Ley and Mountz 2001, 235).

My twenty years as a musician also contributes to my unique perspective on the issue of music and identity. I started taking piano lessons at age six, I picked up the guitar at age 10, I incorporated the flute into my repertoire at age 12, and at age 14, I started playing the trumpet, an instrument on which I still perform regularly in public. In graduate school I played four types of recorders with a music ensemble that performed medieval and early Renaissance music on original instruments. Throughout my life I have played in church choirs, community bands, jazz bands, orchestras, brass quintets, pit orchestras for theater productions, German bands, and more. Instead of focusing on one specific musical genre, my love for playing led me to experience a wide variety of musical genres.

These cross-cultural musical experiences have influenced my personal interpretation of the music I hear. For example, I find it more difficult to draw boundaries between musical genres because so many genres influence each other. Even in my own performances, I find that my style of playing is not centered in one particular music genre, but rather it reflects the influences of all of the styles to which I have been exposed. Thus, I am hesitant to label myself and other musicians as, for instance, classical players, or jazz players.

In April 2006, I had the privilege of attending a musicology lecture by renowned fiddle player Mark O'Connor, a musician most famous for his ability to not only perform in drastically different musical genres, but also to mix and merge these genres in his own compositions. In his talk, Mr. O'Connor credited his success as a musician to the influence of many musical styles and many cultural experiences. He also spoke about the problem with categorizing music into specific genres because there is so much music that is a combination of styles and genres. Mr. O'Connor's talk had a profound influence on how I look at the music I hear in Newfoundland. That music is an excellent example of the mixing of different styles and experiences. However, it is my *personal* experience with music that influences how I interpret the results in my study. While my participants' experiences with Newfoundland music are central to this study, my own views will no doubt influence the meanings I derive from these interviews.

Key Terms and Definitions

One aspect of Newfoundland culture that distinguishes islanders from mainland Canadians is vernacular language. In this section, I define a few Newfoundland localisms that are used in the remainder of this paper. I also include acronyms that are used throughout the paper.

“around the bay” – a phrase that refers to anyplace except the city of St. John's. I often heard this phrase used when Newfoundlanders told me where they were from. “I'm from around the bay” could be anywhere from Torbay (only 10 minutes from St. John's) or Twillingate (about three hours from St. John's). It was also used when Newfoundlanders

were explaining that they were leaving the city (usually temporarily). “I’m going around the bay” often meant they were headed to an outport, usually for a visit.

Bayman – term used to refer to one who lives on or near a bay or harbour (most of the Newfoundland population); an inhabitant of an ‘outport’. This term can sometimes have a derogatory connotation (Dictionary of Newfoundland English).

“come from away” – a phrase used to refer to someone in Newfoundland who is not from Newfoundland. One might also hear the acronym “CFA.” In Newfoundland, I would be considered as someone who has “come from away.”

Newfie – a term used to refer to a native born inhabitant of Newfoundland. It is sometimes used locally in imitation of Americans and mainland Canadians (Dictionary of Newfoundland English). In my observations, the term can be used by Newfoundlanders themselves without negative connotations, but it is considered derogatory when used by a mainland Canadian or foreigner referring to native Newfoundlanders.

Outport – a coastal setting other than the chief port of St. John’s. An ‘outporter’ refers to someone who is from an outport (Dictionary of Newfoundland English).

Townie – a native of St. John’s, especially a male. It is often used as the antonym of ‘bayman’ (Dictionary of Newfoundland English).

BBG – Board of Broadcast Governors. This was the original organization that governed radio, television and telecommunications broadcasting in Canada. They were replaced by the CRTC.

CAB – Canadian Association of Broadcasters. This organization was established in 1926 and today represents private broadcasters in Canada. It serves to promote broadcasting in Canada, and acts as the voice of broadcasters in policy reviews.

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This is the public broadcasting system in Canada. The CBC operates both radio and television broadcasting services. The CBC reports to the Canadian Parliament through the Minister of Canadian Heritage. More specific details about the CBC can be found in Chapter Four.

CRTC – Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. This agency governs all individuals and organizations that hold radio, television, or telecommunications licenses in Canada. It is also responsible for writing and implementing broadcasting and telecommunications policies in Canada.

Newfoundland and Labrador – The official name of Canada's newest province. The province consists of the island portion called Newfoundland and the mainland portion called Labrador. Upon confederation with Canada, the official name of the province was Newfoundland. The official name was changed in 1999 to Newfoundland and Labrador. In this dissertation, the term Newfoundland is used to refer to the island, its residents, and

their culture. The official name of the province is used when referring to both the mainland and island portions together.

Organization of the Dissertation

This first chapter introduced the reader to my topic and my position in relation to the topic. Chapters Two and Three both serve as background to the particular aspects of Canada addressed by my research. Chapter Two introduces the reader to the Canadian Content policy, how it came to be, the debate surrounding the policy, how the policy has impacted Canada as a whole, and how new innovations in media technology provide challenges to this thirty year old policy. Chapter Three narrows the focus of this research further by describing my research site, the island of Newfoundland, and providing a brief overview of Newfoundland history. The purpose of these two chapters is to give readers a context from which I interpret my results.

Chapter Four explains the methodology employed in this research project. A brief literature review of research techniques is provided. In addition, I describe the setting for my research, including descriptions of the radio stations included in this study. It is in this chapter that I provide a reflection on the research process, including fieldwork, research and writing. I finish the chapter by explaining the specific methods used to collect data.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven blend existing literature with results from this study. These chapters are presented in order of the research questions mentioned earlier in this chapter. Chapter Five explains how Canadian Content regulations influence radio programming in St. John's by exploring how Newfoundland music becomes material for broadcasting. Chapter Six addresses the issue of identity in Newfoundland's radio

broadcasting from the perspective of listeners. Chapter Seven discusses both Canadian Content regulations and the St. John's radio market in a global context by considering the role of new forms of mass media technology, specifically those related to radio (Internet radio and satellite radio), and how these new forms of technology are changing the way we think about music, culture, and identity.

Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter. Here, the results and their implications are discussed.

CHAPTER TWO: OVERVIEW OF CANADIAN CONTENT REGULATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to one of Canada's cultural policies, Canadian Content. This policy governs radio broadcasting in Canada.¹⁰

Canadian Content serves as the foundation for this study on the interaction between the local and the global in mass media.

Introduction

The domination of popular culture from the United States is not a new phenomenon in North America. Even before the 1970s, the Canadian broadcasting industry was experiencing considerable competition from its American neighbors (Romanow 1975). For example, in the late 1960s, AM radio stations in Canada created their play lists from *Billboard* and *Cashbox*, both American publications. This situation meant that an aspiring Canadian artist had to become successful across the border before he or she could break into Canada's radio market (Patch 1975, 58-60). David Litvak (1987) summarized this idea well when he stated, "the economies of scale of the North American music industry were such that a Canadian music industry would never have developed in the face of the overwhelming American presence" (p. 58). The Canadian government saw cultural products in Canada as a mirror, or a reflection of who they were. Before Canadian Content regulations were established, the Canadian government officials felt that when Canada looked into its cultural mirror, the reflection they saw was that of the United States (*Canadian Content and Culture Working Group* 1995, 1). Even

¹⁰ Canadian Content also governs television broadcasting and film, but this dissertation focuses specifically on radio regulations.

today, the Canadian government notes a significant American influence on Canadian culture (*Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage* 2003, 4-5).

Growing cultural influence from the United States led the Canadian government on February 20, 1970 to announce its decision for plans to regulate the amount of domestic content broadcast on radio and television (Patch 1975, iii-1; Romanow 1975, 1; Litvak 1987, 55). The Canadian Content policy under examination in this study soon followed the government's announcement. This policy served as "an expressed national desire for a broadcasting system that is Canadian in all respects" (Romanow 1975, 1).¹¹

The policy examined in this study is the Canadian Content regulations for radio¹² under the terms of the *Broadcast Act of 1968*, and its Amendments in 1971, 1972, 1985, 1991 and 1998, passed by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).¹³ While historical accounts of policy developments have already been written (Patch 1975; Romanow 1975; Litvak 1987), this study focuses on the present-day Canadian Content regulations and their impact on the radio market in St. John's, Newfoundland. Literature on Canadian Content regulations lacks a current analysis of the policy. Therefore, the following section only highlights the historical evolution of Canadian Content policy, and rather focuses more on the current

¹¹ The current Canadian Content policy applied in this study was not the first policy in Canada that regulated broadcasting content. Earlier policies were set up by government agencies that often served as both broadcasters and regulators (the CBC is one example). Early policies governing radio broadcasting content included the *Radiotelegraph Act* (1905), policies of the *Aird Commission* (1929), regulations passed by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), recommendations from the Massey Commission (1951), the *Broadcast Act* (1952, 1958, and 1961 under the Board of Broadcast Governors-BBG), and the *Arts, Letters and Science Requirements* passed by the BBG on October 1, 1964 (Litvak 1987, 26-47).

¹² Canadian Content regulations as they apply to television are beyond the scope of this study.

¹³ The Canadian Content regulations are currently under review again by the CRTC. Scholars of Canadian Content using this dissertation in their research are encouraged to review policy changes by the CRTC that may have been implemented since the publication of this study.

requirements of Canadian Content regulations and their impact on the St. John's radio market.

Canadian Content: A Policy Description

Initially, Canadian Content applied only to television and AM radio because most radio stations broadcast on the AM frequency. Today, all radio stations on both AM and FM frequencies in Canada are subject to Canadian Content regulations.

Canadian Content regulations were instated to fulfill part of the Bureau of Broadcast Governors' (BBG) mandate, and later the CRTC's mandate. The BBG and CRTC's mandates stated that the purpose of the Canadian broadcasting system was to strengthen Canada as a country culturally, economically, and politically through the use of Canadian resources. The original radio regulations had two primary objectives. The first objective was to provide Canadian artists access to and exposure through the Canadian airwaves. The second objective was to stimulate the Canadian music industry (*CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996, 1998).

The original Canadian Content policy was implemented for AM radio in three phases. The first phase began on January 18, 1971.¹⁴ During this phase, stations were required to program music that fit one of the four Canadian Content criteria (described later in this section). The second phase took effect on the same date in 1972. At this time, stations were required to broadcast music that fit at least two of the criteria. Phase Three was implemented on January 18, 1973. In addition to meeting two of the content criteria, stations now had to ensure that five percent of music broadcast had lyrics written by a

¹⁴ This date was an extension from the original date for Phase One on October 1, 1970.

Canadian. Phase Three (1985) revised the Canadian Content policy to include instrumental compositions written by Canadians. These phases gave broadcasters time to make the necessary changes in their content.

Canadian Content was originally regulated through “air checks” taped by individual stations between 6 a.m. and midnight each day.¹⁵ During this time, 30 percent of the music broadcast on radio stations had to follow the CRTC’s Canadian Content guidelines (Patch 1975, 63-64; *CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996, 1998). The CRTC felt that a 30 percent requirement was reasonable considering the number of Canadian recordings that did not receive air time, and that the requirement should be enough to stimulate the Canadian music industry (*CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996, 1998).

The 1990s brought additional revisions of the Canadian Content regulations. For example, “An FM Policy for the Nineties” was passed in 1990. This revision set Canadian Content requirements at 30 percent for FM stations.¹⁶ The exception to this revision was Easy Listening stations, whose Canadian Content was required to fall between 15 and 30 percent. Another revision in 1992 allowed for music co-authored by a Canadian and a non-Canadian to count towards Canadian Content requirements, as long as the Canadian author was responsible for at least 50 percent of the work. (*CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996, 1998). Further revisions to the Canadian Content regulations were made in 1998. As a result of a CRTC radio review, minimum levels of Canadian Content were increased to 35 percent during the weekdays (*CanCon Impact Report* 1998).

¹⁵ Air checks were recordings of aired content on a radio station over a few hours.

¹⁶ Prior to 1990, FM stations were allowed to broadcast a lower Canadian Content requirement. The new 30% requirement represented an increase for most FM stations.

This study reflects the current CRTC policies regarding Canadian Content as published in the 2004 Canadian Broadcasting Regulatory Handbook. CRTC policy states that the Canadian broadcasting system “shall be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians” (*Broadcasting Act* Section 104-23). The purpose of the Canadian broadcasting system is to:

1. Safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada.
 2. Encourage the development of Canadian expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity.
 3. Serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances of all Canadians.
 4. Be readily adaptable to scientific and technological change.
- (*Broadcast Act* Section 104-26)

Furthermore, the goal of the Canadian broadcasting system is to “make maximum use of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming” (*Broadcast Act* Section 104-28). In other words, the Canadian broadcasting system’s focus is serving Canadians and promoting Canadian culture. Considering the purpose of the Canadian broadcasting system and the dominance of American popular culture in Canada in the late 1960s, Canadian Content regulations were a way to ensure that the Canadian broadcasting system was able to fulfill its purpose.

Canadian Content regulations define a Canadian as someone who is legally a Canadian citizen, a permanent resident of Canada, or a person who had lived in Canada at least six months prior to the release of the musical composition, performance, or concert for which they wish to be recognized (*Radio Regulations* 1986 Section 135-13). Considering this definition of a “Canadian,” the CRTC set criteria for determining

whether or not a musical selection could be considered for Canadian Content. This system of criteria is now known as the MAPL system (pronounced “may-pull”).

- M (music): the music is, or the lyrics are, composed entirely by a Canadian
- A (artist): the music is, or the lyrics are, performed principally by a Canadian
- P (production): the musical selection consists of a live performance that is recorded wholly in Canada, or performed wholly in Canada and broadcast live in Canada
- L (Lyrics): the lyrics are entirely written by a Canadian
(*Commercial Radio Policy* 1998)

These criteria were part of the original Canadian Content regulations. However, an additional criterion was added in 1993 that stated a musical selection could be considered Canadian if the performance was live after September 1, 1991, and “a Canadian who has collaborated with a non-Canadian receives at least fifty percent of the credit as composer and lyricist according to the records of a recognized performing rights society” (*Radio Regulations* 1986 Section 135-33, Ammended 1993; *Commercial Radio Policy* 1998, Section 371-32). The last criterion was added to accommodate, and possibly to encourage, collaboration between Canadian and foreign artists. At least two of the above criteria had to be met in order for a musical selection to be considered a “Canadian selection,” and thereby used to fulfill a radio station’s Canadian Content requirement.

Canadian Content criteria vary by type of station and by type of music. Before discussing station requirements, it is necessary to explain the categories used by the CRTC for specific Canadian Content requirements.

- Category 1: Spoken Word
 - Subcategories:
 - News

- o Spoken word-other (all programming that does not fall under News or any other category)
- Category 2: Popular Music
 - Subcategories:
 - o Pop, rock and Dance (also includes rhythm & blues, fifties and sixties music, techno, rap, hiphop, etc.)
 - o Country and Country-oriented
 - o Acoustic
 - o Easy Listening (including instrumentals, adult standards, middle-of-the-road, and beautiful music)
- Category 3: Special Interest Music
 - Subcategories:
 - o Concert (classical, but not orchestrations of popular music)
 - o Folk and folk-oriented (also includes old-time country and bluegrass)
 - o World beat and international (drawn heavily from traditional music styles from around the world, as well as popular, folk and classical music from other countries)
 - o Jazz and blues (also includes Dixieland, swing, bebop, Latin-oriented jazz, and jazz fusion)
- Category 4: Musical Production (music used by a station to identify itself or components of its programming)
 - Subcategories:
 - o Musical themes, bridges and stingers¹⁷
 - o Technical tests
 - o Musical station identification
 - o Musical identification of announcers, programs
 - o Musical promotion of announcers, programs

¹⁷ Musical themes, bridges and stingers are phrases of music used to connect statements or emphasize a particular point. In radio, one can find themes, bridges and stingers in commercials, or when a station transitions between commercials, announcements and regular programming.

- Category 5: Advertising (matter intended to promote services or products to the public)
 - Subcategories:
 - Commercial announcement
 - Sponsor identification
 - Promotion with sponsor mention

(Revised Content Categories and Subcategories for Radio 2000)

This category system designed by the CRTC acknowledges that some genres of music are more (or less) conducive to Canadian Content requirements than others. For example, Category 2 music is substantially regulated by the CRTC (see section on commercial radio requirements). In this category, Canadian artists compete heavily for airtime with American artists. As the following sections explain, stations whose format is of a musical genre that does not contain a large variety of selections that fulfill Canadian Content requirements, such as ethnic radio stations, have different Canadian Content requirements.

Commercial Radio Stations

I cannot remember where I first learned about Canadian Content regulations. Perhaps it was during lengthy discussions with Philip Hiscock, a folklore professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), or perhaps it was while doing preliminary reading in an effort to narrow my original (very broad) research topic. In any event, I certainly remember my reaction: this would never fly in the United States.

Using the MAPL system, the CRTC set Canadian Content requirements for each type of station. The CRTC states that the primary responsibility of AM and FM radio stations is to “provide locally oriented and original programming suited to the needs,

interests and character of local communities” (*Radio Networks and Syndication Policy* 1989, Section 253-7). Therefore, commercial radio stations are required to broadcast 35 percent Canadian Content, which means that 35 percent of all the Category 2 musical selections (popular music)¹⁸ broadcast by these types of station must meet at least two of the MAPL criteria.

The time at which Canadian music is aired was also set by the CRTC. In 1990, the CRTC set the following distribution requirements for Canadian music on commercial radio stations:

- At least 25 percent of the popular music selections (category 2) broadcast between 6am and 7pm Monday through Friday must be Canadian.
 - There should be a reasonably even distribution of Canadian selections in the above day parts and through the broadcast week.
 - There should be a significant presence of Canadian music in high audience periods, these traditionally being the morning and afternoon drive.
- (CRTC Public Notice 1990-111)

These criteria helped to ensure that Canadian music could be heard throughout the day. In other words, Canadian Content regulations prevented stations from, for example, programming all the Canadian music at night when few people were listening, and playing the (mostly American) Top 40 hits during the day.

Specific music formats on FM stations are also regulated by the CRTC. The Easy Listening format, for example, must contain at least 35 percent instrumental music selections. These selections must be reasonably distributed throughout the day. The

¹⁸ According to the CRTC, Category 1 is spoken word, Category 2 is popular music, and Category 3 is classical music. Most commercial stations do not play much, if any, Category 3 music. The CRTC deals with commercial stations that play Category 3 music on a case-by-case basis (Public Notice CRTC 1998-41).

purpose of this particular requirement is to ensure that the Easy Listening format has a sound that distinguishes it from other music formats, especially when a musical selection can be considered both a hit and an Easy Listening selection (*An FM Policy for the Nineties* 1990, Section 263-8).

The CRTC also felt it necessary to determine what constitutes a “hit” musical selection, and to regulate the amount of “hits” aired on the radio. The CRTC defines a “hit” as any musical composition that “reaches one of the Top 40 positions on a chart in a nationally or internationally recognized trade publication” (*The Use of Hit Material* 1986, Section 222-3). Less than 50 percent of the musical selections aired on FM stations in Canada each week (with the exception of French-language stations) can be considered hits. For the first year after their release, Canadian selections on the Top 40 charts are excluded from this requirement. This policy encourages FM radio stations to play newer Canadian music, while at the same time not further restricting the amount of foreign hits played (*An FM Policy for the Nineties* 1990, Sections 263-4 and 263-5). By including this requirement in radio regulations, the CRTC attempted to make radio a place where listeners could go to hear new music.

A certain amount of local programming is also mandated by the CRTC. Commercial FM stations in Canada, regardless of format, are further required to meet local programming requirements. In radio markets that are home to more than one private commercial station, commercial FM stations are required to air local programming during at least one-third of the broadcast week. The CRTC defines local programming as “programming that originates with the station or is produced separately and exclusively for the station. Licensees must include spoken word material of direct and particular

relevance to the community serviced, such as local news, weather and sports, and the promotion of local events and activities” (*Policies for Local Programming* 1993-38, Sections 292-8, 292-10, and 292-11). In other words, the CRTC recognizes the importance of local programming in radio markets with a number of commercial stations. While Coast 101.1, the *only* private commercial station in the St. John’s radio market, does not have to adhere to this policy, the sign on the station’s wall indicates that the importance of local programming is not lost on the stations’ managers.

One of the well-known weekly live music meccas in St. John’s is Folk Night at the Ship Pub (affectionately called “The Ship” by locals) on Wednesdays. Folk night has a \$5 entry fee, half of which goes to the featured performers of the evening. In between sets by the featured artist or group are open microphone performances by anyone in attendance who wishes to share a few songs with the audience. Although I am only an occasional visitor to Newfoundland, Folk Night is where I consistently run into people I know, and people I have interviewed for my research. My first Wednesday back in St. John’s during the summer 2006 was no exception. The group performing that evening included Patrick Boyle, a professional trumpet player I had met the year before. During his break, I had a chance to catch up with Patrick, whom I had not seen since the previous summer. He excitedly told me about this fantastic opportunity he was given this summer to visit Croatia and attend a music workshop. Knowing that Patrick supports himself entirely on the money he earns performing (a formidable task for brass players in Newfoundland), I cautiously asked how he was able to afford the trip. Evidently, Patrick was the recipient of a few grants given to musicians to pursue particular music projects.

Further research revealed that these types of grants were made possible in part through the influence of Canadian Content regulations. Let me explain.

One aspect of Canadian Content regulations for commercial radio that makes Canada unique in global mass communications policy is the required contributions radio stations have to make to Canadian Talent Development (CTD). Commercial radio stations are required to make “direct financial commitments to Canadian Talent Development sufficient to ensure that FACTOR,¹⁹ MusicAction,²⁰ and other third-party organizations continue to receive annual funding from radio licensees totaling not less than \$1.8 million CD. These funds would be contributed by individual broadcasters directly to eligible third parties” (*Contributions by Radio Stations-New Approach* 1995, Section 324-4). These contributions are usually determined at the time a radio license is renewed, when a new radio license is granted by the CRTC, or at the time ownership of a radio license is transferred to a new entity. Licensees must specifically state which CTD organizations will receive their contributions, and exactly how much each organization will receive. Required contributions are based on the size of the radio market.

The CRTC and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) list five categories of radio markets. The top category is Major Markets (Toronto, Montreal French-language, and Vancouver), which totaled 38 stations in 1995, and which must collectively contribute \$1.026 million CD per year, or \$27,000 CD per station per year, to CTD. The second largest category is Large Markets (Edmonton, Montreal-English Language, Winnipeg, Calgary, Ottawa, Hamilton/Burlington, and Quebec). These

¹⁹ FACTOR is the Fund to Assist Canadian Talent on Record.

²⁰ MusicAction is the French-language equivalent of FACTOR.

stations must contribute \$56,000 CD per year to CTD. The third category is Medium to Large Markets (London, Halifax, Victoria, Waterloo, St. Catherines/Niagara, and Hull), and the 32 stations in this market must contribute \$5,000 CD per station per year. The St. John's radio market falls into the Medium Market category. It occupies this category with other markets such as Windsor, Saskatoon, Kingston, Saint John (NB), and Moncton. The 68 stations in this category must each contribute \$3,000 CD per year, a collective total of \$204,000 CD per year, to Canadian talent development. St. John's has six commercial stations, and is second only to Windsor, ON in the medium market category in terms of number of stations. Recipients of these funds can include FACTOR, MusicAction, national and provincial music organizations, performing arts groups, schools, and scholarship recipients.

This policy only applies to private commercial stations. Campus, community, and public stations are exempt from this requirement because it is assumed that these stations already contribute to local talent through their emphasis on the local community.

Campus Radio Stations

When I visited the radio stations in St. John's during my field research, I always asked my contact about the history of the station. I received the most detailed and lengthy response from the young program director at CHMR, the campus radio station at Memorial University.

Campus radio stations complement the already existing commercial stations by adding diversity to the radio market. A campus station is one that is "owned or controlled by a not-for-profit organization associated with a post-secondary educational institution."

The CRTC designates two types of campus stations: community-based campus stations and instructional campus stations. A community-based campus station is a campus station “with programming produced primarily by volunteers who are either students or members of the community at large. The training of professional broadcasters is not the station’s primary objective.” Programming on community-based stations typically contains content that is not normally heard on commercial stations. This content can include music, especially Canadian music not heard on other stations, in-depth spoken-word programs, and programs targeted at specific groups in the community. Community-based stations are not permitted to play hits for more than 10 percent of the musical selections aired (*Campus Radio Policy* 2000, Sections 404-6, 404-7, 404-8 and 404-9).

The second type of campus station, the instructional campus station, “is a campus station that has the training of professional broadcasters as its primary objective.” Instructional stations are also mandated to provide alternative programming. For example, no more than 30 percent of the musical selections aired on instructional campus stations can be considered hits. In addition, at least two hours of programming per week must be formal educational programming, and at least four percent of all programming must be news (*Campus Radio Policy* 2000, Sections 404-6, 404-7, 404-8 and 404-9).

While community-based and instructional campus stations have some unique programming requirements, all campus stations share general programming requirements. To illustrate the general requirements, at least five percent of the music programmed per week on these stations must be Category 3 music (Special Interest), and at least 25 percent of the weekly programming must be spoken word (Category 1). In addition,

campus stations must adhere to the same 35 percent Canadian Content requirements for Category 2 music (popular music) as commercial stations. Also, at least 12 percent of the music programmed under Category 3 must be Canadian as well. Like French-language commercial stations, French-language campus stations must also broadcast a minimum of 65 percent of all popular music vocal selections in the French language (*Campus Radio Policy* 2000, Sections 404-9, 404-10, and 404-11).

Religious Radio Stations

Research and fieldwork for this dissertation has revealed a startling difference between radio in the U.S. and radio in Canada. While the purpose of this dissertation is not to compare, I can't help but notice a few areas where the radio in the two countries differs greatly. One such difference is that in Canada, radio licenses can be owned by a church. In St. John's, the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Wesleyan Church both own radio licenses.

According to CRTC policy, broadcasting that serves the practices and beliefs of a single religious tradition cannot receive a broadcasting license. The reason for this action is that a station of this nature would be broadcasting a singular point of view, and therefore would not satisfy the CRTC policy which guarantees that licensees maintain balanced programming on matters pertaining to the general public. However, broad-based, inter-faith stations are permitted, and the stations owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Wesleyan Church must abide by the CRTC's guidelines regarding religious programming. The CRTC defines religious broadcasting as "anything directly relating to, inspired by, or arising from an individual's relationship to divinity, including

related moral or ethical issues.” A religious program is “one which deals with a religious theme, including programs that examine or expound religious practices and belief or present a religious ceremony, service or other similar event” (*Religious Broadcasting Policy* 1993, Sections 297-4, 297-9, and 297-12).

Issues of balance are of particular concern with religious radio stations. Broadcasters must “broadcast programs dealing with a matter of public concern to provide the audience with a variety of perspectives on that issue.” Religious matters are considered part of public concern because freedom of expression includes both the right to speak and the right to be informed. The key to meeting balance requirements is in the presentation of multiple points of view. Broadcasters do not have to devote equal time to each point of view, but varying points of view must be made accessible to the audience, even at stations that are solely owned by one religious denomination, as in the case in St. John’s. Balance requirements also pertain to the overall programming offered by the station, and do not necessarily have to be met for each individual program broadcast (*Religious Broadcasting Policy* 1993, Sections 297-13 and 297-13a).

In regards to the specific music broadcast by religious radio stations, these stations must meet the Canadian Content regulations for Commercial and Community radio stations. Religious radio stations must broadcast at least 35 percent of musical selections that fulfill Canadian Content requirements. These musical selections have the same distribution requirements as commercial and community radio stations (*Religious Broadcasting Policy* 1993, Section 297-13c).

Community Radio Stations

One of my favorite memories of visiting radio stations in St. John's was the tours of the music library that some of the radio station personnel gave me. The CBC library was certainly the most modern and up-to-date, but I was very surprised to discover that what appeared to be the most extensive library belonged to the only volunteer community radio station in the market, VOWR. According to the station manager, the local CBC station donated most of its old albums to the station, and the station's music library contains over 300,000 record albums. Because most of this inventory is older music discarded by the CBC station, listeners in the St. John's market can hear music broadcast directly from records, and music that does not get air time on major commercial stations today.

The CRTC sees the primary focus of community radio stations as "providing community access to the airwaves, and to offer diverse programming that reflects the needs and interests of the community that that station is licensed to serve, including music by new and local talent, music not generally broadcast by commercial stations, spoken word programming, and local information." One of the aspects of community radio that makes it unique in the radio market is the inclusion of volunteers. Community radio stations are mandated to encourage community participation and to promote the availability of training in the community (*Community Radio Policy* 2000, Sections 405-7 and 405-8).

In regards to programming, community radio stations have to program at least 20 percent of their music selections per week from subcategories other than pop, rock, or dance. In addition, at least five percent of the musical selections must be Category 3

(Special Interest) music, whereas French-language community radio stations are required to broadcast at least 65 percent of all vocal selections in the French language. Like commercial and campus stations, community stations must also ensure that at least 35 percent of their Category 2 music (Popular Music) be Canadian. Although there are no formal regulations regarding the scheduling of Category 2 music on community stations, it is expected that these stations will distribute the Canadian Content music throughout the day (*Community Radio Policy* 2000, Sections 405-13, 405-15, 405-17, and 405-19).

One unique aspect of community radio stations is that the Canadian Content policy states that the CRTC is prepared to consider requests for lowering the Canadian Content requirements for genres that do not contain sufficient Canadian music selections to meet the requirement. In such an event, the CRTC will consider the size of the station and its market, the number of recordings in the musical genre in question, the existing level of musical activity in the genre in question, and the extent to which the numbers of recording of the genre will increase over time (*Community Radio Policy* 2000, Section 405-15).

At this time, the St. John's radio market does not host any community stations according to the CRTC. VOWR is run by volunteers, but the CRTC considers the station a religious radio station based on the ownership of the station's radio license (the license is owned by the Wesleyan United Church) (List of Religious Radio Stations, CRTC website 2006).

Public Radio Stations

In Canada, public radio stations are part of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).²¹ The CBC's mandate is to "provide radio services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains." As the national public broadcaster, the CBC's mission is to provide programming that is "predominantly and distinctly Canadian," that "actively contributes to the flow and exchange of cultural expression," that "reflects the multicultural nature of Canada," and that "contributes to a shared national consciousness and identity" (*Broadcast Act* 1991, Section 104-34). Because its mandate and mission are to provide programming that focuses on Canada, the CBC does not have specific Canadian Content requirements. The CBC reports to Parliament through the Minister of Canadian Heritage.

Public radio stations at the national level are CBC affiliates. These stations, however, are not under the jurisdiction of the CRTC. Both the CBC and the CRTC report to Parliament separately. The CRTC does control CBC content such as obscene language, false information, and sex-role portrayal, for example, and the CRTC is also responsible for renewing the CBC broadcasting licenses. If, however, the CBC feels that the CRTC's regulations prevent the CBC from fulfilling its mandate, the CBC can appeal to the Minister of Canadian Heritage (CRTC Website: Respective Roles of the CBC and the CRTC).

²¹ The CBC broadcasts programs on both radio and television, but for the purpose of this study, only the regulations that pertain to radio broadcasting will be discussed.

Native and Ethnic Radio Stations

The early 1960s saw the beginning of aboriginal broadcasting in Canada, but it was not until the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) developed in 1983 that aboriginal broadcasting became a reality. According to the CRTC, over 100 native community radio stations and 13 regional native communications societies that existed in 1988 produced an average of 315 hours of radio programming each week.²² Today, 45 native stations are in operation. Aboriginal broadcasters feel their purpose is to “address the specific cultural and linguistic needs of their audiences, creating an environment in which aboriginal artists and musicians, writers and producers, can develop and flourish. In this way, aboriginal broadcasters can provide an element of diversity to counterbalance and complement non-native programming sources” (*Native Broadcasting Policy* 1989, Section 262-4).²³ The Native Broadcasting Policy was designed not only to give aboriginal artists access to the air waves, but also to assist in the preservation and dissemination of native cultures, some of which are disappearing (*Native Broadcasting Policy* 1989, Section 262-6; CRTC List of Native Programming Undertakings, CRTC website 2006).

The CRTC defines a native program as “a program in any language directed specifically towards a distinct native audience, or a program about any aspect of life, interests, or culture of Canada’s native people” (*Native Broadcasting Policy* 1989, Section 262-8). Regarding the term “native music,” however, the CRTC has not put forward a definition, as they do not impose any airplay requirements on the amount of

²² At this time, all aboriginal stations use FM frequencies.

²³ It should be noted that in their policy, the CRTC uses the terms “native” and “aboriginal” interchangeably.

music by native artists aired. Native programs that meet at least two of the MAPL criteria can count towards a native radio station's Canadian Content requirements.

Like the Native Broadcasting Policy, ethnic broadcasting also reflects Canada's linguistic and cultural diversity. The CRTC defines an ethnic program as one that "in any language, is specifically directed to any culturally or racially distinct group other than one that is Aboriginal Canadian or from France or the British Isles." Programs that are cross-cultural are considered ethnic programs as well. Music, advertising, station contests, and community and emergency messages are excluded when the CRTC determines whether or not a particular program meets the ethnic program requirements. At least 60 percent of an ethnic station's weekly programming must be ethnic programming. One possible interpretation of this allotment is that non-ethnic programming is needed to generate revenue (*Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* 1999, Sections 385-4 and 385-5).

Ethnic radio stations have specific Canadian Content requirements. First, at least seven percent of the musical selections aired during ethnic programming periods must be Canadian. Second, at least 35 percent of the general music broadcast, and at least 10 percent of the traditional and special interest music broadcast during non-ethnic programming periods must be Canadian and scheduled in a reasonable manner throughout the day. These requirements are based on the broadcast week (*Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* 1999, Section and 385-12). There are 18 ethnic stations in operation in Canada today (CRTC List of Ethnic Radio Stations, CRTC website, 2006).

Currently, the island of Newfoundland does not have any native or ethnic radio stations. The mainland portion of the province, Labrador, is home to two community/aboriginal stations, which most likely fall into the native/ethnic category.

Because this research focuses on the St. John's radio market, which is located on the island portion of the province, no further discussion regarding the impact of Canadian Content on native or ethnic radio stations will, therefore, ensue.

French-language Radio Stations

I grew up in an area that I felt was pretty isolated. Most of the small towns in northern New York State consisted of white Catholic families, many of whom had French last names. Because I felt I was raised in a rather homogenous environment, the multi-cultural experiences I had growing up stuck in my mind. One of these was listening to the French radio stations from Quebec we could pick up in our home close to the Quebec border.

French-language stations in Canada are important because the CRTC feels that they “reflect Canada’s linguistic duality” (*Commercial Radio Policy* 1998, Section 371-35). At least 65 percent of the vocal popular music selections (category 2) broadcast each week by these stations must be in French, and these broadcasts must be “scheduled in a reasonable manner throughout each broadcast day.” In addition, 55 percent of the vocal music played between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. must be in the French language. This particular requirement provides an outlet for the Francophone recording industry, and it helps to ensure that Francophone culture is represented on the airwaves. French-language stations in Canada that are commercial, community, or campus in nature are also required to adhere to the Canadian Content requirements for that category as described above. (*Commercial Radio Policy* 1998, Sections 371-35 and 371-37).

In Public Notice 1998-41, the CRTC noted a migration of listeners from French-language stations to English-language stations in Montreal and in Ottawa-Hull. As a result, some French-language stations in these metropolitan areas have requested that they be allowed to increase the amount of English-language music they broadcast. However, the CRTC denied these requests on the grounds that English-language broadcasts will not necessarily regain lost audiences. In addition, the CRTC feels that exposure to Francophone culture outweighs the importance of audience increases.

Currently, Newfoundland does not have any French-language radio stations. No further discussion regarding the impact of Canadian Content on French-language stations will, therefore, ensue.

The Debate Surrounding Canadian Content Regulations

Canadian Content regulations affected both radio and television, but the debate regarding the ruling's impact on radio was not as heated as the debate regarding television. Nevertheless, when Canadian Content regulations were initially passed, there were two strong reactions. One reaction was from broadcasters in the private sector, and the other reaction was from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canadian talent associations, arts communities across the country, some members of the media, and the general public.

Broadcasters in the private sector strongly criticized the ruling. One of the more outspoken groups was the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB). They felt that Canada did not have enough domestic material to meet the strong requirements, and that efforts to increase the amount of domestic material would lead to low-quality production

(Litvak 1987, 59-60). Private broadcasters also feared that the proximity of Canada's population to the U.S. border would result in a large loss in listenership once Canadian Content regulations went into effect. This loss, broadcasters felt, would be a result of the fact that consumers associated "Canadian" with programs that were of poor quality and not very popular (Hindley *et al.* 1977, 90). Private broadcasters depend on audience size. Without imported (American) material being broadcast, private broadcasters anticipated they would lose their audience to the (already accessible) American radio market (Patch 1975, 2-3; Romanow 1975, 1-3). "Radio stations [had] the choice of driving away their audiences (and profits) by overplaying the limited, well-established Canadian material or turning to inferior domestic recordings" (Patch 1975, 63).

Those who supported the Canadian Content ruling, however, had a vested interest in hearing (and seeing) more work by Canadians on the radio and on television. These constituents shared the opinion that the United States had too much influence over Canadian culture, that much of the U.S. influence entered Canada through the broadcasting system, and that U.S. influence should be limited (Patch 1975, 2-3). In a brief presented to the CRTC on April 17, 1970, the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) stated that they supported the Canadian Content proposal. The ACTRA members went so far as to state that if such a proposal became a requirement, the members would be willing to stay in Canada, rather than go to the United States, even though they would most likely earn less money in Canada (Patch 1975, 61). The National Music Publishers Association, the Canadian League of Composers, the Canadian Music Centre and the Canadian Council of Performing Arts Union also supported Canadian Content regulations (Patch 1975, 92).

While strong supporters and critics of Canadian Content existed, Parliament was initially divided on the issue. Much of the criticism came from representatives of small, remote towns along the United States border that did not have access to U.S. stations in the first place. In these areas, the CBC was usually the sole station. Thus, it was ironic that these areas were critical of Canadian Content because it was unlikely that Canadian Content regulations would have changed radio content in these areas (Patch 1975, 87-89).

The general public was divided on the Canadian Content issue as well. Those who supported the regulation felt that the United States had too much influence in Canada. Most of those who opposed the regulation criticized its impact on television more than radio. These critics were from remote areas distant from the U.S. border where television reception was already limited simply due to location (Patch 1975).

There has also been criticism about the impact of Canadian Content because of the high level of foreign ownership in the Canadian recording industry. Critics wonder how much of an impact a government policy can have when the industry's non-Canadian companies dominate the domestic industry. In his master's thesis on Canadian Content, David Litvak recommended that no new foreign-owned record production or distribution companies be allowed in Canada. At the time of his study, no Canadian-owned record production or distribution companies existed. In other words, Litvak suggested that emphasis be placed not on regulations themselves and their impact on radio, but rather on the music industry that Canadian Content created (Litvak 1987, 92-102, 110-111).

The CRTC itself even questioned some aspects of the policy. In 1980, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) submitted a review of the Canadian Content regulations to the CRTC. In their report, the CAB emphasized the importance of

news, public affairs, and information programming for connecting Canadians to each other and capturing “the essence and the character of what is Canadian” (Canadian Association of Broadcasters 1980, 9). One of the issues in this report concerned the quantitative measurement of Canadian Content. In other words, the Canadian Content regulations regulated how much Canadian Content should be broadcast, but did not address the quality of the content. The CAB stated that a combined qualitative and quantitative approach was preferred. Regulating the quality of programs, however, would be difficult because something that was considered “good” in one part of the country may be viewed differently in another part. The CAB did not present a solution to this issue, and from my observations, the issue of quantity versus quality still persists today (Canadian Association of Broadcasters 1980).

In its 1995 report, the Canadian Content and Culture Working Group (the Group), a subcommittee of the Information Highway Advisory Council, listed three common misconceptions regarding Canadian Content, two of which are important to this discussion. The first misconception is that Canadian Content regulations limit consumer choice. In response to this, the Group pointed out that none of the content on the airwaves before Canadian Content regulations were in place was eliminated by the regulations. The regulations only ensured that a percentage of the content on the airwaves was Canadian by their definition. In other words, something was added, but nothing was taken away.

The second misconception about Canadian Content regulations, the Group noted, was that these regulations were a financial drain, rather than a financial benefit. In response, the Group not only cited the growth of various cultural industries around

Canada's music and arts communities, but referred to Canada's arts as a "renewable resource" with "tremendous export potential" (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, ii). This terminology depicts Canadian Content regulations as a stable and profitable segment of the Canadian economy and credits them with turning Canadians from cultural consumers of foreign cultural material to cultural producers creating and exporting much of their own material (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 1).

The CRTC places a huge emphasis on public hearings, a forum in which the Canadian people can voice their concerns, opinions, and questions regarding policies, licenses, and other Commission proposals and decisions. Information regarding public policies is made public, most recently via the CRTC website. Public hearings are held across the country so the Canadians can speak directly to members of the CRTC (Hindley *et al.* 1977, 82-83; Litvak 1987, 5-6). This act of encouraging feedback allows the CRTC to be intently aware of the debate surrounding Canadian Content. However, participation in these hearings has been uneven at best (Ketchum Personal Communication 2006).

Regulating Canadian Content: The Role of the CRTC

The federal government of Canada has full jurisdiction over broadcasting in the country. Individual provinces have minimal broadcasting control.²⁴ The CRTC, created through the Broadcast Act of 1968, replaced the Board of Broadcast Governors. The CRTC's objectives were to "regulate and supervise all aspects of the Canadian

²⁴ The control that provinces have is limited mainly to educational broadcasting, which is not subject to federal regulation. Some provinces feel they should have total control over broadcasting because radio and television are important mediums for the dissemination of culture, but, at this time, full broadcasting control is still held by the federal government (Litvak 12-13).

broadcasting system with a view to implementing the broadcasting policy enunciated in Section 3 of the [Broadcasting] Act” (*CRTC Annual Report 1981-82*, 3). The CRTC was charged with supervising “the single system of broadcasting comprising public and private elements so that the system will enrich and strengthen the cultural and economic fabric of Canada” (Broadcast Act of 1968). More specifically, the CRTC can “establish rules of procedure, make regulations, prescribe classes of licenses, issue, attach conditions to, amend, renew, suspend and revoke licenses, exempt from licenses, carry out or support research and require the broadcast of programs of urgent importance to Canadians generally or to residents of a specific area” (Litvak 1987, 3; *CRTC Annual Report 1981-1982*). The CRTC “supports the use and exposure of Canadian talent and resources through acquired programming” (*Radio Networks and Syndication Policy 1989*, Section 253-22). The CRTC also has jurisdiction over federally licensed telecommunications carriers, but not provincial telecommunications carriers.²⁵

According to the Broadcast Act of 1968, the CRTC can make regulations that:

1. Respect the proportion of time that shall be devoted to the broadcasting of Canadian programs.
2. Prescribe what constitutes a Canadian program for the purposes of this Act.
3. Require licenses to submit to the Commission such information regarding their programs and financial affairs.

(*Broadcast Act*, Section 104-68)²⁶

²⁵ The Commission’s original name was the Canadian Radio and Television Commission. The Commission became the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission in 1976 when the Canadian Government deemed the need for regulation over the advancing telecommunications industry necessary.

²⁶ Section 104-68 contains additional regulations that the CRTC is permitted to make, but only the ones that relate to this study have been included.

According to the guidelines stated in the Broadcast Act, it is, therefore, the job of the CRTC to make and regulate policies regarding Canadian Content.

The CRTC's role as a regulator comes with particular requirements. The CRTC has to be flexible enough to adapt to the different aspects of English-language and French-language broadcasting and programming, consider that needs and concerns vary by region, be ready to adapt to (technological) change, and facilitate the provision of Canadians with the programming and broadcasting they expect (*Our Cultural Sovereignty* 2003, 39-41).

In regards to specific radio station's adherence to the Canadian Content regulations, the CRTC tracks what music is aired to fulfill the requirements, and at what point in the broadcast day that music is aired. Nick Ketchum, who was the Senior Director for Radio Policy and Applications at the CRTC, explained how this procedure works.

All licensees must keep music playlists and an audio tape of everything broadcast. Upon request, they must supply this material to the Commission. The Commission may ask for this material if it receives a complaint. In the absence of complaints, the Commission will ask for this material, on its own initiative, at least once per license term - on a random basis. In this case, we ask for a weeks worth of tapes and playlists. These are analyzed to determine the licensee's compliance with the CanCon regulations during that week. If the licensee is found to be non-compliant, it will have an opportunity to provide an explanation. If the explanation does not convince the Commission, then appropriate action is taken. This action normally begins with a shortened license term and/or a requirement to demonstrate compliance over the following few years. In the case of repeated non-compliance, withdrawal of the license may be considered.
(Ketchum Personal Communication 2007)

One entity exempt from the CRTC's jurisdiction is the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Because the CBC and the CRTC both report to Parliament, this sets

the CBC apart from the private sector broadcasters. The CRTC does exercise some control over the CBC, but the CBC has an additional recourse from the CRTC because of its status as a “crown corporation funded primarily by Parliament and responsible for providing a national broadcasting service” (Litvak 1987, 8).

The CRTC sees itself as “a quasi-judicial tribunal independent from government. We (the CRTC) are [also] a quasi-administrative tribunal and we administer *The Broadcasting Act*...the Commission listens to all comments and renders a decision of its own” (CRTC spokesperson Real Therrien, quoted in Litvak 1987, 16-17). Furthermore, the Commission is concerned with how decisions will affect the Canadian public (Litvak 1987, 17).

The CEO of the Canadian company Astral Media, Mr. Andre Bureau, described the CRTC as the entity that provides the five building blocks of the Canadian Broadcasting System. The five building blocks to which Mr. Bureau referred were CRTC licensing, Canadian ownership, control of entry of foreign programming services, monitoring and enforcing Canadian Content rules, and the control of funding and tax incentives. All of these building blocks fall under the jurisdiction of the CRTC. According to Mr. Bureau, the five building blocks support the four pillars of the Canadian Broadcasting System: private broadcasters, public broadcasters, distribution undertakings, and the independent production sector (*Our Cultural Sovereignty* 2003, 5). In other words, the role of the CRTC is essential to the Canadian Broadcasting System, and Canadian Content regulations support public, private and independent broadcasting in Canada.

The Impact of Canadian Content Regulations: Boosting the Cultural Economy

The impact of Canadian Content has been different for radio than for television.²⁷

This study focuses on the impact on radio broadcasting because from its inception in the 1920s, radio has been an important medium through which Canada has tried to foster a sense of identity (*CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996).

The general feeling among scholars of Canadian Content is that the policy's impact on the Canadian music industry has been positive (Patch 1975, 65; Romanow 1975, 270; *CanCon Impact Report* 1993, 1996, 1998, *Commercial Radio Policy* 1998). In 1993, the CRTC issued a report on the impact of Canadian Content regulations that read, "The Regulation has made Canadians more aware of Canadian artists and has benefited the Canadian recording industry in general, and certain segments such as the Canadian publishing industry in particular" (*CanCon Impact Report* 1993). This statement is evidenced by the fact that after 1971, Canadian music magazines, such as *RPM*, listed songs that fulfilled Canadian Content requirements, and stations across the country used these magazines as sources of information. This trend in music publication, coupled with a stronger demand for domestic music, benefited especially those Canadian artists who might not have been successful at a national level without the Canadian Content regulations in place (Patch 1975, 65).

²⁷ In 1975, Patch ran a statistical analysis on television viewers' choices in Toronto. Patch concluded that in 1975 prime-time, American-produced shows were most popular among viewers. However, Canadian programs included in the analysis had average ratings, which shows they competed fairly well with all but the most popular of the American-produced shows. He also noted that international television content available in Toronto fragmented viewers. In addition, the Canadian-produced programs were more expensive to produce. This statistic indicated that the Canadian broadcasting system endured greater expense to remain competitive with their American counterparts.

The most consistent criticism regarding the impact of Canadian Content was that radio stations overplay already well-known Canadian artists at the expense of lesser-known artists. However, after the Canadian Content regulations were put in place, American radio stations that competed with the Canadian ones started to play more Canadian music on their own (Patch 1975, 66). Additional criticism surrounded the idea of whether or not a “Canadian sound” exists. Critics complained that Canadian music is an imitation of American music, and that the only thing that made a song Canadian was the citizenship of the musicians (Litvak 1987, 76).²⁸

A more recent criticism of Canadian Content regulations (CanCon) was published by University of British Columbia Business Professor, W.T. Stanbury (1998). Stanbury’s article, which considered Canadian Content with respect to both television and radio, addressed the following questions:

- Why are Canadian Content regulations necessary and desirable?
- What benefits do these regulations confer on Canadians?
- Which Canadians benefit most from these elaborate requirements imposed by the federal government?
- Which people or groups of people are made worse off by CanCon requirements?
- If CanCon requirements are such a “good thing,” why does the federal government limit them to broadcasting media [instead of expanding them to printed media, for example]?
- Do Canadian Content requirements achieve their officially stated goals?
- If not, why have they been expanded and made more restrictive over time?

(Stanbury 1998, 5-6)

²⁸ Litvak uses Newfoundland music as part of his argument that some Canadian music does have a unique sound.

Stanbury listed five reasons why an examination of Canadian Content is important. These reasons included 1) the fact that television viewing among Canadians had increased in the nineties while radio listening had decreased, 2) the growing expenses paid by television broadcasters to meet Canadian Content requirements, 3) the natural tendency to question whether or not these requirements do what they intended, 4) the fact that Canadian Content regulations have been imposed on new forms of distribution, and 5) Stanbury's feeling that the regulations "go far beyond the degree of coerciveness usually associated with taxation-transfer schemes or direct expenditures on various public programs" (Stanbury 1998, 7-9).

Stanbury was highly critical of the CRTC's role and its enforcement of Canadian Content requirements.²⁹ He accused the CRTC of being inconsistent in its Canadian Content policy. Stanbury pointed out that Canadian Content requirements for radio are based on a percentage of selections that are over one minute in length. Because the policy is based on the percentage of Canadian selections rather than the average time spent playing Canadian selections in a given hour, it is possible for broadcasters to select Canadian songs that are of short duration, thereby minimizing the total time Canadian music is heard while still meeting the 35 percent requirement (Stanbury 1998, 24).³⁰ Stanbury also criticized the CRTC for allowing owners to own more than two stations in a single radio market in order to, in Stanbury's words, "ensure that broadcasters are

²⁹ I would even go so far as to say that the underlying purpose of Stanbury's "study" was to criticize the CRTC in an academic forum. His "study" used convenient data and was littered with adjectives that made his position as a critic quite clear to the reader. As far as I can tell, no formal quantitative or qualitative methods were used in this report.

³⁰ Stanbury goes so far as to refer to radio broadcasters as "mice" in his commentary (1998, 24).

financially strong enough to pay the costs of higher CanCon burdens” (Stanbury 1998, 23).

Further criticism by Stanbury addressed the CRTC’s claims regarding what had been accomplished by Canadian Content regulations. Stanbury felt the cultural threat from the United States was exaggerated. In addition, he criticized the benefits of Canadian Content to Canadians. Canadian Content regulations define “Canadian” in terms of citizenship, and thus Stanbury questions how Canadian Content regulations can help create a stronger national identity when there are no regulations regarding the *content* of the music or programs that fulfill Canadian Content requirements. In fact, Stanbury claims, “Canadian Content regulations have nothing to do with content” (Stanbury 1998, 46-47, 54). In terms of television, for example, he noted that Canadian-produced programs with distinctly Canadian themes had less export success than did Canadian-produced programs with generic themes because consumers assumed the generic-themed programs were American (Stanbury 1998, 46-47).³¹ Furthermore, Stanbury criticized the subsidies offered by the government to offset the costs of producing Canadian music and television products. Because of the lack of Canadian themes, history, or general references in many of the subsidized works, Stanbury accused the government of subsidizing *individuals who make their living* in the broadcasting industry and its agglomerate industries, rather than subsidizing legitimate efforts to develop a Canadian *national identity*. From Stanbury’s perspective, this is a neo-

³¹ Stanbury also pointed out that this may be why there are far fewer television shows with distinctly Canadian themes produced, especially when financial success is important for the producer.

mercantilist approach that favors the producers over the consumers, an industrial policy Stanbury considers ancient (Stanbury 1998, 54-55, 64-65).

In conclusion, Stanbury recommended several ways to solve what he felt was a problem with Canadian Content regulations. First, the government should abolish all restrictions on foreign broadcasting, make Canadian Content programming a user-pay service, change the tax and subsidy laws so that they must be voted on annually by Parliament, and change the way that CRTC appointees are chosen.³² Finally, he encouraged citizens to speak out against Canadian Content “restrictions” so that the Cabinet could not ignore the CRTC’s policy making practices (Stanbury 76-80).

I asked two of the CRTC employees to respond to this accusation that the Canadian Content regulations lack “content.” Nick Ketchum explained to me the CRTC’s position.

This is an issue, and in television as well, you know, the way we define Canadian Content. When you think about it, would you want a bunch of bureaucrats like us screening every television program or listening to every song and making some subjective determination that the content was Canadian enough in some way? I don’t know what that would be...the accent, the visuals, the subject matter? No, that’s ridiculous. The objective way of defining it by citizenship and the citizenship of key creative contributors is flawed. Sure, it’s flawed. But, it’s better than any other alternative...We just go on the basis that two out of those four key elements...the MAPL elements, are going to likely make that song as representative of Canada as possible. That doesn’t mean the content is going to be all about Canadian icons. It means that the spirit of the country, whatever that is, or the region of the country is likely to be reflected when people who are connected with the country are writing it, singing it, playing it, and recording it.

(Ketchum Personal Communication 2006).

³² In addition, Stanbury made recommendations that are exclusive to Canadian Content regulations for television, and thus are not discussed here.

Based on Nick Ketchum's response, I suspect the CRTC will never define Canadian Content further.

Although there existed other critics of Canadian Content, the CRTC naturally foregrounded the positive impacts of the regulations in the debate. Individual musicians and musical groups thanked the government for "making it possible for Canadians to be heard in their own country" (Litvak 1987, 62). Canadian Content was also credited with jump-starting the Canadian music industry from recording studios, record companies, music magazines, awards shows, and in general, a domestic market for Canadian music. Litvak cited the existence of the *Canadian Music Directory*,³³ first released in 1983, as hard evidence Canadian Content stimulated significant growth in the Canadian music industry. In addition, payments to Canadian composers, publishers, and copyright owners increased from approximately \$2 million in 1968 to \$48.8 million in 1997.³⁴ Furthermore, increases in Canadian record sales and performances are credited to the radio exposure of Canadian musicians under Canadian Content (CanCon Impact Report 1998).

Another example of an increased domestic market for Canadian music lies in the initiation of the Sound Recording Development Program (SRDP) by the Canadian Department of Communications in 1986. This program has been instrumental in funding the recording endeavors of Canadian artists who were, at one time, almost exclusively on their own and struggling. In 1996, the Department of Canadian Heritage allocated \$15 million over three years to the SRDP. The total funding available to Canadian artists

³³ According to Litvak, the directory lists companies, individuals, organizations and institutions in the Canadian music industry. The list is of substantial length, as the directory in 1983 was 462 pages long (Litvak 1987, 66).

³⁴ These numbers are approximate due to factors such as inflation, payments received but due from previous years, and additional rates from new sources (CanCon Impact Report 1998).

through grant programs in 1996 was more than \$10 million annually. Such funding further promoted a domestic music industry in Canada (CanCon Impact Report 1996). The broader implication of these positive impacts, however, is that they indicate that not only are Canadian agencies willing to support Canadian artists, but so are the listeners.

Despite these positive effects of Canadian Content, a study conducted by Litvak (1987) showed that 82 percent of the broadcasters interviewed felt that Canadian Content requirements should be withdrawn or reduced. Some of these broadcasters stated that they felt they were forcing content on listeners. It should be noted, however, that the broadcasters interviewed were all AM broadcasters, and perhaps the adverse economic effect they experienced was the growth of FM stations rather than the imposition of government regulation (Litvak 1987, 86).

Most studies on Canadian Content have addressed English-language radio stations. However, according to the 1993 CanCon Impact Report published by the CRTC, French-language radio stations have been more successful in meeting Canadian Content requirements. One reason for this success is that although French-language stations have the same Canadian Content requirements as English-language stations, French-language stations are required to broadcast 65 percent of their music in French. To fulfill this additional language requirement, many French-language stations use French music produced in Quebec. As a result, not only have Quebecois artists gained a regional and national audience in Canada, these artists have also become quite popular in the French-speaking regions of Europe and other parts of the world (*CanCon Impact Report 1993*,

1996). The French-language Canadian Content requirements were also used as a model for French-language broadcast policy in France in 1996 (*CanCon Impact Report 1996*).³⁵

In general, most stations were able to meet Canadian Content requirements by the 1980s, and those that did not were given short term, probationary license renewals. In addition, approximately 80 percent of the music programmed on Canadian radio stations fulfilled all four Canadian Content criteria, rather than just the required two (*CanCon Impact Report 1996, 1998*). Furthermore, the increase in Canadian Content requirements for commercial radio stations from 30 percent to 35 percent in 1998 is an indication that the music industry can support the increased airtime for Canadian artists that radio stations are now required to schedule.

The Impact of Canadian Content Regulations: Fostering a National Identity

Perhaps radio, more so than television, is an important medium for fostering a Canadian national identity. Alan Edwardson (1984) conducted a study of television viewers in Ottawa to determine the amount of Canadian Content programs viewed as compared the amount of American programs viewed, and to determine whether or not the viewers felt these Canadian Content programs helped to foster a Canadian national identity. Although his study pertained to television and not radio, Edwardson's findings may have some implications for Canadian Content radio regulations.

First, Edwardson's (1984) study showed that Canadians wanted to view Canadian Content on television. This contradicts Stanbury's claim that Canadians do not want to

³⁵ Because of the citizenship requirement that is part of the Canadian Content regulations, French-language music performed and produced by citizens of France does not fulfill the Canadian Content regulations on French-language stations in Canada.

view Canadian Content on television. While Edwardson's study and Stanbury's article were written 12 years apart, Stanbury failed to use any consumer-level data to support his claim. Edwardson, however, based his conclusions on statistical evidence gathered from 175 completed surveys of randomly sampled television viewers.

The other significant finding in Edwardson's (1984) study was the fact that viewers did not see television per se or the Canadian Content as shown on television fostering a sense of national identity. Rather, viewers saw an element of the medium, specifically the CBC, as a unifying force because of its programming focus on the places and people of Canada. Therefore, Edwardson concluded that Canadians did not feel that the programs they watched, whether Canadian or American-produced, made a difference in their sense of nationhood.

In a study conducted more than 10 years later, an overwhelming majority (72 percent) of Canadians thought that Canada needed to distinguish itself from the United States. Respondents felt that distinguishing and maintaining a Canadian cultural identity was important, and 78 percent supported government efforts to do this (Information Highway Advisory Council Final Report 1997, 61). Thus, while there will always be those opposed to particular government policies, Canadian Content regulations are one way the government responds to Canadians' desire for cultural distinctiveness and protection.

Conclusion

Regardless of who supported or criticized Canadian Content regulations, the threat of American popular culture to Canadian identity is real. Romanow (1975, 109)

suggested the threat exists because Canada's population is only a fraction of the United States', because Canada and the United States have maintained peaceful relations for many years, and because Canada and the United States share a common language and European-based history. The fact that 75 percent of Canada's population lives within 100 miles of the US border is also a factor because this proximity means that Canadians have more opportunities to access American-broadcast content. The Canadian regional director of the United Auto Workers used an interesting analogy to describe Canada's relationship with the United States when he spoke to the Detroit Free Press: "You sneeze and we get pneumonia" (quoted in Romanow 1975, 122).

One of the most essential aspects of the Canadian Content regulations, whether they pertain to radio or television, is their ability to adapt to new technological innovations. In 1994, the Information Highway Advisory Council (IHAC) created the Canadian Content and Culture Working Group. The Working Group made several recommendations to the government regarding cultural policies in new forms of media. Together, the recommendations emphasized the importance of regulating cultural content *alongside* the development of infrastructure and the deployment of new technologies. The Working Group concluded that cultural policies must be proactive rather than reactive. In their words, "cultural policies must not simply react to change. Cultural policies must also steer and bring about change, if we are ever to have a national consensus" (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 22). Chapter Seven of this dissertation discusses how cultural policies have remained flexible in light of the introduction of two new forms of media: the Internet and satellite radio.

CHAPTER THREE: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF NEWFOUNDLAND HISTORY

The previous chapter on Canadian Content provided the foundation for this research. However, to understand the themes that emerged through my interviews, it is necessary to understand their context. Many who have studied audiences have overlooked the importance of understanding the audience within the context of the society in which they live (Press 1996, 117). To avoid such an oversight, I have included a brief overview of Newfoundland's history.

Newfoundland's history and culture are inextricably linked to the physical environment (Rowe 1980, 1). Prevailing winds brought fisherman from the British Isles through the Grand Banks to the island. Along with the rugged coastline fisherman found protected harbors (Rowe 1980, 1-3). Newfoundlanders are intimately connected to their environment, and one must understand both to understand Newfoundland's history. This examination of Newfoundland's history is followed by a discussion of the Newfoundland fishery. The Newfoundland fishery is used as an example of how Newfoundland culture and history are linked to environmental issues. Finally, I present an overview of current Newfoundland population statistics and economic outlook.

Original Inhabitants

Even though Newfoundland was England's first colony, the island was inhabited more than nine thousand years before the arrival of Europeans. Yet, lack of archeological data from this period leaves us only with guesses about Newfoundland's early inhabitants. What we do know is that the first aboriginal groups, the Maritime Archaic Indians and the Palaeo Eskimos, inhabited Newfoundland at least 3500 years ago (Rowe 1980, 24-25).

Another aboriginal group, the Beothuks, were believed to have migrated from mainland Canada as far back as 1000 B.C. They were contemporaries of the early Europeans, but became extinct around 1820 as a result of disease and competition with Europeans for food and land (Pope 2004, 46-47).³⁶

Initially, there was little contact between the Beothuks and the Europeans because the Europeans concentrated their fishing endeavors along the southeast coast, and the Beothuks mostly confined themselves to the region north of Bonavista Bay (See map in Appendix A). As Europe became crowded, however, and Europeans began to explore northward and inland for wild game, timber, and other resources, contact did ensue. Eventually, the Beothuks suffered a fate similar to that of other North American aboriginal groups. Many contracted tuberculosis and died from starvation because they did not have the strength to continue the nomadic lifestyle characteristic of the Beothuk tribes. The last of the Beothuks, a captured woman known as Shanawdithit, died in 1829 (Pope 2004, 46-47; Rowe 1980, 153-169).

Coming of the Europeans

There is disagreement regarding the nationality of the first Europeans to discover Newfoundland. Evidence exists of a Norse settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern peninsula, a settlement credited to the Viking explorer Leif Erikson (Rowe 1980, 40-43). There is also evidence that the Portuguese reached Newfoundland (Rowe 1980, 45-47). It was John Cabot, however, who, while sailing for England, was credited as the

³⁶ The extinction of the Beothuks, while seemingly recent, corresponds to the notable decline in in New England's Native American populations. In an exhibit on the turn of the 18th Century, the University of Massachusetts marked this era as a time when white Americans were beginning to notice a Native American population decline (Memorial Hall Musuem Online).

first European to reach Newfoundland in 1496. Newfoundland historians have debated the location of his landing. Newfoundland historian Daniel Woodley Prowse (2002) sited landfall at Cape Bonavista. Others claimed Cape St. John or the Labrador Coast was Cabot's first landfall (see works by Archbishop Howley 1891 and 1897, and his brother, J.P. Howley 1915), while still others claimed it was Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, southern Nova Scotia, or even Maine (Rowe 1980, 54-55). This debate continues today. Regardless of the actual location of landfall, Rowe pointed out two important facts concerning Cabot's arrival on the "New Isle": 1) Great Britain did not claim Newfoundland based on Cabot's voyage, and 2) Cabot was not the first European in Newfoundland (Rowe 1980, 56). Rather, Great Britain's claim to Newfoundland was based on settlements and sponsored colonization after Cabot's arrival. This colonization was concentrated in areas that became known at that time as the English Shore (Pope 2004, 2-3).

Great Britain's London and Bristol Company established the first formal colony in Newfoundland in 1610 (Rowe 1980, 69-74). Other Englishmen followed, including Lord Baltimore who, after leaving his Newfoundland colony of Ferryland due to the harsh climate, settled in eastern Maryland in what would become the United States (Rowe 1980, 80-82). Clearly, England had a great influence on Newfoundland's development. Newfoundland's economic and political relationship with England meant that Newfoundland became involved in many of England's political and economic conflicts, not the least of which involved fishing rights in Newfoundland waters. Conflicts between permanent and migratory fishing settlements in Newfoundland led to "An Act to Encourage Trade to Newfoundland," otherwise known as "The

Newfoundland Act,” in 1699. This Act, written for subjects of the Crown involved in trade and settlement in Newfoundland, accomplished two things. First, it explained the importance of the Newfoundland fishery to England’s economy. Second, the Act officially recognized permanent settlements in Newfoundland. Residents of these “spontaneous” settlements could have been forcibly removed from Newfoundland prior to the Act of 1699 for violating British settlement laws. For this reason, historian Frederick Rowe considers the Act a turning point in Newfoundland history (115-117).

The Irish in Newfoundland

The British were not the only Europeans to affect Newfoundland’s history. Prior to 1675, there were also a few Irish settlements in Newfoundland. These settlements were found particularly around Conception Bay and Trinity Bay (McCarthy 1999, 3; Rowe 1980). Most of the Irish population in Newfoundland, however, came after 1713, and migration peaked in the 1770s and 1780s. By 1763 Ireland was a prominent player in the fishing industry (McCarthy 1999, 8; Pope 2004, 234-236; Rowe 1980; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website). During the period following 1763, the Irish migrated to Newfoundland for two reasons. First, they came on Irish and English fishing vessels as indentured servants and labor-fisherman to escape religious and cultural oppression in Ireland. While their indentured status often required seasonal service on fishing vessels, some Irishmen remained in Newfoundland year-round. Irish women who came to Newfoundland as servants often married fisherman (McCarthy 1999, 10; Pope 2004, 217; Rowe 1980). Second, there was a significant migration of the Irish to Newfoundland in

the 1700s due to failed potato crops in Ireland, the same reason that caused many of the Irish to flee Ireland in the 1840s (Rowe 1980, 211-214).

The Irish settled in communities on the eastern edge of Newfoundland. By 1763 they held the ethnic majority in all of the Avalon Peninsula's communities, and they made up half of the permanent population in Newfoundland. The historic animosity between the English and the Irish continued to an extent in Newfoundland (McCarthy 1999, 15; Rowe 1980). Although there were few major acts of violence between the Irish and the English in the eighteenth century, the Irish were often harassed, prohibited from holding Mass, and sometimes prevented from running public businesses (McCarthy 1999, 85-90; Rowe 1980). In retaliation for this treatment, when the French attacked St. John's in 1762, many Irishmen offered their services to the French rather than defending their English comrades (McCarthy 1999, 46).

Within 22 years of this conflict, religious freedom was granted in 1784. After this period, there was not only a decline in religious persecution, but also a huge influx of Irish immigrants between 1784 and 1832. In fact, when representative government was granted to Newfoundland in 1832, there were over forty thousand Irish in Newfoundland (roughly half of the island's population). The Irish who were living along Newfoundland's Southern Shore became some of the most productive fishermen on the island. In years to follow, they remained significantly involved in Newfoundland's struggle for responsible government (Rowe 1980, 211-224).

Newfoundland and England: 1855-1949

Newfoundland was granted representative government³⁷ with a bicameral legislature and Britain-appointed governor in 1832 (Neary 1988, 4). Two political parties emerged. One party was Irish Catholic and the other was English Protestant. Thus, issues of political representation became entwined with issues of religious representation in the government. Eventually, Newfoundland took its political arguments (and by association its religious arguments) before the Duke of Newcastle in England in 1855. The Duke decided that Newfoundlanders needed to determine the situation for themselves. Therefore, upon adherence to certain conditions, Newfoundland was granted responsible government³⁸ similar to that given to Britain's other North American colonies (Rowe 259-278). Newfoundland was, thus, considered an independent country beginning in 1855.

Responsible Government did not, however, solve the religious conflicts on the island. From 1855 until the end of the nineteenth century, disagreements between the Protestants and Catholics continued (Neary 1988, 5). For example, the educational system remained parochial because the two religious groups could not decide on how to

³⁷ Representative Government refers to the period in Newfoundland History between 1832 and 1855 when "the governor, appointed by the British government, administered the colony with a number of appointed officials, collectively known as the Executive Council. They operated within a legal framework established by the British Parliament, but specific local regulations were set by the governor, and customary law was often determined and applied by the courts. There was no legislature" (Webb 2001a, Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage).

³⁸ Responsible Government refers to the period in Newfoundland History from 1855 to 1934 when "the governor, as the Crown's representative, appointed elected members of the Assembly - and sometimes members of the appointed upper house, the Legislative Council - to administer the colony. They held office only so long as they were able to maintain the support of a majority of members in the House of Assembly. Usually, the government was drawn from the largest party in the Assembly, but sometimes the head of a minority party or a coalition was appointed premier. The premier or prime minister (the title used after 1909), and other members of the Executive Council, remained in power for a four-year term, unless defeated in the House of Assembly. A general election would then have to be called. The Legislative Council could defeat (until 1917) or amend legislation coming from the Assembly" (Webb 2001b, Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage).

run a non-denominational school system. Even though unemployment was not a direct result of religious disagreements, it was a significant issue throughout the century. To make matters worse, economic recession in the 1860s significantly damaged Newfoundland's economy. The fishery not only suffered from a trade disruption with the United States during the American Civil war, but the fishery also saw a decline in cod fish stocks (Rowe 1980).

Despite the recession of the 1860s, the following decade saw economic improvements and an increase in government spending on civic projects. This period of economic revitalization would not, however, last. Both natural and man-made disasters plagued Newfoundland throughout the 20th century (O'Flaherty 2005, 256-270; Rowe 1980, 287-310).

World War I brought Newfoundland to the military aid of England, but the war also brought the country enormous debt (Neary 1988, 7; O'Flaherty 2005, 270-276). After the war, Newfoundland's fish markets crashed both in Europe and North America, and in 1920 Newfoundland experienced a significant out-migration of its population (O'Flaherty 2005, 306-307).³⁹

The Great Depression also hit Newfoundland hard because the country was highly dependent on export profits and quite sensitive to changes in consumer demand that characterized the early twentieth century (Neary 1988, 9-11). Memorial University historian and English professor Patrick O'Flaherty (2005, 259-262) argued that the underlying problem in Newfoundland's financial woes was the inefficiency of the fishery.

³⁹ The out-migration in the 1990s, however, was the greatest the province has experienced. During this time, the province lost 10% of its population to out-migration, birth rates declined, and unemployment increased (Our Place in Canada 2003, 35-36).

In addition to economic problems, Newfoundland's political processes were ripe with corruption. By 1931, Newfoundland's national debt had reached \$90 million, a sum that was "beyond the country's capacity given the economic conditions then prevailing" (O'Flaherty 2005, 364, 405). The result of these circumstances was a devastating end to Responsible Government in Newfoundland. Newfoundland became the only country ever to give up its independence willingly, especially to its former colonial power. A Commission of Government⁴⁰ was appointed by England on February 14, 1934 to "reconstruct" Newfoundland financially and politically (Long 1999, 131; Neary 1988; Rowe 1980, 369-406). Newfoundland historian Gene Long saw the British Royal Commission's solution as "an indirect expression of self-determination on behalf of a people who had shown themselves willing to yield their own voice" (Long 1999, 130). This decision to retract its dominion status would be felt in Newfoundland long after World War II (O'Flaherty 2005, 408).⁴¹

While the Commission of Government enjoyed minor successes, such as establishing the first comprehensive state regulation of the fishing industry (Long 1999, 154), the Commission generally failed in its efforts at reconstruction. Britain herself was dealing with the effects of the Great Depression and had few funds available to reinvest in Newfoundland's economy (Neary 1988, 39; Rowe 1980, 403-427). Many Newfoundlanders were opposed to the end of Responsible Government, and they resisted

⁴⁰ The Commission of Government refers to the period in Newfoundland history between 1934 and 1949 and signified an end to Responsible Government. The Commission of Government was comprised of a Britain-appointed governor and six members (three from Newfoundland and three from Great Britain). This type of government lasted 15 years in Newfoundland. During this time, no elections were held and the legislature was never convened (Long 1999, 116; Webb 2003, Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage).

⁴¹ O'Flaherty (2005, 408-409) cites evidence that the Commission of Government decision was discussed as late as 1984 when the Canadian Supreme Court used it to dismiss Newfoundland's claim that they had rights to offshore seabed and subsoil resources.

and criticized the Commission's reforms. While the Commission did succeed in reducing the amount of political corruption, as well as improving education and healthcare, close to one-third of the population was still unemployed in 1939 (Rowe 1980, 403-427).

World War II pulled Newfoundland out of her financial slump. Because of its strategic location in the Atlantic, both the United States and Canada built military bases in Newfoundland using local resources and local labor (Neary 1988, 144-182).⁴² As British subjects, Newfoundland automatically went to war when the United Kingdom went to war, and many Newfoundlanders entered into gainful employment when they enlisted in the British Army (Neary 1988, 109; Rowe 1980, 429-440).

When the war ended, and Newfoundland's geographical location was no longer of strategic importance, the British Government organized an elected National Convention to ascertain what form of government Newfoundlanders felt they should adopt. The ultimate decision on this matter was the abolition of the Commission of Government on March 31, 1949, and confederation with Canada. (Rowe 1980, 429-440).

Confederation with Canada

Newfoundland's economy recovered in the wake of World War II. In 1946, discussions began regarding the island's political future. Newfoundlanders discussed three options: 1) a continuance of the British control by Commission, 2) a return to responsible government (independent status), or 3) a confederation with Canada (Rowe 1980, 437-454).

⁴² For further information on the impact of foreign military bases in Newfoundland, see Macleod 1986.

The first option was largely discredited after a delegation from Newfoundland went to Britain to discuss Newfoundland's political future. After unsatisfactory conversations with Britain, this option was eliminated after the first referendum. The delegates were told that Britain would not guarantee any financial assistance if Newfoundland returned to responsible government (Long 1999, 139-148; Neary 1988, 300-303). Put off by Britain's attitude toward them, Newfoundlanders more seriously considered the possibilities of option two, a return to responsible government. Newfoundlanders had viewed the British Commission of Government as only temporary, because the agreement that formed the Commission stated that it would remain in place only until Newfoundland was able to support itself financially. Using this argument, some Newfoundlanders began to rally for a return to responsible government (Rowe 1980, 437-454).

The third option, confederation with Canada, was not new in the late 1940s. Confederation made sense to many Newfoundlanders because Newfoundland had historically strong connections to Canada. Many Newfoundlanders had left the island for mainland Canada and even more went to the United States between 1900 and 1930 (Macleod 1994, 4). Members of the Newfoundland diaspora often sent remittances in the form of money and clothes to their island-dwelling relatives. Those Newfoundlanders living on the mainland also returned to Newfoundland for visits. In addition, some Newfoundland Protestant religious organizations such as the United Church and the widespread Orange Lodges were part of Canadian organizations.⁴³ Many

⁴³ Orange Lodges were protestant Irish organizations that were established in Canada in 1805 after their birth in Ireland ten years prior. Orangeism became an important link between Newfoundland and Canada,

Newfoundlanders went to Canada to attend college because Newfoundland did not have its own university at the time (Macleod 1994, 7-8). Finally, Canada operated charter banks in Newfoundland, and Newfoundland received much of its periodical literature from Canada (Neary 1988, 303-312; Rowe 1980, 454-456).

Newfoundland had previously entertained ideas of confederation during elections in the 1880s, but Canada was not interested at that time.⁴⁴ In 1949, however, the situation was different. The possibility of confederation was discussed at the 1946 and 1948 National Conventions; Joseph Smallwood, a farmer and former journalist in Gander, Newfoundland, was a member (Neary 1988, 288-290). After studying the issue, Smallwood published his opinion through a series of letters in the St. John's *Daily News*. Before Smallwood published his letters, the idea of confederation had not received much public consideration. Smallwood's letters, however, helped bring the idea of confederation into the realm of public debate (Rowe 1980).

In 1948, the first of two referendums was held. Newfoundlanders voted among responsible government, confederation with Canada, and a continuance of the British appointed Commission of Government. Most Newfoundlanders voted for a return to Responsible Government (69,400) and confederation with Canada followed closely behind (64,066). It was clear that Newfoundlanders did not favor Commission of Government, the continuation of British control (22,311). Because no option received a

as the Orange Lodges were "tied to the Canadian Grand Lodges and a fraternal feeling was felt by Newfoundland members for that country," especially when a Newfoundlander was elected to lead the Canadian order (Hiscock 1997, 130). Hiscock attributes the decline of the Orange Lodges in the twentieth century in part to the presence of popular culture on radio, cinema and television, and an increase of additional form of recreation and social clubs. Newfoundland still has more Orange Lodges compared to other provinces, but membership is aging (Hiscock 1997, 132-134).

⁴⁴ In 1869 Newfoundland voters rejected Confederation.

clear majority of the votes, a second referendum, held only a few months later, posed only two options to Newfoundlanders: confederation with Canada or a return to Responsible Government. Confederation received 51 percent of the votes and, on March 31, 1949, Newfoundland officially became the newest province of Canada (Neary 1988, 338-345; Rowe 1980).

The subject of Newfoundland's confederation with Canada remains a hotly debated issue. Some historians (Holland 1998; McCann 1998) believe the confederation process and outcome was a result of conspiracy between Britain and Canada (Hiller 1998). Others deemed the process fair and democratic (Neary 1988; Webb 1998).

Newfoundland Following Confederation

Although Newfoundland experienced economic prosperity during World War II, the new Canadian province was not economically stable. The Newfoundland economy had not diversified. A vast majority of Newfoundlanders relied on fishing for income, and most fisherman exclusively caught cod fish. Also, when World War II ended and Newfoundland was no longer of strategic importance to Britain and the U.S., construction declined and unemployment rose. With immigration barriers to mainland Canada eliminated, Newfoundland saw a large proportion of its population move to mainland Canada, especially to southern Ontario, in search of work during the first two decades following Confederation (Rowe 1980, 491-493).

The Newfoundland provincial government attempted to counter this mass out-migration by exploring the extractive potential of the province's natural resources. The government hoped that natural resource extraction would provide jobs for

Newfoundlanders and give locals a reason to stay in the province. Such ventures included a diversification of the fisheries, mineral extraction in Labrador, and oil drilling off the Atlantic coast. At the same time, the fisheries experienced periods of growth and decline, as cod stocks barely survived amidst modern fishing methods used by North Atlantic fishing countries. By the late 1970s, mining and paper production had become the dominant industries in Newfoundland (Rowe 1980, 493-502).

The new provincial government also made progress in Newfoundland's transportation system. A road connecting Port aux Basques on the southwest tip of the island to St. John's was built in the early 1960s as part of the Trans-Canada highway system. The federal government built docks at Port aux Basques and operated a ferry between mainland Canada and western Newfoundland. The road was finished in 1966, and this marked a significant increase in tourism to Newfoundland. Commercial airlines, such as Eastern Provincial Airways, increased service options with the help of the provincial government. Slowly, the isolation that Newfoundland had experienced for so many years diminished (Rowe 1980, 502-508).

Since confederation with Canada, Newfoundland's relationship with the federal government has experienced both smooth and rocky moments. Initially, Newfoundland's relationship with Ottawa was amicable. Newfoundlanders welcomed the benefits from Canada's social welfare programs, including pensions for the elderly, unemployment insurance, and allowances for mothers and children (Rowe 1980, 512-514).

Yet, providing universal education to Newfoundland's population proved challenging due to the geographical isolation of so many communities.⁴⁵ This isolation was coupled with a rise in birth rates in the post-war era to create an educational crisis in the province. Roads were built between towns so children could be transported to central schools. Memorial University College was expanded and, in 1949, began conferring degrees, including education degrees. The physical expansion of the University, starting in 1961, was especially important for teacher training and the educational system as whole, as many Newfoundland teachers had little or no advanced college training at the time of confederation (Rowe 1980, 514-516). Student enrollment shot up quickly in the late 1960s, and the University saw new graduate and undergraduate programs in business, medicine, engineering, and social welfare (Baker 1999, 23).

Another post-Confederation phenomenon to affect Newfoundland was the joint federal and provincial governments' resettlement program. After confederation, many Newfoundlanders moved by choice or by enticement from their small, isolated towns to larger centers where they could take advantage of the available new services. This migration became a problem for small communities because only a portion of the population in these small towns could actually afford to move. Problems arose when the remaining community members still needed health care and education. In response, the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program was initiated in 1965. This program provided families with the financial assistance needed to move to larger areas. In some cases, entire towns were relocated. But in other cases, towns elected to remain where they

⁴⁵ Funds for education were provided by Canada, but providing education remained a provincial responsibility.

were.⁴⁶ As some towns grew, many achieved municipal incorporation, which meant locally elected officials governed them. This incorporation made it possible for the provincial government to expand the democratic process to local levels (Rowe 1980, 517-525). Whether one sees resettlement as a social benefit or a method of social destruction, the program changed the population geography of Newfoundland in the post-Confederation era.

Cultural Arts Policy in Newfoundland

The post-Confederation period ushered in a renewed interest in the arts. Organizations such as the Kiwanis Club helped to establish school bands. A music school was added to Memorial University in 1975, and it grew to be an integral part of Newfoundland's cultural community. At the same time, St. John's formed its own symphony orchestra. Regional music festivals were held around the province starting in the 1970s. The festivals centered around traditional music at first, but then extended into other musical genres later on. Other areas of the arts, including visual arts, drama, and literature received increased attention and participation as well. Rowe (1980) suggested that this increased interest in the arts might have been due to the fear that the unique Newfoundland identity was in danger of being "absorbed or lost in the larger Canadian milieu" (p. 523). Thus, the period after Confederation changed Newfoundland's social, political and economic history forever.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Fogo Island is a famous case of Newfoundlanders holding out against resettlement.

⁴⁷ For additional information on the revival of Newfoundland culture in the 1970s and beyond, see Overton (1988, 1996), Gwyn (1976, 1997), and Jackson (1986).

This renewed interest in the arts in Newfoundland during the post-Confederation period is especially remarkable if one considers the evolution of cultural policy during the same time period. Provincial cultural policy and support for the arts has waxed and waned over the last 50 years, yet a strong commitment to the arts in Newfoundland remains.

Throughout history, but especially since confederation with Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador has tried to capitalize on its “unique history, environment, culture and lifestyle” (Rompkey 1998, 266). Scholars centered Newfoundland’s uniqueness around the independent and self-surviving attitudes of its residents of English and Irish descent who kept cultural traditions alive in face of welfare, urbanization, industrialization, and the influence of American culture on the island during World War II (Overton 1988; Rompkey 1998; Rosenberg 1994).

Issues of cultural identity became increasingly important after confederation, however, and efforts were sought to link government policy to cultural preservation. The promotion of Memorial University College to university status was one such effort. Other measures included the Arts and Letters Competition to promote historical essays on Newfoundland,⁴⁸ the creation of Atlantic Films in 1951 to develop a series of educational media for schools and other institutions, programs in visual and performing arts at Memorial University, and the establishment of both the St. John’s Folk Arts Council in 1966 and the Division of Cultural Affairs in 1971 (Rompkey 1998, 270-71). At the root of these links between government and culture was the idea that “folk tradition...was central to the survival of Newfoundland society” (Rompkey 1998, 273).

⁴⁸ This competition was instituted in 1951 and still exists today.

Soon, a recognizable cultural industry was alive in Newfoundland. In 1991, a study on Newfoundland's cultural industry showed that although progress had been made, Newfoundland's cultural industries were collectively about one-third of the national average, and 85 percent of the money in these industries went towards staff and operations, rather than artists and cultural workers themselves (Barry 1991). Thus, in 1996 the provincial government created the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation to consolidate the promotion of cultural industries under one entity. Now, development, marketing, training, and promotion of artists fell under the same organization in an effort to strengthen Newfoundland's cultural industries. Provincial governments, like Prime Minister Brian Tobin's (1996-2000), which followed, however, put more emphasis on "the picturesque with proposals for new buildings and spectacles" than they did on supporting individual artists. The link between government policy and culture in Newfoundland, which was supposed to strengthen arts and culture, has resulted in fewer direct funds for artists and arts organizations (Rompkey 1998, 278).

The Newfoundland Fishery

To understand themes in Newfoundland's music, one must consider the history of the fishing industry. Newfoundland's fishery is strongly interconnected with Newfoundland's overall economic development, politics, and ideas about Newfoundland culture. The decline of the Newfoundland fishery is not only an economic and environmental problem, but a social and political one as well. The importance of the fishing industry was explained through song and music in Newfoundland, and the

economic devastation resulting from the 1992 Cod Moratorium is particularly prominent in much of Newfoundland's modern folk music.

From its inception, Newfoundland's fishery has experienced international exploitation. Initially, this was due to the lack of permanent settlements in Newfoundland that might otherwise have claimed territorial land and water rights. The fishery was a migratory one, meaning that fishermen moved between North America and Europe depending on the season and the fish that came inshore during that time (Alexander 1980; Pope 2004; Ryan 1980).⁴⁹ There were only a few months when fishing meant gainful employment so, in the off-season, fishermen would move to other locations (usually back to Europe) in search of work. This migratory trend changed when the British and American fisheries declined in the late 1700s due to regional conflicts involving Britain and America (The French and Indian Wars and the American Revolution). These conflicts interrupted Newfoundland's fishing business and trade with France and the United States. As a result, more permanent fishing settlements were established. Thus, the fishery became controlled less by the overseas British and more strongly by permanent settlers in Newfoundland. This shift to a Newfoundland-based fishery helped establish Newfoundland as a prominent player in the international fish trade (Alexander 1980, 17-19).

There were four major branches of the Newfoundland cod fishery: the inshore fishery, the Labrador fishery, the bank fishery, and the winter fisheries. The inshore fishery was the most important branch in terms of the number of Newfoundlanders it

⁴⁹ The first fishermen were the Portuguese, the Basques, and the Spanish. By the end of the sixteenth century British from the West Country of the British Isles (counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall and Somerset) made their presence known. The Irish, most from the southeast counties of Ireland, specifically the port of Waterford developed as a workforce mainly in the eighteenth century (Neary 1988, 4).

employed as well as its overall contribution to Newfoundland's economy (Ryan 1980, 40-46). The inshore fishery was also important because it influenced the spatial development of Newfoundland outports. For example, space was needed for drying fish so the beaches of many outport communities served this purpose. Many outport communities were established in protected harbors with large beaches. Cod caught through the inshore fishery were brought on land, split, salted, and left to dry on flakes (elevated wooden platforms with boughs for drying codfish)⁵⁰ set up along the beach premises of different families in each community. Traditionally, this activity was such a prominent part of outport life that most houses in an outport were built facing the ocean and the beach, rather than the road (if a road existed) (Pope 2004, 321; Pocius 1991).

Cod was an especially important species of fish for the Newfoundland fishery. Cod swam inshore seasonally, following the migrating smaller capelin that swarmed Newfoundland's bays in the spring. Cod fishing was initially a lucrative endeavor because cod could be preserved, shipped, and traded in other areas of North America or Europe (Sider 1986, 12-14).

Historically, there were two popular methods of preserving cod. Cod caught out at sea (known as bank fishing) were cut open, gutted, and stacked between layers of salt to keep them from rotting before the boat reached shore. Cod caught close to shore (known as inshore fishing) were usually washed in salted brine and dried as salt fish. These methods insured a steady salt trade between Newfoundland and the rest of the world (Sider 1986, 12-14).

⁵⁰ Dictionary of Newfoundland English.

The inshore fishery employed a significantly large number of Newfoundlanders. Because the salt cod industry dominated the economy, there was little room for economic diversification. Thus, Newfoundland's economy was very unstable. Because the inshore cod industry was limited in its growth, Responsible Government tried to expand Newfoundland's economic base. Aided in part by relatively stable fish prices in the late 1800s and into the twentieth century, the expansion was moderately successful (Alexander 1980, 22-23).

The prominence of the cod fishery in the 1800s led to the development of outport culture. According to the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, an outport is a term that refers to any coastal settlement outside the capital, St. John's. Today, ideas regarding "traditional" Newfoundland culture relate back to cultural practices of the outport towns in the 1800s (Ryan 1980, 40-41). As Federal fishing regulations combined with a transition to fresh-frozen fish production, people began to move from remote locations to towns that housed fish-processing plants, and outport culture began to change. The larger towns had available services, such as education, healthcare, and potential employment ("Our Place in Canada" 2003, 104; Rowe 1980, 496-497). Yet, this migration drained small isolated towns of residents and services. ("Our Place in Canada" 2003, 104).

David Alexander (1980) linked some of Newfoundland's economic problems, specifically in the fishing industry, to matters of geography. While Responsible Government tried desperately to diversify Newfoundland's economy and expand the land-based economy, it became obvious that the sea provided a more reliable source of income than any land-based activity. Alexander pointed out, however, that the income from the fishery was not enough to support Newfoundlanders' demand for technological

innovations such as cars and electric appliances. This imbalance led Newfoundland to bankruptcy in the 1930s (33-35).

The twentieth century brought still more hardships for Newfoundland's fishery. Even in 1949, while other countries engaged in deep sea fishing ventures, Newfoundlanders were still fishing off the coast using traditional methods. Yet, adopting technological advancements in fishing led to the further decline in cod because fish could be caught faster than the species could re-populate itself (Rowe 1980, 496-497; Sider 2003, 1). After Confederation (1949), the inshore fishery declined more rapidly than the offshore fishery when the latter began using new trawler technology. This technology caught vast amounts of fish offshore before the fish were able to migrate inshore. Fishermen in Newfoundland's inshore fishery, therefore, saw a significant reduction in available fish ("Our Place in Canada" 2003, 104).

Another problem with the Newfoundland fishery was that its success was based almost exclusively just on cod. In 1951, a Royal Commission on Fisheries was created to research and recommend new ways to improve Newfoundland's fisheries. In January 1977, the Canadian government established a two-hundred-mile economic zone within which Canadians, including Newfoundlanders, could fish. The Canadian government could then control the fisheries with quotas, placing limits on the numbers and types of fish Newfoundland fishermen could catch (Rowe 1980, 496-497).

In the 1980s, scientists began to study the rate of recovery of the fish species caught and sold by the Newfoundland fishery. They found that the fish species off the Atlantic coast of Canada were in significant decline. This decline was both the result of overfishing by Newfoundland companies and an increase in foreign overfishing in both

Canadian and international waters. Finally, in 1992, the Canadian government declared a fishing moratorium due to the depleted state of Atlantic Canada's groundfish stocks. The government imposed strict quotas on the numbers, sizes, and species of fish caught. These restrictions increased further in 2003 when the remaining commercial and recreational cod fisheries were closed. With all these restrictions, the Newfoundland government estimates that over 30,000 people lost their main source of income, most living in rural Newfoundland, and that the Newfoundland economy suffered losses of over 600 million dollars annually ("Our Place in Canada" 2003, 104-105; Sider 2003, 1).

The post-Confederation resurgence of interest in the arts in Newfoundland (discussed earlier in this chapter) is often reflected as nostalgia for the rural Newfoundland life-style. The fishing moratorium of 1992 forever changed outport living in Newfoundland as many who could no longer earn a living from fish moved to larger towns and cities in search of work. "This social dismemberment...[left] a great many villages on the edge of collapse" (Sider 2003, 2).

The closure of the groundfish industry was a federal decision, and while the federal government worked to find sources of income for unemployed fisherman and those whose employment was related to the fishing industry, the provincial government felt an enormous burden in ensuring the social welfare of its people (Sider 2003, 31-33). This burden, and the fact that many Newfoundlanders blamed the federal government for their economic hardship, made it much more challenging for Newfoundland to find its place within the larger Canadian community.

The closure of Newfoundland's fishery was also devastating because by the early 1990s, the codfish had become an important symbol of Newfoundland culture and

identity. In her article about the iconography of codfish, folklorist Anna K. Guigné (1998) pointed out that not only was cod a food source and economic base for many Newfoundlanders, the fishery dictated everyday living in Newfoundland for many years, especially in the outports. Codfish was such a significant part of Newfoundland culture that it also became an important tool for marketing. For example, the *Downhomer*, a national Newfoundland magazine popular with displaced Newfoundlanders, uses the codfish in many of its advertisements and designs, providing a “forceful reminder of group identity and belonging” to Newfoundlanders living off the island (Guigné 1998, 24). In addition to advertisements, many traditional Newfoundland songs carry references to codfish and the hard life endured by those whose lives depended on the codfishery. Such references in music have led to the perception of Newfoundlanders as a “simple, uncomplicated and humorous fisherfolk” (Guigné 1998, 26). The traditional cod fishery has also become a focal point for the tourism industry because it is one of the ways in which Newfoundlanders define their cultural distinctiveness. Thus, Newfoundlanders often saw regulation of the codfish industry, such as the codfish moratorium in 1992, as attacks on Newfoundland culture (Guigné 1998, 31-33).

Newfoundland Today

Today, Newfoundland is still trying to determine how it fits into a larger Canadian context economically, politically, and culturally. It is an island whose residents have tremendous pride in their land and their culture (Our Place in Canada 2003), but some Newfoundlanders often feel slighted or neglected by the federal government.

Demographics

Following the closure of the Newfoundland fishery, the province's population growth has declined. As of October 1, 2005, Newfoundland and Labrador's population was 515, 591 with a close to zero population growth (ZPG). Furthermore, the growth rate does not, of course, take into account net out-migration.⁵¹ Therefore, not only are fewer people being born in the province compared to those that are dying, but large numbers of Newfoundland and Labrador residents are leaving the province in search of work. The 2001 Canadian Census reported the greatest net loss in two decades in Newfoundland and Labrador's population due to inter-provincial migration. Between 1996-2001, approximately 47,100 people left Newfoundland (6.1% of the population ages five and over), an increase in out-migration from the previous five year period which saw an out-migration of 4.3 percent of the province's population (Stats Canada: Biggest Net Loss). Most Newfoundlanders who left the province (1996-2001) were between 15-29 years old (22,000 people) followed by those between 30-44 years old (12,000 people) (Statistics Canada: Number of migrants and net migration rates by age group for Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996-2001). Toronto, Halifax and Edmonton receive the largest percentage of Newfoundland out-migrants (10.9%, 8.8%, and 7.6% respectively). Newfoundlanders are also migrating to Nova Scotia, Alberta and Ontario to work in the mining and oil industry (7.1% and 5.6% respectively) (Statistics Canada: Five top places of origin and destination for Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996-2001).

⁵¹ Therefore, the Rate of Natural Increase does not present an accurate picture of Newfoundland's population issues.

In 1951, more people lived in the rural areas of Newfoundland and Labrador than in urban areas. However, the decline of the fishery and the location of health and educational services have led to a rural-to-urban migration over the last fifty years. Now, 58 percent of Newfoundland and Labrador's population lives in urban areas. While the percent of the population in urban areas in Newfoundland is high relative to the other Atlantic provinces, this percentage is low compared to the rest of the Canadian provinces, where over 80 percent of the population lives in urban areas (Stats Canada: Population Rural and Urban by province and territory).

Economy

The most striking statistic regarding Newfoundland and Labrador's economy is the province's unemployment rate. In 2003, Newfoundland and Labrador reported an unemployment rate of 18.8 percent, the highest of all the Canadian provinces. In St. John's alone the unemployment rate was 9.1 percent. The 15-24 year age group saw unemployment rates of 26.6 percent between 1996-2001 (Statistics Canada: Biggest Net Loss). This statistic explains why this age group lost the most members to out-migration from the province. Many Newfoundlanders blame the high unemployment rates on the federal government's closure of the fisheries in 1992 (Statistics Canada: Unemployment Rates by Province).

Looking at the numbers of fish caught before strict quotas were enforced, one can understand why Newfoundlanders link unemployment to fishery closure. In 1990, Newfoundland caught over 245,000 metric tons of cod, two-thirds of the total amount of cod collectively caught by all of the Atlantic provinces. Newfoundlanders and

Labradorians caught more cod than any other type of fish, and the value of this catch in 1990 was \$134,600,000 Canadian Dollars (CD). In 2004, however, the Newfoundland and Labrador cod catch was only 14,000 metric tons, a total value of \$18,000,000 CD. Today, crab and shrimp dominate the Newfoundland fishery both in terms of tons caught and value (Canada Department of Fisheries and Oceans). In 1999, the fishery represented only 12.7 percent of Newfoundland and Labrador's Gross Domestic Product. By 2003, that percentage had been reduced to 10.7 (Newfoundland and Labrador Fishing and Aquaculture Industry Highlights 1999-2003).

In addition to the changes in the fishery, other aspects of Newfoundland and Labrador's economy have evolved. While mineral shipments (i.e. iron ore) in Newfoundland and Labrador declined in recent years, manufacturing, seafood production, and packaging industries have grown steadily since 1992. Oil production, which began in 1997, has also provided Newfoundland with a growing source of income (Newfoundland & Labrador Statistics Agency, November 30, 2005). Since Newfoundland and Labrador began its offshore oil industry, however, the federal government has received approximately 80 percent of the profits. Prior to 2005, Newfoundlanders strongly criticized the federal government's profit margin because it was lower than guaranteed by the Atlantic Accord.⁵² In the summer of 2005, however, Newfoundland and Labrador made major strides to regain their share of the profits. Premier Danny Williams successfully negotiated a return of lost oil profits to Newfoundland and Labrador and the restoration of Newfoundland as the oil industry's primary beneficiary. Through this

⁵² The Atlantic Accord stated that Newfoundland and Labrador would be the primary beneficiary of the oil reserves and profits.

negotiation, Newfoundland received close to \$6 billion CD in back payments and is guaranteed to receive almost 100% of the revenues from offshore industries (Atlantic Accord 2005).

Social Change

Social changes have accompanied economic changes in Newfoundland. One such social change concerns education of the province's population. According to the 2001 Census, 58 percent of Newfoundland's population had some education beyond high school, and approximately 10 percent have received a bachelor's degree or higher. Although Newfoundland's university enrollment is the second lowest of any province in Canada, the enrollment numbers relative to the population size and opportunities for higher education are satisfactory. These enrollment numbers have slowly increased over the last five years (Canadian Census 2001).

Newfoundland and Labrador's population has also seen negative changes in unemployment rates and average earnings. In 2001, the average earnings for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians over fifteen years of age was \$24,165 CD. This is comparable to the other Atlantic provinces, but lower than the national average for Canada (\$31,757 CD). On a national scale, Newfoundland and Labrador's unemployment rate remains the highest in the country (18.8%) (Statistics Canada 2003).

One statistic that many Newfoundlanders I met were quite proud of was the province's low crime rate. Newfoundland and Labrador's crime rate is surprisingly low

(6,320 crimes in 2004 per 100,000 population).⁵³ In fact, Newfoundland and Labrador had the second lowest crime rate in Canada in 2004 (Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, July 21, 2005). While many published statistics show an increase in violent crime in Newfoundland, three researchers at Memorial University, argue that violence in Newfoundland is not rising, but rather that the means of defining and reporting violence have changed (Leyton *et al.* 1992, 103).

Newfoundland and Labrador's long history of British influence is evident in both language and ethnicity. An overwhelming majority of Newfoundland's population uses English as a primary language. Of those who reported ethnic origin on the 2001 Census, 53 percent claimed to be Canadian, another 40 percent declared they were of English origin, and approximate 20 percent identified as Irish.⁵⁴

Due to the historical influence of both the English and the Irish in Newfoundland and Labrador, it is not surprising that Catholics and Protestants make up the two dominant religious groups in the province. The province of Newfoundland and Labrador contains approximately 303,000 Protestants and 187,000 Catholics. The western provinces also contain more Protestants than Catholics, but the numbers in these religious groups tend to be reversed in the eastern provinces. Only in Ontario are the numbers of Protestants and Catholics close to even (Canadian Census 2001). Particular sections of the island are known for the predominance of either Protestantism or Catholicism. These

⁵³ The only province whose crime rate is lower than Newfoundland and Labrador's is Ontario (5,702 crimes 2004 per 100,000 population). Crime rates are highest in the territories and western provinces. Newfoundland and Labrador fall below the national average of 8,051 crimes per 100,000 population (Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, July 21, 2005)

⁵⁴ These percentages add up to more than 100% because some respondents may have indicated they were of both Canadian and English origin perhaps to differentiate themselves from French-Canadians, and therefore were counted twice. Of Newfoundland and Labrador's 2005 population, 18,775 people reported they were of aboriginal origin.

areas often correspond to the predominance of Irish or English descents that live there. For example, many Catholic communities are located on the Avalon Peninsula along the Irish Loop where the Irish settled. Protestantism is dominant on the Bonavista Peninsula, which was settled by the English.

Another interesting cultural trend in Newfoundland is the apparent absence of English influence on the cultural landscape, especially in music. Despite the fact that approximately half of Newfoundland's population claims to be of English decent, the casual listener to traditional music in Newfoundland hears strong Irish influences. Political scientist Terry MacDonald (1999) suggests that one reason the Irish influences occupy the foreground of Newfoundland music stems from the publication of the Gerald S. Doyle songbook. Unlike other song collectors, such as Maud Karpeles, Cecil Sharp, Elizabeth Bristol Greenleaf, and Kenneth Peacock, who were not Newfoundlanders, Doyle was himself a Newfoundlander of Irish decent, and his ethnic associations may have influenced the songs that ended up in his collection. "Doyle certainly gave Newfoundlanders an image of themselves through song, and through songs that were, in spirit if not in fact, Irish" (MacDonald 1999, 184).

MacDonald also suggests that many traditional songs were common to both England and Ireland, but were popularized by the Irish Newfoundlanders, and thus became associated more with Irish culture than English (MacDonald 1999, 184-186). The one difference between English and Irish music traditions, however, was that English folk singing was largely unaccompanied, while Irish folk singing involved musical instruments, thus creating a distinct sound to the music. This sound was more appealing

to audiences, and its popularity helped move Irish music to a place of prominence over English music (MacDonald 1999, 187-188).

Finally, MacDonald suggests that the province's historically subordinate relationship with Great Britain influenced the preference for music with Irish roots over that with English roots, especially in regards to the political dimensions of Irish-influenced music. Newer trends in traditional music performance, such as faster tempos and additional instruments, have attracted fans both within and beyond the folk scene (MacDonald 1999, 188-189). One of MacDonald's interviewees referred to the "rampant Irish cultural imperialism" in Newfoundland's music (MacDonald 1999, 190). While there is music in Newfoundland that suggests a strong English influence, my own experience in Newfoundland has shown that the Irish influences in the local music are still quite strong. Everything from the names of pubs in St. John's that feature local music (Bridie Malloy's, Erin's Pub, O'Reilly's, O'Flaherty's) to musical groups themselves (Celtic Connection, The Irish Decendents) to the names of radio programs that feature local music (*The Irish Newfoundland Show*, *Jiggs and Reels*) indicates a vibrant Irish community in Newfoundland. Geography also plays a role, as the Avalon Peninsula is home to approximately two thirds of the island's population, and it is also the location of many Irish communities.

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador today faces certain challenges. Out-migration and its impact, especially in rural areas, is considered by the provincial government to be "the most significant social and economic challenge facing the province" (Our Place in Canada 2003, 35). Newfoundland and Labrador has lost 12 percent of its population since 1993, and a disproportionately large percentage of out-

migrants are young adults and families with young children. Newfoundland's population pyramid now has a narrow base, a result of both out-migration and declining birth rates. The government sees out-migration of its youth coupled with declining birth rates as a threat to Newfoundland's culture and identity (Our Place in Canada 2003, 37-38).

Another issue affecting the cultural and economic future of Newfoundland and Labrador is its natural resources. Until recently, the federal government was the principle beneficiary of revenue from offshore drilling. The recent repayment of oil revenues from the government back to the province has given Newfoundland and Labrador the opportunity to use the money for the many public improvement projects that the province needs to complete. How this money is allocated, and what projects are funded will have a lasting impact on the province's economy.

Despite these challenges, there are positive signs for economic and cultural growth in Newfoundland and Labrador. Broadband Internet access is now available in many rural areas and new investments are being made to improve Newfoundland's highways (Our Place in Canada 2003, 148-149). The tourism industry has grown, especially between 2003-2005. These years saw an increase in air (four percent) and cruise (41 percent) tourist traffic and expenditures in 2005 from 2003. Urban areas benefited more from this increase than rural areas, as automobile tourist traffic has decreased slightly due to increased gasoline prices and the falling American dollar. The government expects tourism rates to increase in the next few years, but admits that Newfoundland and Labrador's tourist economy is easily impacted by global events that affect tourist travel (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation Report 2005). Overall, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador hopes that Newfoundlanders can

pull together to meet some of the challenges facing the province, and that the province can improve its relationship with and place in the rest of Canada (Our Place in Canada 2003, 151).

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

When I began the dissertation research and writing process, I expected a linear experience: do background research, write and defend the proposal, conduct field research, write the results, and finally, defend the dissertation. After all, that was the process I followed for my (mostly quantitative) Master's thesis research. One of the biggest lessons I've learned in this project, though, is that qualitative research is far from linear, as ethnographer James Spradley (1980) suggests. Although I continuously move toward the goal of a finished product, I am constantly returning to previous stages, reflecting on what I learned, taking slightly different directions, going back and asking new questions of participants I have already interviewed, re-interrogating the transcripts of my interviews, and continually having informal conversations with people I meet that change how I think about my topic and the information I have learned. A dissertation in communications by Fay Yokomizo Akindes (1999) provides the best description of the research process: an ever-expanding spiral. The research continues to move forward by going back and reflecting on previous parts of the process, or weaving different parts of the process together. A spiral is more appropriate than a circle to describe the process because moving in a circle means one always ends up back where they started (see Spradley 1980). This is never the case in research because although the researcher may return to a research site, a participant, or an earlier part of the process, they return with all the new knowledge they gained in the meantime, and they return in order to get closer to the final product.

Because of the spiral effect of the research process, writing this chapter on methodology was quite difficult. My research experience was not linear, yet the typical

methodology chapter dictates that the researcher describe his or her methods as a series of steps.⁵⁵ While writing this chapter, I found myself struggling with the order in which to present parts of the process because many of them overlapped or occurred simultaneously. Furthermore, most methods chapters underemphasize the importance of reflection during the analysis stage. Therefore, in this chapter I describe the research tradition that guided the data collection and analysis process. Then, I address each of my three research questions (from Chapter One) in terms of the data collection techniques I used to answer each question. I also provide a brief reflection on the data collection process. The reflection process helps to revitalize the fieldwork process because it forces me, as the researcher, to think about myself and my writing (Brettell 1993, 1-3). It also helps readers understand *how* I approached my research topic, which inevitably leads to a more critical reading of my work (Cooley 1997, 10-11). Finally, I discuss how I analyzed the data collected.

Research Tradition

For the purposes of this research, I have chosen to do a case study of the Canadian Content regulations' influence on Newfoundland music broadcasting in the St. John's radio market. Education professor John Creswell (1998: 61) defined a case study as "an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context." Case studies are generally undertaken to identify shared ideas and conditions, and to examine

⁵⁵ Another term for this process is reconstructed logic. It refers to the fact that we do not experience research the same way we write about it.

these ideas and conditions in context (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith, 2002: 200). They are both a process and a product of inquiry (Stake, 2000: 436).

Case studies have many advantages. “They put the real lives of real people right at the center of explanation” (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2002, 201). In other words, case studies allow events and people to be viewed in context. This gives the researcher the opportunity to understand the case in the form of *thick description*, a term coined by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in 1973. That is, case studies can be used to explore the layers of detail and reasons underlying events and situations.

My research involves a single-case study: Newfoundland music that is broadcast on radio stations in the St. John’s radio market. This research is bounded in time (the period when I collect data) and space (the area shared by signals of all the radio stations in St. John’s, namely, the Avalon Peninsula). An intrinsic case study is appropriate here because I want to better understand the relationship between radio stations and their audience (Creswell 1998, 62). My study is also an instrumental case study because I use music radio listening and local identity to explore the larger issue of national media policies and globalization.⁵⁶ While radio technology in general is of interest, I am concerned with the St. John’s radio market in particular because of its unique programming trends, such as the attention paid to local music.

A case study allows for a number of different data collection techniques. These can include observations, interviews, documents, audio-visual materials (Creswell, 1998: 62), and presumably quantitative data (e.g. listenership by area). For my research,

⁵⁶ Intrinsic studies, according to Creswell (1998), are cases that possess something unique and therefore require study. Creswell compares intrinsic studies to instrumental studies, where the emphasis is on an issue, and cases are used to illustrate the issue.

interviews with my participants were the primary means of understanding how the Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio contributes to a sense of identity among listeners. Geographers Kate Bennett and Pamela Shurmer-Smith (2002) warn, however, that case studies based solely on interviews do not allow a researcher to study interaction between or among individuals. In order to understand the interaction between the St. John's radio market and the listeners and musicians, I collected documents and audio materials from the stations, observed the act of broadcasting, and, when possible, events within the Newfoundland musical community such as festivals, concerts, and performances in bars and clubs, and interactions among audience members. The "gatekeepers" with whom I worked were the station managers and program directors. Typically, these are the people who control how the music becomes part of the stations' music libraries and thus played by DJs.

Case study analysis allowed me to sort through the material to detect and interpret emergent themes, and present a detailed description of these themes. This was followed by a "thematic analysis" across all cases, and a chance to interpret the meaning of the data, and to report "lessons learned" (Creswell, 1998: 63). A thematic analysis of my field notes, observations, interviews, and documents collected "reveals the sensitivities and knowledge construction of a community, [and] shows the cultural transformations in action" (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith, 2002: 208).

This case study follows the qualitative research method as outlined by Australian geographer Ian Hay (2000). Hay refers to "participants" as "those who make up some of the elements of the case in question" (Hay 2000, 41). Participants in this study were

drawn from two groups of people: 1) radio personnel who were employed in various capacities at radio stations in the St. John's radio market and 2) radio listeners.

Collecting Data

One of the most important lessons I learned during this study was that informal methods of data collection are just as important as their formal counterparts. In the reflection section, I discuss some of the moments of informal data collection that influenced the results of this study. In this section, however, I address the formal data collection processes used to answer each of my research questions.

Question One

How does Newfoundland music achieve airtime on Newfoundland radio stations and how do the Canadian Content regulations influence programming in the St. John's radio market?

To understand the influence of Canadian Content radio regulations on the St. John's radio market, I interviewed the people responsible for adhering to the policy: the people who work in the radio stations. I had already determined that all the radio stations played local music to some extent. Canadian Content regulations only require that musical selections on radio be performed, composed, produced by *Canadian* citizens, but the policy makes no requirements regarding the broadcast of music by musicians of the province in which the station is located. Newfoundlanders are Canadian citizens, so the broadcast of music by Newfoundland musicians does fulfill Canadian Content requirements for radio stations. I wanted to know if the presence of local music on St.

John's radio stations was a result of Canadian Content requirements, larger forces such as globalization, or perhaps deep cultural ties to music.

Interviews with Station Personnel

I called this group of participants in my study "station personnel." These included station managers, program directors, and DJs of radio stations in St. John's. I interviewed station personnel to gather background information about each station and its programs and to understand how Newfoundland music became material for programming on St. John's radio stations.

Station personnel were contacted during the summer of 2005. I identified most individuals from station websites or by calling and e-mailing the station and asking to talk to the program director. In most cases, the program director was my initial contact with the station and he/she then referred me to DJs and others who are responsible for the Newfoundland music that is played on the radio. Twenty-two station personnel were interviewed (See Appendix B for interview questions), and the interviews were recorded with their permission.⁵⁷ Participants varied in age from their early twenties to early seventies. Twenty-seven percent (6) of my participants were female. I grouped my participants into two categories according to their job title. Nine of my participants (41 percent) were station managers, program directors, or music librarians. Thirteen (59 percent) of my participants were DJs. Thus, my first group of participants is responsible for obtaining and organizing the music that the station uses, and the second group of participants is responsible for actually putting the stations' music on the air.

⁵⁷ One interview was done over email, as that individual was not available to meet in person.

The following section describes the stations in the St. John's radio market from which I selected my participants.

Stations in the St. John's Radio Market

All of the stations in the St. John's radio market play some amount of Newfoundland music. Therefore, I selected participants from each station. Appendix C lists the radio stations in Newfoundland by owner and location. One might notice that all radio station call signs start with the letter "C" except four, which start with the letter "V." As early as 1922, the call letters for Canadian radio stations began with "C" or "10"⁵⁸ followed by either an "F," "H," "J," or "K," and then two letters that were unique to the station. Television stations also followed the same format. Stations were regulated by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation (CRBC), which bought some stations, until 1936 when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) took over. When this happened, CBC reserved the call letters "CB" for itself, so stations that once were owned by the CRBC received the new call letters, "CB" plus a third letter corresponding to the city or region where they were located. When radio technology was introduced in Newfoundland in the 1920s, the island was not part of Canada. Thus, Newfoundland stations did not need to adhere to the Canadian call letter guidelines. In the 1920s, the International Radio Convention assigned the call letters "VO" to all of Newfoundland's amateur and commercial radio stations. There were three stations operating in St. John's at this time: VOAR, VOCM, and VOWR. Upon Newfoundland's admittance into the

⁵⁸ The "10" stations were frequencies reserved for amateur radio and they were not allowed to broadcast commercials. There were originally ten of these stations, but all have obtained commercial licenses, so the "10" call signs no longer exist (CCF website).

Canadian confederacy, these stations were grandfathered in and permitted to retain their original call letters. Stations established after confederation, however, followed the Canadian guidelines (Canadian Communications Foundation Website).

It can also be observed from Appendix C that the geographic distribution of radio stations in Newfoundland is uneven. Of the stations in operation, 44 percent are based out of St. John's, including the two CBC stations and all the religiously based stations, while other towns are home to no more than 12 percent of the province's stations. St. John's is the provincial capital, and the province's largest city,⁵⁹ so it is understandable that many radio stations are concentrated there. The distribution of radio stations, however, does not match the population distribution, which is approximately 50 percent urban and 50 percent rural (EducationCanada.com). This uneven distribution of radio stations among the population implies there may be areas that do not receive signals from some of the province's stations. This study, however, focuses on the St. John's radio market, so listeners in both the rural and urban areas of my study have access to mostly the same radio signals.⁶⁰

Commercial Radio Stations

One corporation holds a majority of the commercial broadcast licenses in Newfoundland: the Newfoundland Capital Corporation (NewCap). NewCap is a private corporation owned by a native Newfoundlander, Harry Steele, and headed by his son,

⁵⁹ St. John's is more than three times the size of the next largest city, Cornerbrook, in population.

⁶⁰ The exception would be that the college radio station's signal does not reach beyond the city of St. John's, so listeners in the outports that I interviewed did not have access to this station. Also, listeners in Pouch Cove could pick up a VOCI station out of Cornerbrook that listeners in the other two places I visited could not.

Robert. Although the company has Newfoundland roots, it owns 44 FM stations and 29 AM stations across Canada, mostly second and third-tier stations in Alberta and Atlantic Canada. NewCap is headquartered in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. According to their website, NewCap is “one of Canada's leading small and medium market radio broadcasters” (NewCap website). An interview with Robert Steele in the Financial Post (Canada) portrayed the company as strong, growing, and not interested in mergers (Brent, Financial Post: June 17, 2004). Within the St. John’s radio market, NewCap owns four stations: VOCM-590AM, K-Rock 97.5FM (VOCM-FM), Hits 99.1 (CKIX), and Radio Newfoundland 930AM (CJYQ).

VOCM 590 AM (VOCM)

VOCM was the first commercial radio station in Newfoundland. These call letters, which stand for “Voice of the Common Man,” indicate that the station existed before Newfoundland’s confederation with Canada. VOCM-AM was opened by Joseph L. Butler and Walter B. Williams on October 19, 1936. The FM frequency was added in 1982. In May 2000, the AM station was sold to NewCap (VOCM Website). Today, VOCM has affiliates, or other stations and transmitters from which the St. John’s station broadcasts, across the province in Corner Brook, Grandfalls, Gander, Clarenville, Marystown and Carbonear.

VOCM-AM follows a news/talk format. The “Open-line” and “Night-line” talk shows hosted by VOCM-AM have become “legitimate venues for political communication, debate, and dialogue; utilized by both politicians and regular citizens alike” (Martin 2004, 3). These shows present a particular issue for debate, and then invite

listeners to call in with their comments. In addition, the Morning Show on VOCI is the morning show most listened to east of Montreal (MaGee Personal Communication 2005). VOCI's music format is contemporary country. In between spoken-word programming, the station will broadcast contemporary country music from the United States, mainland Canada, and Newfoundland. In addition, the station hosts the *The Irish Newfoundland Show* on Saturday mornings from 7am to 1pm where listeners can hear a fusion of Irish music and music from Newfoundland.

VOCI has traditionally been a center for radio communication between Newfoundland's isolated communities. Paul MaGee, VOCI's Program Director, described the station's purpose:

Many many years ago, there used to be a broadcast where we used to go on the air and broadcast messages from families to fisherman at sea 'cause they would be out there for long periods of time on the Grand Banks...That was all part of the magic of who we were and what we did, and that really hasn't changed. I mean, what we were able to do technically we are able to do better now than ever before, but we are still a community station...It's communities linking together through our media and hearing stories from Labrador all the way here to the Avalon [Peninsula]. VOCI has always been known as the information station...and 'community station' is our motto, and that's really what we are.

(MaGee Personal Communication 2005)

One of the modern-day examples of VOCI's role in connecting communities is the "Moose Alert." With no natural predators on the island moose are prevalent in Newfoundland, and accidents with moose are often fatal. VOCI started the Moose Alert to encourage people around the island to call in and report moose sightings as a way to warn other vehicles in the area to drive carefully. I can personally attest to the importance of the Moose Alert. Late one foggy evening, I was driving back to St. John's after

spending a day doing fieldwork in an outport community. I was listening to VOCM when a listener called in to report a moose on Route 10 near Brigas South. At that moment, I was driving on Route 10 near Brigas South. I immediately slowed down, and while I never actually saw the moose myself (the fog was very thick), I am confident that the report potentially saved me from a serious accident.

In addition to the obvious effects on safety, the Moose Alert is a testament to the prominence of VOCM in Newfoundland. Radio stations that carry alerts, weather reports, and public service announcements assume that many people listen to the station continuously. For example, the family with whom I lived during one of my summers in Newfoundland had their radio tuned to VOCM all day long. They liked to hear the local news reports, they enjoyed what people were talking about on the open-line shows, and the public service announcements allowed them to keep up with what was happening in the community. Many of the radio listeners I interviewed described similar scenarios in other homes. VOCM's community-oriented programming and their wide-spread popularity make the station truly the "voice of the common man."

VOCM-FM 97.5 (K-Rock)

K-rock is the FM station under the call letters VOCM. Like VOCM-AM, K-rock was also owned by Butler and Williams, and sold to NewCap in May 2000. The station's format is primarily music-based, playing contemporary hits and heavily tested classic rock aimed toward adults 25-54 years old (VOCM website).⁶¹ Like VOCM, K-Rock also

⁶¹ "Heavily tested" means that the music broadcast by the station has been tested with the station's desired demographic or audience (Campbell Personal Communication 2006).

has a radio show dedicated to Newfoundland music: *Homebrew*. The station broadcasts through the Internet and through transmitters across the island, although according to the Program Director, Internet broadcasting is not very important to the station's success (Campbell Personal Communication 2006).

CJYQ 930 AM (Radio Newfoundland)

Radio Newfoundland's name is indicative of its programming format. This AM station broadcasts 95 percent Canadian Content, and approximately 85 percent of that content is about Newfoundland. Radio Newfoundland was originally CJON and owned by two families. The network included both a radio and a television station. When the two families split, one took the radio stations (AM and FM) and changed the call sign to CJYQ. CHUM, the largest radio network in Canada, purchased CJYQ in the early 1980s. Finally, the broadcast license was purchased by NewCap in 1989 (Ash Personal Communication 2005).

When NewCap purchased CJYQ the company already owned the VOCM licenses (both AM and FM). CRTC regulations state that one owner in a medium size market could hold a maximum of three licenses within that market.⁶² With the purchase of CJYQ's FM and AM licenses, NewCap had to apply for special permission from the CRTC because they now held four radio broadcasting licenses. NewCap suggested to the CRTC that CJYQ-AM's format be 40 percent Canadian Content, and that 95 percent of the music played to fulfill that requirement was music from Newfoundland. Since the St.

⁶² According to the CRTC criteria, the St. John's radio market is a "medium sized" market. This is the third largest of the five market sizes designated by the CRTC and the CAB.

John's radio market did not have a significant radio outlet for Newfoundland music at the time, the CRTC granted NewCap permission to hold four licenses in the same radio market as long as CJYQ-AM's format was going to broadcast such a huge percentage of local content, specifically local music (Ash Personal Communication 2005). With this action, the station became known as Radio Newfoundland

Radio Newfoundland's format changed and evolved as its ownership changed. Top 40 hits was the station's original format. Later, the station became an Oldies station playing music of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s. Today, the station's format focuses almost exclusively on local and eastern Canadian music. According to the Program Director, the station well exceeds its 40 percent Canadian Content requirement by playing 95 percent Canadian Content, including approximately 85 percent Newfoundland music (Ash Personal Communication 2005).

In addition to its radio broadcasts, Radio Newfoundland also streams its programs over the Internet. The station's website serves solely as a portal for listeners to access the streaming server (no additional information such as programming or station information is available through the website). I know from personal experience that getting access to Radio Newfoundland's web broadcasts can be difficult at times due in part to both the popularity of the station and the limited bandwidth available.

CKIX 99.1 (Hits-FM)

Hits-FM is a relatively new station in the St. John's market. Like VOCM, K-Rock, and CJYQ, the station is owned by NewCap. Hits-FM was originally a country station, but its format was changed to a Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR) Top 40 format on

Canada Day (July 1st) 2002. Hits-FM is primarily a chart-driven station, meaning that the songs that get airtime on the station are songs that have sold a certain number of albums and are considered a hit on national and international charts. Chart-driven tunes can include rock and pop, urban, hip hop, rap, rhythm music, and dance music. The Newfoundland music show *Homebrew* originally aired on Hits-FM, but the station turned that show over to K-Rock recently because Hits-FM felt that a local show fit the K-rock format better. Some Newfoundland music does get played on Hits-FM, though. Groups such as Great Big Sea or the Novaks that have Top 40 Hits will get airtime on this station (McDonald Personal Communication 2005).

Hits-FM does broadcast over the web as well as on the airwaves. Unlike most of the other commercial stations, however, there is nothing on the Hits-FM homepage that connects the station to Newfoundland. There are references to national Canadian music news, but no references to the fact that the station's broadcasts originate from St. John's, Newfoundland.

CHOZ 94.7 FM (OZ-FM)

CHOZ, known as "The Rock of The Rock," went on the air in 1977. The station was born when the two owners of the Newfoundland Broadcasting Corporation split, and Geoff Sterling was approved for a St. John's FM radio station with transmitters across the province. The station is part of a multi-media operation that also includes the Newfoundland Herald newspaper and the television station NTV (Newfoundland Television) (O'Connell Personal Communication 2005).

Initially, CHOZ's format was country music, but after only three to four months the station changed its format to rock. CHOZ was the first FM commercial station in the St. John's radio market, and today it has transmitters across the province. As a result, CHOZ "has a warm place in the hearts of Newfoundlanders because it truly is a provincial station...That's one thing that people in Newfoundland know, they know OZ-FM" (O'Connell Personal Communication 2005). In other words, the fact that the station's signal reaches a large percentage of the island's population, and the fact that the signal has been received by listeners for so long has made the station's broadcasts a part of Newfoundland radio tradition.

CHOZ incorporates Newfoundland music into its broadcasts through the program *Jiggs & Reels*, which airs on Saturdays from 6am to 8am and Sundays from 6am to noon. This is an important timeslot in Newfoundland culture. Weekend mornings, especially Sundays, are important days for family and food. Programming Newfoundland music during this timeslot means that the station recognizes that a large number of people may be listening. The station promotes Newfoundland music on its website by selling a compilation CD of songs performed by Newfoundland artists. The station also provides links to stores that sell Newfoundland music, in addition to a link that allows listeners to listen to the station live over the Internet (CHOZ website).

The station's homepage references Newfoundland as well. It displays a radio control board in the foreground with a picture of the Emerald City in the background (a reference to the Wizard of Oz theme that evolved from the station's call letters), complemented with a Newfoundland flag and outline of the island. Some station

personnel are forefronted against a scenic Newfoundland background. This is especially true for Tony Hann, station programmer and host of *Jiggs & Reels*.

In addition, the station hosts a series of webcams in different locations around the city. Pictures from these cameras can be viewed on the station website and are updated frequently. Finally, the station website presents a series of links to the websites of various Newfoundland musicians' whose music listeners can hear on the station.

CKSJ 101.1 FM (Coast 101.1)

Coast 101.1 FM is Newfoundland's newest radio station, and the only commercial station owned by individuals, rather than a corporation. Andrew Newman and Andrew Bell were granted a license on June 3, 2003 in order to broadcast adult contemporary music aimed at the 24 to 54 age demographic. The station aired for the first time on February 12, 2004. Coast 101.1 follows an adult contemporary format with a focus on music of the 1980s, and to a lesser extent, music of the 1970s and music of today. The music broadcast is a mixture of both Canadian and American artists, but there is not any specific radio program specializing in local music. Newfoundland music is played on the station, but it is categorized as Canadian music (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005).

On the station's website, the station logo is set beside a night time picture of St. John's harbor and the downtown area. In addition to the station's nickname, which emphasizes its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, the station's motto, "From the Far East of the Western World: St. John's, Newfoundland," clearly connects listeners to the station's location (Coast 101.1 website).

Religious Radio Stations

VOAR 1210 AM (Voice of Adventist Radio)

VOAR is one of Newfoundland's pre-confederation radio stations. The station began broadcasting in late 1929, and celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2005. This station's license is owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, and programming focuses on Christian programming geared toward listeners who are 24 to 44 years old. Because the CRTC prohibits the promotion of a specific faith through radio broadcasting, VOAR's Christian approach is broadly defined and includes music, news, community programs and family issues programming (VOAR website).

Initially, the station served as an information distributor. Broadcasts included information for mariners, weather, news, church services, and some music. During the station's early years, music was performed live in the station's studio. Today, the station continues its tradition of broadcasting public service announcements and weather, but the Christian music that gets air time has a more contemporary sound than the music heard 70 years ago. VOAR calls their format "contemporary inspirational," which can include country, Southern gospel, some urban, some soul, some Celtic music, and even children's music, but not adult contemporary or Christian rock. The station no longer broadcasts live music and it has moved to a digital programming format (Griffen Personal Communication 2005).

In a larger Canadian context, VOAR is important because it is the largest Christian radio station in Canada in terms of the area the station's signal serves. The station has transmitters in twelve other locations across the island and two locations in Labrador. Furthermore, the Bell Express View channel 950 transmits the station's

programs across the country on an FM frequency that Bell television customers receive. This distribution is significant because Christian radio in Canada is far less common than Christian radio in the United States.⁶³ In fact, when Newfoundland joined confederation with Canada, VOAR and VOWR were the only Christian radio stations in Canada because the CRTC was not granting Christian radio licenses at that time (Griffen, Personal Communication 2005).

VOAR helps to connect listeners of Christian radio across the country to the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The station has transmitters across the province, enabling listeners to access Christian radio from many locations. VOAR also broadcasts over the Internet. VOAR's logo consists of the station's call letters centered between a dove on the left and an outline of sea gulls flying over water on the right (VOAR website). The logo not only implies the station's religious focus, but also indicates a connection to the sea that is so common in Newfoundland culture.

VOWR 800 AM (Voice of Wesleyan Radio)

VOWR began broadcasting on July 24, 1924 from St. John's. Although VOWR's broadcasting license is owned by the Wesley United Church (United Church), it is run entirely by volunteers and receives financial support in the form of donations from individuals, the business community, and various religious organizations. While the station's license is owned by the United Church, only about 20 percent of the station's programming is religious-based. Religious-based programming includes the broadcast of

⁶³ VOAR program director stated that there are less than 30 Christian radio stations in Canada, while there are over 1400 Christian radio stations in the United States (Griffen, Personal Communication 2005)

recorded church services, sacred music programs, and meditation programs. The other 80 percent of programming is comprised of a wide variety of musical genre broadcasts, including country, western, classical, popular, music from the 1940s and 1950s, and news, weather, hobby and local interest shows. Furthermore, VOWR broadcasts two shows every weekday that feature Newfoundland music: *Newfoundland Folk Sounds* and *Lunch Break*. Newfoundland music is also incorporated into other musical programs, and Newfoundland musicians are among the guest artists featured by the studio. Music broadcast on the station is not restricted to any specific theme. However, the United Church requests that VOWR not broadcast songs with references to drinking and liquor. In addition to requests by the United Church, the station also adheres to the 35 percent Canadian Content requirements set by the CRTC (Tessier Personal Communication 2005).

VOWR's website, while more simply laid out than other stations' websites, connects viewers to the station's role in the evolution of radio technology in Newfoundland, and to the province itself. Centered on the homepage is the Newfoundland provincial flag. In the top right corner, one sees an old-fashioned radio, indicative of the era during which the station began broadcasting. In the top left corner the station's call letters and broadcasting frequency are foregrounded against a radio tower, a microphone, a picture of Cabot Tower where the first trans-Atlantic radio signal was received, and a map of Newfoundland. This picture connects the station to the province itself, but also to radio heritage and the evolution of radio technology in the province.

Public Radio Stations

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is the largest public broadcaster in Canada, and refers to itself as one of Canada's largest cultural institutions. The CBC emerged from a movement in the 1920s toward a more participatory form of radio broadcasting in Canada. CBC/Radio-Canada made its first national broadcast on July 1, 1927. Its first programs were often educational in nature and included forums for public comment (Fairchild 2001). Today, the CBC is run by a board of governors, and reports annually to the Minister of Canadian Heritage in Parliament. The Canadian public also holds CBC/Radio-Canada accountable because public funds are used to support it. Eight national radio and television networks fall under its control, and information is brought to the public through the web, local stations and affiliates, the continuous music station *Galaxie*, and the digital television network *Country Canada*. Information is broadcast in English, French, and eight aboriginal languages with a focus on CBC-defined regional and cultural perspectives. According to their website, programming by the CBC is meant to "be predominantly and distinctively Canadian, reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression, and be in English and French reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community." The extent to which the CBC adheres to these objectives is evident by the station's 90 percent CanCon rating, which means that 90 percent of the content broadcasted by CBC stations is distinctly Canadian (arranged, composed/written, performed, produced by Canadians) (CBC/Radio-Canada website).

CBC Radio One (640 AM) and Radio Two (106.9 FM)

Newfoundland and Labrador are served by two CBC affiliate stations: CBC Radio One and CBC Radio Two. For the purposes of this study, which focuses on local music broadcasting in the St. John's radio market, only CBC Radio One is considered because CBC Radio Two carries only national programs, while CBC Radio One broadcasts a combination of national and locally produced programs.⁶⁴

In addition to local news broadcasts, CBC Radio One in St. John's hosts a series of other locally produced programs. The *Fisheries Broadcast* has historically been one of the most popular CBC radio shows, and, since its first broadcast in 1951, has become one of the oldest radio shows in North America. The show is dedicated to "covering stories about the fishing industry, reflecting the people and the communities that depend on the sea for their livelihood" (CBC website). Other examples of local programming includes shows such as *On the Go*, which features music and commentary from Newfoundland and Labrador, *Performance Hour*, which is a regional music program with an emphasis on Atlantic Canada, *Weekend Arts Magazine*, which highlights artists from Newfoundland and Labrador and their work, and *Musicraft*, a show dedicated to promoting music from the province.

True to its mandate that the signal "be made available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose," CBC Radio One in St. John's has transmitters across the province and allows listeners to stream CBC broadcasts over the Internet (*Broadcast Act 1991*). On the CBC

⁶⁴ My criteria for choosing listeners for interviews, as I explain later in this chapter, was that they had to be Newfoundlanders who listened to Newfoundland music on the radio. Technically, one who listened exclusively to CBC Radio Two would be excluded from my study. However, none of my listeners listened exclusively to only one station.

Newfoundland and Labrador website, the station name is foregrounded against icebergs floating along the Newfoundland coastline. Thus, listeners are connected to the province through what they hear, and if they access the CBC website, through the environmental images they see.

Campus Radio Stations

CHMR 93.5 FM (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

The CRTC designates CHMR as a community-based campus station. The station was born when a group of students from Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) started a radio club. Members put together a one-hour show that was occasionally broadcast on VOCI and through speakers on campus. CHMR started out broadcasting on an AM frequency, but they received an FM license in 1987. Today, the signal reaches the city of St. John's and surrounding areas through the FM signal and on cable FM. Like other radio stations, CHMR has one weekly show, *Upon This Rock*, that features exclusively Newfoundland music from a variety of genres. *Songwriters* is another show where Newfoundland musicians have been featured in conjunction with musicians from other places. In addition to these two shows, DJs incorporate music from Newfoundland into other shows as well.

In terms of streaming services over the Internet, CHMR is no exception. Listeners can hear the station's programs through streaming audio on the station's website.

CHMR's website does not contain specific pictures connecting the station's broadcast location to Newfoundland, but the subtitle of the website reads "Campus and Community

Radio in St. John's, NL, Canada," which lets viewers know immediately that the station is a Newfoundland station.

In addition to interviewing radio station personnel from the St. John's radio market, I also spent two weeks at the CRTC offices in Gatineau, Quebec (located across the river from Ottawa). The CRTC gave me some research space on the floor of their building where those in charge of Canadian Content regulations worked. During these two weeks, I did extensive research in the CRTC's radio library and interviewed people at the CRTC who were involved in writing, interpreting, and enforcing the Canadian Content regulations for radio. Interviews with CRTC employees were semi-structured (See Appendix B) and all were conducted in the CRTC offices in Gatineau or over the phone. Interviewees were selected based on their job and role pertaining to Canadian Content regulations for radio. Interviews with CRTC employees helped me understand the administrative side of Canadian Content regulations and what the CRTC employees thought was the purpose and mission of the regulations.

Question Two

How does the Newfoundland content (especially music) broadcast on the radio influence the construction of a Newfoundland national identity?

Answering this question requires the researcher to focus on those who listen to Newfoundland music on the radio. I wanted to know how the listening audience received these broadcasts, why they listened to them, and what role radio played in their everyday lives.

The Radio Audience

To answer my local scale question, I interviewed radio listeners. My main purpose for interviewing listeners was to determine the role the radio played in contemporary Newfoundland culture, and if (and to what extent) the Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio contributed to a Newfoundland national identity among listeners interviewed. Music and radio listening have individually been important aspects of Newfoundland culture (see Chapter Five). I wanted to learn how Newfoundlanders interpreted the combination of music and radio through music broadcasts.

Including listener interviews in this study is critical because other studies on radio, culture, and globalization have been criticized for ignoring the demand side of the radio industry (Terry 2004). In-depth interviews are more effective in this study because Newfoundland's literacy rate is only 66 percent. In conversations with experts at Memorial University, it was suggested that a widespread survey in Newfoundland would skew the results toward the literate population, when, in fact, radio may be even more influential among those who cannot read.

Communications scholar Andrew Crisell (1994) stated that the first step in radio audience research is to define the audience. Defining the audience can be problematic because the audience of radio, unlike the audience of a play for example, is not always "captive" (p. 220). Crisell also spoke of problems in determining audience size because the audience for radio can include all within earshot of the broadcast, regardless of whether or not they are consciously listening. Audience size is not of primary concern in this study, however, because I am interested in comparing the experience of radio listening for three groups of listeners in different locations.

British scholar in media and cultural studies, Andrew Ruddock (2001), asked the question, “Why should we care about audiences?” (Ruddock 2001: 19). Mass media can have profound effects on those who consume it. While the effects are different for different people (Ryan and Wentworth 1999: 48), the source, such as radio or television, is incredibly powerful because of the number of people its broadcasts reach. Kottack (1990) posits that in Western society, at least where television is concerned, there is no longer such a person as a “non-viewer.” Mass media can influence social policy, for example, because it controls the manner in which some political issues are debated and discussed (Ruddock 2001: 20). Broadcast schedulers, media owners and advertisers all need to know the size and composition of their audience. Changing technology, increased opportunities for viewing, and industry competition are all factors that have contributed to the growth of audience measurement data. Studies of mass media audiences benefit schedulers, owners and advertisers because they show how these factors affect consumers (Kent 1994: 1-3). While most of this data is quantitative, my study adds qualitative data about the consumers of radio broadcasts to the mix.

For most people, radio listening has become a secondary activity in everyday life (Berland 1994, 174-75; Crisell 1994: 223). Listening to music on the radio no longer requires one to devote complete attention to it. Recalling what was heard on the radio (i.e. the time, place, or particular program) is often difficult for audiences because what they hear on the radio is often in the background of activity. More so than television, radio stations need to “establish an identity over and above their individual program material for people to realize that they are listening to a particular service and to develop loyalty” (Twyman 1994: 88-89). This is especially true of music radio for listeners who are not

able to consume new music by attending dance clubs where new music is often played. Straw (1993) speaks of this in his article on rock and roll. The lifestyle of suburban music consumers in Straw's study did not include the consumption of music through the club scene. Newfoundland radio listeners are also vulnerable to the hegemony of the radio stations because radio is often the only way people in the isolated out port communities hear new music. There is a certain amount of consumer sovereignty, though, in the radio industry. If listeners do not like what they hear, they can turn the radio off or complain to government authorities, which could result in a loss of ad revenues for stations.

Radio technology has historically been consumed differently by men and women. Moores (1993) interviewed elderly people in the United Kingdom to determine the perceptions and uses of radio technology upon its introduction to the home. To men, it was a toy, and men often became focused on methods to improve radio reception. Women, on the other hand, initially saw the radio as unattractive and as a distraction for men until the physical appearance of the receivers changed in the 1930s enough for it to fit into the décor of the traditional living room. Soon after, programs were scheduled around the imagined, stereotypical housewife's routine (Moores 1993: 79-83).

In Canada today, radio broadcasts reach 92.9 percent of the population over age twelve, and the average listener spends 22 hours a week with the radio turned on. Listening hours of teens show no particular pattern between weekdays and weekends, while both men and women over 18 have a much higher percentage of listening time during the week as compared to the weekend. Ontario and Quebec have the largest shares of the country's listening hours, but listeners in these provinces also have more choices for listening available. Atlantic Canada, which includes Newfoundland and Labrador,

account for an eight percent share of Canada's listening hours. Full time workers spend the greatest amount of time listening to the radio, as do women over 50 years old (BBM Fall Survey 2002). While these statistics give an idea about Canadian radio listening audiences in general, they do not indicate to which types of programs (i.e. music, news, educational broadcasting, etc) Canadians are listening.

Music, especially when uninterrupted by commercials, is essential to Canadian radio in their effort to maintain an audience in an era dominated by television. Initially, record/DJ format in radio developed because it was cost effective, but it also developed because this presentation of music attracted a younger (and newer) audience. FM radio stations, which had excellent transmitting technology, came to the forefront of the effort to attract audiences by playing music with fewer interruptions than was typical in AM radio. This format helped to "construct and define the groups most attractive to radio's advertisers: younger adults in urban areas" (Berland 1994: 174-175).

Radio broadcasting in Canada has been an important medium through which Canada has tried to establish a national identity centered on music. Studies such as that by the Bureau of Broadcasting Management have shown that Canadians across the country still spend a good deal of time listening to the radio. Through radio, the Canadian Content regulations give Canadians an opportunity to express their "Canadian-ness."

Returning to Ruddock's (2001) question that began this section, we care about audiences of mass media because as active participants, the audience can tell us how they consume and are influenced by media technology.⁶⁵ Through conversations with listeners,

⁶⁵ I note here that the idea of "consumer sovereignty" is flawed, as stations do not always give people what they want, at least in a larger context. Take Canadian Content, for example. Stations are required by law to

we as researchers can extract differences in consumption, whether these are differences in uses of the radio, gender differences, differences in locations, or different demographic characteristics. This study will provide an in-depth look at the differences and similarities among listeners' response to local music broadcasting in Newfoundland.

Listener Interviews

For the purpose of this study, listeners are defined as those who make a conscious decision to listen to Newfoundland music on the radio at least two times a month, which indicates they listen with moderate regularity.⁶⁶ I conducted phenomenological interviews with 25 listeners. Phenomenology was the best method to use in this case because I was interested in the underlying meanings of listeners' lived experience with the everyday activity of radio listening (the phenomenon) and the meaning they apply to what they hear on the radio (Creswell 1998 52-53; Gubrium and Holstein 2000 488).

The purpose of phenomenological interviews is to describe the phenomenon under investigation rather than predict or control it (Peacher 1995). During a phenomenological interview, the researcher asks the participant to describe his or her experiences with the phenomenon being studied. The participant then decides which experiences to share with the researcher. Thus the interview becomes sensitive to the participant's perspective, rather than the researcher's perspective (Peacher 1995). When I interviewed listeners, I began our "conversations" by saying, "Would you tell me about some of your experiences listening to

broadcast 35% Canadian Content regardless of whether or not the listeners want to listen to music by Canadians.

⁶⁶ With the exception of one station that plays 85% Newfoundland music, and the stations that occasionally throw in a song by a Newfoundlander during prime time broadcasting, most of the Newfoundland music (by station definition) on the radio is played during a particular show at a specific time. This implies that most of those who listen to the show do so for a specific purpose and not just simply for background music.

Newfoundland music on the radio?” Subsequent questions followed as I asked participants to expand on or clarify information they told me. This method of interviewing allows aspects of the participant’s everyday life to be brought into the foreground, while other aspects become part of the background. The researcher’s role is to derive themes or patterns from the foreground and background content (Peacher 1995).

Participants in phenomenological studies are treated holistically. In other words, the temporal and spatial contexts from which the participant speaks are often as significant as what the participant says (Peacher 1995). Before beginning the recorded interview, I asked my participants to complete a short questionnaire (See Appendix D). The questionnaire helped me learn specific details about the participant’s listening habits. These details added context to the participant’s responses. Many times I interviewed participants in their homes. This opportunity allowed me to make observations that gave clues to the participant’s lived experiences and helped me to better understand their perspective. For example, I interviewed one couple in their living room. Looking around, I noticed pictures of their children (it appeared they had four). These pictures were placed on the piano. This arrangement told me that music was important in this family, and that many, if not all of the family members were musicians. The way that the children’s pictures were associated with the piano made the instrument the focal point of the living room. The piano became a symbol connecting family and memories with music. Later, the couple told me that all of their children were musicians, and that making time and financial arrangements for music lessons when the children were growing up was a top priority. Interviewing the couple in their home allowed me to add context to their interviews because I could see the role that music played in their lives. This helped me to further understand why hearing Newfoundland music on the radio was important to them.

Before beginning phenomenological interviews, I participated in a bracketing interview. The purpose of a bracketing interview is to uncover beliefs, attitudes or biases that may influence my interpretation of the phenomenon (Peacher 1995). Another researcher, usually one who is familiar with phenomenological methods, conducts bracketing interviews. Bracketing interviews can reveal how the researcher being interviewed is connected to the phenomenon, how the researcher's personality may influence the selection of the phenomenon or the information gathered, how the researcher's values might influence the investigation, and what gains the researcher might be seeking by investigating the phenomenon in this way (Colaizzi 1978, 55).

My bracketing interview was conducted by Dr. Susan Speraw, a professor in the School of Nursing at the University of Tennessee. She was familiar with my research project through discussions in UT's phenomenology group meetings. After my bracketing interview, I transcribed the conversation and presented the transcript to the UT phenomenology group. The results of the group analysis revealed that I had clear assumptions that my work was unique, that Newfoundlanders feel certain ways about their relationship to Canada, and that radio listeners in Newfoundland are passionate about music because I am passionate about music. While conducting listener interviews in Newfoundland, I needed to be careful not to coerce listeners into talking about music on the radio when their discussions digressed to other music venues. I also needed to be careful not to draw out statements about cultural identity on the part of listeners, but rather let the listeners divulge that information on their own.

Phenomenology has a very narrow range of sampling strategies (Creswell 1998, 118). In phenomenology, sample selection is purposeful. Listeners in this study were chosen by snowball or chain sampling, which "identifies cases of interest from people who know other

people with relevant cases” (Hay 2000, 44). It is used when members of the population to be studied are difficult to find (Babbie 1998, 195). Social science researchers have cautioned against the use of snowball or chain sampling because it often does not produce a representative sample (Babbie 1998, 196). This snowball process of sampling is, however, appropriate for phenomenological studies because participants must be “carefully chosen to be individuals who have experienced the phenomenon” (Creswell 1998, 55). They also must be willing to talk to a researcher about the phenomenon (Thomas and Pollio 2002, 30). Careful selection of participants will ensure a sample that is information-rich. In addition, my experience with Newfoundland culture has told me that Newfoundlanders respond well to, and cooperate much more with, individuals who are referred to them, or with whom they have face-to-face contact. Chain sampling allowed me to account for this cultural trait. The listeners in my research were derived from multiple chains, which allowed for the greatest variation in my sample.

Twenty-five listeners from both rural and urban areas were interviewed.

Historically, there has been some cultural division between the rural communities (outports) and the urban areas (specifically St. John’s) in Newfoundland (Macleod 1999). At this time, about half of the population of Newfoundland and Labrador lives in rural communities. Considering this fact, it was important to account for listeners in both rural and urban communities within the St. John’s radio market. The city of St. John’s represents the urban area, and the outport communities of Pouch Cove and Ferryland represent the rural communities (See map in Appendix B). St. John’s was chosen because it is the center for radio broadcasting in the province, and the largest city. The two outport communities, Ferryland and Pouch Cove, were chosen based on recommendations from

faculty at Memorial University of Newfoundland and contacts I made in those communities prior to data collection.

Ferryland

Ferryland is a community of 630 people (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001) and is located in a vernacular region called the Southern Shore, a region whose residents are known for their strong ties with Ireland and Irish culture. The average personal income for Ferryland residents is \$18,500 Canadian Dollars (CD), just slightly below the provincial average (\$19,800 CD). Thirty-four percent of the incomes earned in Ferryland rely on government transfers, such as Canada Pension, Old Age Security, Employment Insurance, and social assistance, although this percentage has declined seven percent since the fish moratorium in 1992 (Statistics Canada: Canada Customs and Revenue Agency- Small Area and Administrative Data Division). Like many outport villages in Newfoundland, Ferryland lost 16 percent of its population between 1996-2001. Yet in 2000, employment rates in Ferryland (89 percent) were 15 percent above the provincial average (74 percent) (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001). This is possibly due to the tourist traffic that Ferryland experiences during summer months. Ferryland is located along Route 10, also called The Irish Loop, and the residents are predominantly Roman Catholic. Tourists from St. John's come to Ferryland for lighthouse picnic lunches, the dinner theater, whale watching, and the archeological site tours.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ This information can also be viewed on the Community Accounts website for Ferryland.

Pouch Cove

Pouch Cove is located at the tip of the Avalon Peninsula that it shares with St. John's. Its population (1,685 persons) is more than twice that of Ferryland, and Pouch Cove lost fewer residents (11%) between 1996-2001 than did Ferryland (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001). Although the town is located only one-half hour from the city, Pouch Cove functions as a rural enclave and was once a prominent fishing community. Despite its proximity to St. John's, however, the average income in Pouch Cove (\$17,600 CD) is lower than the income in Ferryland, and approximately \$2,000 CD lower than the provincial average. Fewer residents of Pouch Cove, though, rely on government transfers for income (only 21%) than do residents of Ferryland (Canadian Revenue Agency). This is surprising, considering Pouch Cove's employment rate (70%) is four percent below the provincial average (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001). Today, many residents of Pouch Cove commute to St. John's for work, but the town maintains a separate identity. The Irish influence is present in Pouch Cove also, but not to the extent it is present in Ferryland. Pouch Cove contains a mixture of Protestants and Catholics.⁶⁸

St. John's

The provincial capital of St. John's represents the urban area of my study. The city, with a population of 100,995, is the center for political, financial, and economic activity in the province. As a result, while the entire province has lost seven percent of its

⁶⁸ This information can also be viewed on the Community Accounts website for Pouch Cove.

population since 1996, the city of St. John's experienced only a one percent loss (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001). Because of the concentration of economic activity in St. John's, there is also an abundance of skilled labor. This explains the average income in St. John's of \$24,900 CD is well above the provincial average of \$19,800. Also, a lower percentage of the population (14 percent) rely on government transfers compared to the two outport communities (Canadian Revenue Agency). St. John's employment rate (76 percent) is only two percent above the provincial rate and is much lower than the both Ferryland and Pouch Cove (Statistics Canada: Canadian Census of Population 2001). The city serves as a point of agglomeration for unemployment services. Those without a job may, therefore, come to St. John's in search of employment and to take advantage of benefits. Among the economic activity that clusters in St. John's, the city is also home to the largest university in Atlantic Canada, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and St. John's serves as the center for the province's media industries. All of the radio stations included in this study are based in St. John's.

The communities of Ferryland and Pouch Cove are located within the St. John's radio market, which means all listeners in these towns are able to receive most of the same radio station listening options. Listeners in St. John's, Ferryland, and Pouch Cove were asked phenomenologically-worded questions and the interviews were recorded with their permission.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Howard Pollio (1997) suggests that the researcher has done enough interviews when no new themes emerge, and when there is considerable repetition of the same themes. I experienced this repetition after seven or eight interviews in each community.

During my interviews with listeners, establishing rapport, a process described by ethnographer James Spradley (1979), was very important. Spradley suggested that the process of gaining rapport with an interviewee (p.79-83) is linear and involves four stages: apprehension, exploration, cooperation, participation. During the first stage, the interviewer tries to put both herself and the participant at ease. Since I interviewed many of my participants in their homes, I often did this by asking them about pictures I saw on the walls. My participants tried to do the same, usually by offering me tea. As interviewer and participant come to better know each other, the exploration stage is reached. During this stage, it is important that participants do not feel obligated to participate. In my fieldwork, many of my participants invited me to family events or talked to me in an informal setting before agreeing to an interview. For them, this was the period of exploration where they were trying to decide if I was a person who could be trusted. Cooperation is reached when the participant agrees to let the researcher interview them. The final stage, participation, usually occurs when the participant takes a more active role in the interview process and assumes the responsibility of teaching the researcher.

Question Three

How do changes in radio technology and the globalization of media and music influence local radio broadcasting, and what do these changes mean for cultural policies that govern media?

To answer my third research question, I asked the station personnel and CRTC employees questions regarding the influence of technology on radio broadcasting (see Appendix B). In addition, I considered the answers to questions asked pertaining to my second research question because simply the existence of Canadian Content regulations

implies that music, media and technology are impacted by globalization. Otherwise, there would be no reason to protect and preserve Canadian music in the first place. No new participants were interviewed to answer the third research question. Rather, the answers from interviews already conducted were analyzed for themes relating to the influence of technology and globalization in radio broadcasting and cultural policy.

Methods of Analysis and Interpretation

Through interviews with station personnel and listeners, observations at the radio stations, the collection of documents pertaining to the radio airplay of Newfoundland music, and participant observation at musical events in the province that feature Newfoundland music, I shed light on the different definitions of “Newfoundland music.” Furthermore, this study determines how the music broadcast on the radio that fulfills Canadian Content requirements contributes to Newfoundlanders’ national identity.

All data collected were analyzed for common themes they share. Two research assistants and myself transcribed all tape-recorded interviews, and I then performed a manifest content analysis on the transcripts. A manifest content analysis assesses surface level information. Next, I coded the transcripts through latent content analysis, which involves looking for themes within and between transcripts (Hay 2000, 76-77). I coded each transcript individually, which allowed for multiple levels of coding (Jackson 2001). This method of content analysis helped to identify themes and ideas within each interview transcript, while paying close attention to patterns such as frequency of occurrence, phrasing, and the use of particular words or phrases. Then, coded interviews were compared within each of the two groups of participants (listeners and station

personnel). Listeners were subdivided into groups based on location (urban/rural), gender, age, and religious affiliation, and I analyzed their responses within and between each group.⁷⁰ Finally, I compared coded listener interviews with station personnel interviews to ferret out possible differences between the expressed purpose/s of the “message” (Newfoundland music) and its reception/interpretation by the various publics (urban vs. rural, male vs. female, Protestant vs. Catholic, etc.). Coding and comparisons helped to build a picture of the networks and influences between radio station personnel and radio listeners. It is important to keep in mind that such a picture is not fixed, but is rather one whose issues evolve and change (Crang 2001).

Reflections on the Fieldwork Process

I wanted to provide a brief reflection on my fieldwork experiences because I find that many qualitative research method books spend a lot of time on theory and process, but little time on the reality and challenges of finding participants, conducting interviews, and interpreting data. In this section, I highlight some of the challenges I faced in my own qualitative research and some valuable lessons that I learned.

When fellow scholars ask me at what point I started doing fieldwork, I am often torn as to what answer to provide. Technically, I officially began collecting data during the summer of 2005. It was at that point that I had received approval from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Tennessee to use human subjects in my

⁷⁰ Group 1: urban listeners (those who reside in St. John’s). Group 2: rural listeners (those who reside in Pouch Cove and Ferryland).

research. They approved my methods, questionnaires and consent form shortly before I traveled to Newfoundland to start interviews.

The real beginning of the research process, however, was either my first substantial trip to Canada during the summer of 2002, or my first trip to Newfoundland during the summer of 2003. As a geographer, I am never really “on vacation” (or “on holiday” as they say in Newfoundland) because I am always observing the landscape, looking for patterns, asking questions, talking to people, and collecting materials and pictures to use in my classes. My first trips to Canada were certainly no exception. During my first trip to Newfoundland I spent time talking to residents, tried to understand what it was like to live in Newfoundland, listened to the radio, and listened to Newfoundland music. Some of the conversations I had during this and other trips shaped my current research project. In other words, the research process is not just the act of doing official interviews. I believe all the other experiences, in addition to the interviews, are an essential part of fieldwork.

The essentiality of all my experiences in the field to the general overall understanding of Newfoundland culture became very clear during one particular interview. I had arranged to interview Brian Keough, a retired teacher and resident of Ferryland, Newfoundland. “Brian likes to talk,” I was warned by other people in town who knew him. I arrived at his home at approximately 2pm, set up my tape recorder, went over my consent form speech, and launched into the interview. The interview went well, and when it appeared that Brian had nothing more to say (about 40 minutes after I turned on the tape recorder), I thanked Brian and turned the machine off. It was then that I *really* started to learn. With the tape recorder off, Brian seemed to feel freer. He talked

much more candidly, told me stories about growing up, showed me art work around his house he had collected because it “spoke to him” about the Newfoundland experience. The same type of thing happened with other interviews I did. After I turned the tape recorder off, my participants really began to open up. While the tape recorder was a tool for me to record data and analyze it later, the recorder was, at the same time, a hinderance as it intimidated some of my participants and indirectly restricted what they told me when it was running.

I ended up spending almost three hours at Brian’s house. I realized two things during that experience. First, I realized that I needed to schedule a lot of time in between interviews. Just because the official interview only lasted 30-40 minutes didn’t mean I would be out of the participant’s house in under an hour. Second, and most importantly, I realized that the information I gathered before and after the recorded interview was just as relevant as the information that ended up on the tape. My experience interviewing Brian forced me to consider the rest of the fieldwork experience in a new light. Everyday I was learning something relevant, regardless of whether or not I completed an official recorded interview. Activities such as reading Newfoundland literature, visiting museums, listening to the radio, listening to music, attending folk night at the Ship Inn, going to festivals, and engaging in casual conversations with faculty at Memorial University, students, and random people I met were all important parts of the research process. To understand the role of Newfoundland music on the radio in constructing a Newfoundland national identity, I had to understand Newfoundland culture. Without being a Newfoundlander, I will probably never completely understand the culture, but these experiences further molded my knowledge of Newfoundland and its people.

Fieldwork is never easy. It might be fun, but it also takes time, energy and patience as unexpected challenges arise. One such challenge in my experience was finding people who listened to Newfoundland music on the radio and were willing to talk about it. It was not that people in Newfoundland do not listen to the radio. In fact, the situation in Newfoundland is quite the opposite. Rather, the challenge I faced was that I was studying a common, everyday activity. Yes, people listened to the radio. But, radio listening was so natural that many of them did not see anything special about it. When I would ask someone if I could interview them, I often got responses like, “oh, you don’t want to interview *me*! I really couldn’t tell you anything that would help.” I thought about the research topics that members of the Phenomenology Group at the University of Tennessee were working on: the experience of being a nurse and losing a patient, the experience of living with a disability, the experience of being male in a female-dominated environment. All these topics identified participants because that individual had experienced something that made them exceptional. The phenomenon I was studying was so ordinary that those who experienced the phenomenon often did not recognize their position in relation to it.

I did end up completing the interviews I needed, but I know that I probably missed out on some quality conversations with people whom I could not convince that they really did have something to share.

Another challenge I faced was dealing with the expectations of my participants regarding what they thought an “interview” would entail. When I approached the people who would become my first few participants, I asked if I could “interview” them. I soon learned that they expected me to ask a series of short answer questions. These

participants appeared caught off guard when I asked them my broad, phenomenological question that was purposefully not that specific. I usually had to probe them with more focused, less phenomenological, questions to get them started. After I noticed this trend, I started to use the word “conversation” instead of “interview.” I would approach a potential participant and, after talking with them, ask them if there was “a time we could get together and have a conversation about listening to the radio.” I found that participants had fewer pre-conceived notions about “conversations,” and they were more willing to talk at length.

The other challenge I faced interviewing was that my participants were keenly aware of how much they talked, and were often apologetic about rambling. One participant in particular would stop in the middle of a (good) thought, apologize for rambling, and tell me to ask her a question. This was frustrating for me because I *wanted* my participants to talk with little prompting. When a participant would stop talking and apologize, I would usually say that there was nothing to apologize for, that they were doing great, and what they were saying was very helpful. I would then try to get them back on track by saying, “Now you were just telling me about...”

Finally, one of the most important lessons I learned while doing fieldwork was that even the most seemingly insignificant and inconvenient event can be important. It was approximately 11pm one evening, and I was staying at a bed and breakfast in a Newfoundland outport. The weather was typical Newfoundland weather: foggy and damp. I was curled up in full pajama regalia in my bed with a good mystery novel when the phone rang. The owner of the bed and breakfast brought me the phone, and I took it, trying to imagine who would be calling me there at that hour. The call was from a

neighbor inviting me over to another resident's home where, evidently, some Newfoundland music was being performed. In all honestly, I truly did not feel like going. I was tired, cold, and had an early interview the next day. But, the caller had put me in touch with some excellent interviewees, and I knew he was just trying to help me with my research. So, I donned some jeans and a heavy sweatshirt and walked over to the "party." Shortly, I arrived at the designated home and was invited in through the kitchen, an important point of arrival for me, as Newfoundlanders do not often allow strangers to enter through the kitchen. I sat down at the table with three older men who were not very sober. Two other not-so-sober men, including the one who had invited me, sat nearby. The only other female present was the wife of one of the men. In any other place, I would have felt very uncomfortable and intimidated, but not in Newfoundland. All the Newfoundlanders I met were very genuine people, confident about who they were, but not to the point of being overbearing. As a result, I felt very much at ease with them, like the feeling one gets from visiting a relative they have not seen for some time. The evening under discussion was no exception.

The evening turned into a classic situation where I was reminded how much my participants could teach me. Sitting among these men, I was very much the student of Newfoundland culture. One of the men in the group had his guitar on his lap, and the five men collectively took it upon themselves to sing me (and teach me) every fishing moratorium song they knew. As you can imagine, songs about the fishing moratorium are not exactly the feel-good songs of the year. What was important about these songs, however, was that many of them had been mentioned by people I had interviewed, but at the time I was interviewing, I wasn't familiar with the song. On this particular night,

though, I not only got to hear the songs that had come up in my interviews, but the intimate setting allowed me an opportunity to reflect on the lyrics and the story that the song told. I also had the opportunity to ask this group of men about phrases and words in the songs that are part of Newfoundland culture, but that as an outsider I did not understand.

Summary

This chapter outlined the methods for data collection and analysis employed in my dissertation. It also presented descriptions of the radio stations and towns in Newfoundland that served as study sites. Chapters Five, Six and Seven discuss the results from my interviews and observations. Results are organized by theme. The next chapter addresses the producer side of radio broadcasting by examining the process by which Newfoundland music becomes material for broadcasts, and how Canadian Content regulations influence station personnel's music choices.

CHAPTER FIVE: NEWFOUNDLAND MUSIC BROADCASTS AND CANADIAN CONTENT REGULATIONS

I remember my first official interview that I did for this project. I had arrived in St. John's a few days earlier, and I was anxious to get started with my fieldwork. Prior to arriving, I had made a list of station personnel I hoped to interview, leaving some room for additional interviewees that were recommended by my participants. The CBC Radio One station in St. John's was my first stop. After perusing the station's website for a few minutes, I found what I was looking for: *Weekend Arts Magazine* host Angela Antle's email address. I fired off an email explaining who I was and requesting an interview. Angela responded almost immediately. "Sure, I'd love to do an interview," she replied. "How about 3:30pm today?" "Wow," I thought. "That was easy! I hope all my interviews are like this!"

I arrived at the CBC headquarters on Duckworth Street right on time. Angela greeted me at the door and ushered me into her office. "Before we start, tell me about your project," she said. I wasn't alarmed in the least by her approach, as experience had taught me that participants want to know what they were getting into. I gave Angela more details about my project, which I am sure sounded rehearsed. She asked some additional questions and then suggested we go into the studio where it was quieter. It wasn't until she put a microphone in front of my face that I realized her purpose was to interview *me*. Yet, I had come to the CBC studios to interview *her*. She must have seen the surprised look on my face because we both instantly realized our misunderstanding and started to laugh. "I'm used to doing the interviewing," she told me. "It's not often that I find myself on the other side." She agreed to let me interview her if she could interview me for her

weekend morning show that features the local arts scene. “Ok,” I thought. “This is definitely out of my comfort zone too.” Not only was I, like Angela, not used to being interviewed, but in all my years studying radio, I had never been on the air. And thus, my radio debut ensued.

Newfoundland Music Broadcasting as a “Labor of Love”

According to Martin Shingler and Cindy Wieringa (1998, 13), pioneers of radio, like Marconi, hoped that radio technology would eventually move from being a necessity of community to a “social benefit and pleasure.” I believe that the St. John’s radio market has achieved this goal. Not only is the radio a source of pleasure for listeners (see Chapter Six), the act of broadcasting is also a source of pleasure for those producing the broadcasts. One thing that became quite evident in my afternoon with Angela was the passion she had for her job. In describing the challenge of broadcasting to the CBC’s diverse audience, Angela said, “Because [my show] is all about Newfoundland culture, it’s a lot of fun” (Antle Personal Communication 2005).

Other DJs and programmers shared Angela’s sentiment. Two DJs referred to their job broadcasting a Newfoundland music show as “a labor of love” (Hann Personal Communication 2005; Kelly Personal Communication 2005). The host of a Newfoundland music show called *Homebrew* told me, “I’ve always enjoyed radio and ... [I enjoy] the interaction with the community” (Wiffen Personal Communication 2005). The host of VOCM’s popular *Irish Newfoundland Show*, Randy Parsons, explained that his love for the music was helpful when he applied to be the show’s host.

I met my wife about 20 years ago, and she had been absolutely in love with the music all her life, and every Saturday she had *The Irish Newfoundland Show* on. So, I listened to the Irish Newfoundland Show every Saturday, and got right into the music. I loved it. Then, as fate would have it, I was seeking employment here at VOCM, and my email hit at just the right time that they were looking for an announcer for the show. So I guess with my combined experience and love of the music, it worked out for all parties.

(Parsons Personal Communication 2005)

While Randy liked Newfoundland music before he took the job as host of *The Irish Newfoundland Show*, other DJs expressed a growing pride in Newfoundland as a province and a culture that resulted from their role broadcasting Newfoundland music.

Brenda Silk, who is the programmer for Radio Newfoundland, told me:

I know [Newfoundland] pretty well, and the longer I work at Radio Newfoundland, the more my love even for the province grows. It's really amazing because the prolific outpouring of music and creativity here is really awesome. It's really mind-blowing. People here are just so creative. There's so much being done musically. I don't think any other province could match that. And I'm really proud to be working with Radio Newfoundland. I love it. I've got a great job.

(Silk Personal Communication 2005)

Brenda is not originally from Newfoundland. Yet, she expressed the same pride and passion for Newfoundland and its music that I heard from native Newfoundlanders, and she credited her passion to the experience she has had working at Radio Newfoundland.

Station personnel that held higher management positions (station managers, program directors and music librarians), however, did not outwardly express the same passion for their job as the DJs and show hosts. This reaction is probably because their jobs are farther removed from the actual music and the audience than the DJs, who might select the music themselves and get direct feedback from listeners. Not surprisingly, the two higher-management station personnel who did express pride and passion for their job

were from volunteer stations: CHMR (the campus-community station at the university) and VOWR (the volunteer station owned by the United Church). Ernst Rollman, the Program Director at CHMR explained the station atmosphere to me.

We have a sense of pride here in the fact that if it's good music, it's good music. We can't play hits, but if the artist is good there's nothing wrong with playing them on this station... And I love that. Maybe it's cause we're not commercial and we don't have the feeling that we need to make the money on this, and that we need to be successful in that, but there's so much potential here that there's sort of a different playing field all together.
(Rollman Personal Communication 2005)

In this quote, Ernst is speaking of the freedom that the volunteer stations have to program their own music and shows. In my interview with him, Ernst also spoke favorably about being one of only two people in charge at the campus radio station. Here, he has to do many jobs that get delegated to others at larger, commercial stations. John Tessier, Station Manager at VOWR, shared similar sentiments.

Essentially, all I'm doing now is the same as I did for salary, only I'm doing it now as a volunteer, and the hours are longer now than they ever were, so things are not really very different...[we] do everything that's done in any radio station whether it be programming, engineering, operating, announcing, library work, secretarial work, program preparation. So I'm involved in all of that and enjoy every minute of it... And it's been a very enjoyable service that I've played, and I've learned a lot myself. I'm delighted to be able to continue that role.
(Tessier Personal Communication 2005)

It is important to note that in the quote above that John refers to his job as a "service." While this "service" that he provides is undoubtedly linked to his management of a community radio station of volunteers, he was not alone in expressing the idea that he was performing a service. The next section goes into more detail about the role of cultural presenter and promoter that station personnel in St. John's feel they represent.

Radio Broadcasts as Cultural Presentation and Promotion

Station personnel in the St. John's radio market who are involved in the broadcast of local content on the radio see this task as a way to promote and support local musicians, while at the same time disseminate Newfoundland's musical culture to listeners. One of the ways station personnel promote Newfoundland culture is simply by making a point to play music by local musicians. All the radio stations in the St. John's market, with the exception of CBC Radio Two, play some amount of local content. But support of the local music community goes beyond the broadcast of music. Radio stations in St. John's invite and encourage local musicians to drop off their recordings. OZ-FM Program Director, Brian O'Connell told me that:

We invite them in, we encourage them to come in, we talk to them, we ask them about their music, we support them, we try to feature them wherever possible because...that's driven partly because we are a Newfoundland radio station and we support our own, and partly because the public demands that we support them.

(O'Connell Personal Communication 2005)

In addition to the open-door policy many stations have for local musicians, station personnel will sometimes offer their expertise to musicians. One DJ said that he offers musicians feedback on their recordings, in terms of radio quality.

I encourage anybody that I talk to to bring anything up to the station, andworst case scenario, we can't play your song, a lot of people are looking for positive criticism and stuff like that, and I'm more than willing to give it...a good critique, and they accept it openly, and they go, "thank you very much for your time, I really appreciate it. Hopefully next time I come back, maybe this will be a little better," in terms of production value, sound quality and stuff like that.

(McDonald Personal Communication 2006)

Brad's statement shows that stations have a vested interest in local musicians producing quality music. Not only do better quality recordings benefit the musician, but recordings with good quality give the station more local music from which to draw and feature on the air. "We feel like we've taken some ownership of that CD as well," Brian O'Connell explained. "We've had an opinion on that so that really makes a difference. We want [the musicians] to succeed as much as they want to succeed, and we'll do whatever we can to make that happen for them within the confines of the programming that's been laid out for us" (O'Connell Personal Communication 2005).

Sometimes, stations serve as an intermediary between a budding musician and the recording industry. Sherry Griffen, Station Manager at VOAR, tries to connect musicians with recording companies. "I've sent [recording companies] copies of the artists' [CDs]... if it's really good I'll say [to the artist] 'would you mind giving me an extra one so I can send it to the record company?' We've tried to help promote as much as possible some of our local stuff" (Griffen Personal Communication 2005).

There were only two times when station personnel said they turn away music brought to the station by local musicians. The first reason given by personnel from all radio stations was when the sound quality of the recording was not appropriate for radio broadcast. The other time is when the genre of music the musician brings by is drastically different from the music genre stated in the station's mandate. Brian O'Connell, Program Director for OZ-FM gave an example. "We don't have a jazz show, so if you record a jazz CD and you're a Newfoundlander, well, technically it doesn't fit into that Newfoundland traditional music genre [that we play], and it's very unlikely we're gonna play that" (O'Connell Personal Communication 2005). OZ-FM has a traditional

Newfoundland music program called *Jiggs and Reels*, so musicians who play traditional music tend to get more support from OZ-FM than musicians who record in other genres. “When it comes to traditional Newfoundland music, it’s much easier because we have a place for that music and we support those artists” (ibid).

In promoting local music, station personnel feel they are helping musicians spread the word about their music. Christine Davies, the music librarian for CBC Radio in St. John’s told me what happens when she gets new Newfoundland music for the music library.

I make sure that many of the programmers here are aware of particularly the Newfoundland and Labrador recordings, as new ones come into the library. So, for example, I have a relationship with Angela Antle with *Weekend [Arts Magazine]*. On her program called *Liner Notes*, she features new artists or new recordings by artists. So when we acquire new recordings here I make sure she’s aware that they’re here so that she can consider them...she can audition the CDs and maybe invite them to participate in that feature. And the same goes with all the shows basically. If there’s new music coming out, I try to let them know. Often, that means that I’ll actually write a little introduction and I’ll dub a cut of music into our desktop editing system saying [to the show hosts] “by the way, you may want to play this.”

(Davies Personal Communication 2005)

In this instance, the CBC is acting as a regional music library because Christine shares music with other CBC affiliate stations around the province and across the country.

Two DJs to whom I spoke host shows that feature non-tradition Newfoundland music. These DJs’ goal is to feature Newfoundland music in other genres that do not get much airtime on regular radio broadcasts or traditional Newfoundland music shows. Kevin Kelly hosts a music show on the college station that focuses on music genres other than traditional. He told me, “I wanted to expand to new musical genres that may not

have gotten radio attention, such as jazz artists, such as country artists, such as rock artists. And that's basically why I started *Upon this Rock* a few years ago" (Kelly Personal Communication 2005). Brad Martin and David Williams also host a non-traditional music show. Their show, *Newfound Underground*, fills a gap in local broadcasting because it features music produced in Newfoundland that is not part of the traditional genre. "There isn't a particular show dedicated to the local, non-traditional scene. So, our main goal was to get the non-traditional scene exposure, 'cause it's such a large following that we wanted to expose it. It was just an untapped resource that wasn't being used at all, as far as I know" (Williams Personal Communication 2005). Through their radio programs, these DJs promote Newfoundland music that they feel occupies the periphery in the local music scene. This music includes genres like rap, metal, hip hop, jazz, and hard rock. They want to emphasize to the listening audience that there is more to Newfoundland music than just the traditional, Irish sound. Here, DJs are acting as agents in the presentation of non-traditional cultural material: the musical genres that do not get much attention. In this case, the radio becomes a means through which minority musical genres in Newfoundland are brought to the forefront, albeit if only for brief periods of time as these shows air only once a week.

In addition to acting as agents of cultural presentation, some station personnel felt that promoting local culture on the radio would help to keep Newfoundland culture on the island and off the mainland. While the experience of living away from Newfoundland is as much a part of Newfoundland culture as is living on the island, Angel Antle does what she can to give musicians an outlet at home so that they do not feel like they have to leave to make money.

If I hear about a gig, and I have a friend who's a musician, and I know that friend is struggling to make a living to stay here, and doesn't *want* to move to Toronto or Halifax or wherever, I'll call that person up and say, "Hey do you know so and so's looking for someone to play fiddle," or "did you know so-and-so's got this film on the go and looking for an animator?" That's just the way this little community works, especially the arts community here. We all want to stay, we've all been away and come back, or we want to stay, and it's not easy to make a living here, so everyone helps each other out.

(Antle Personal Communication 2005)

The cooperation of which Angela speaks is one of the things that make the arts community, and specifically the music community in St. John's unique. Radio stations do not see other stations as competitors, but rather as fellow players in the radio market. Ernst Rollman at CHMR noted that after the college radio station started doing shows that almost exclusively featured Newfoundland music, another radio station in town started a similar program. In response to that, he told me, "We don't get so much 'Hey dude, you ripped me off.' It's more like 'Cool! Well, that's pretty neat!' ... That [the other station] decided that was something that they wanted to do" (Rollman Personal Communication 2005).

Not only is more than one station featuring an all-Newfoundland music show, but a few of the stations' Newfoundland music shows overlap in genre and in the time period in which they are broadcast. I asked station personnel if they felt any competition from this circumstance. Sam Wiffen, whose traditional Newfoundland music show overlaps on Sunday mornings with the traditional Newfoundland music show on OZ-FM told me, "the more that radio plays traditional music, the better it is for everybody. I think the more radio stations that play it, the better it is for the community, the better it is for promoting

Newfoundland and Labrador music. That's what it's all about" (Whiffen Personal Communication 2005). Other station personnel echoed Sam's comments. In this respect, I conceive of the St. John's radio market as one that collectively works to promote Newfoundland music and culture. Station personnel in the St. John's market are personally interested in seeing Newfoundland's musical culture and music industry thrive.

Radio interviews are an important aspect of cultural presentation for Newfoundland radio stations. Many of the DJs that host shows dedicated to Newfoundland music will bring artists into the studio during the show. Randy Parsons shared his philosophy on interviewing local musicians:

We do a lot of interviews with artists. Not just with the frontrunners, but some obscure [ones too]. If someone has talent, I like to give them a chance... I'm finding now that I'm seeking out interviews because I've been playing music by a certain artist or group, and I'm interested in them, and I'd like to talk to them and get to know more about them.

(Parsons Personal Communication 2005)

Randy's comment also speaks to the personal involvement DJs have with Newfoundland music. Not only does Randy think interviews with local musicians are interesting to the listening audience, he also has a personal interest in the artist as well. Angela Antle includes interviews with members of the local arts community during her *Weekend Arts Magazine* show. While the interviews she does are not limited to the local *music* community, she is confident that these interviews are what her listeners want to hear. "I know my audience is interested if [the interviewee] is a local performer," she told me (Antle Personal Communication 2005).

Cultural presentation and promotion is not only important to the professional DJs. Joshua Jamieson and Katie Norman, two college students at the local university, host *Fresh Focus*, a two hour show on Radio Newfoundland on Saturday afternoons that is dedicated to a younger (teen years to mid twenties) listening audience. On their show, Josh and Katie mix Newfoundland music with music that is popular with the demographic to which they broadcast. They make an effort to go out and see different local acts playing in St. John's and invite them into the studio for an interview during their show.

We always make a point to talk to Newfoundland artists...It's kind of fun for me and Katie too because we kind of act as talent scouts in that respect, like in discovering these bands and giving them that first opportunity...If ever a Newfoundland artist is performing, then we'll try to get out there and interview them.

(Jamieson Personal Communication 2005)

Josh and Katie's perspective is especially important because they represent a younger generation of cultural promoters. Their position as hosts of a show that focuses on a younger demographic shows that local music is important to that age group as well. As DJs broadcast local music and thus promote local culture, they feel that this cultural presentation contributes in part to the success of Newfoundland musicians. In the Newfoundland music scene, financial survival for musicians is based both on live performances initially and CD sales eventually. Most groups spend time performing in the bar scene and at music festivals before recording their first CD. Once that recording is made, however, radio stations play an important role in the dissemination and promotion of these groups. Brenda Silk, programmer for Radio Newfoundland, tells me there are two benefits for musicians that get air time. "It's a thrill, first of all, for them if they get

airplay, but also then for sales-it's very important as well to have that out there" (Silk Personal Communication 2005). Kevin Kelly, host of *Upon this Rock*, told me, "[My show] is just basically a chance for [musicians] to showcase their stuff on the airways" (Kelly Personal Communication 2005). In other words, radio is a means of disseminating local music, which in turn helps musicians become known. Sam Wiffen explains.

The artist relies on you and the radio station to promote the product because if it doesn't get airplay, nobody will know it exists...The relationship is a benefit for both sides. If you put a CD out, it doesn't get the same exposure as it does on the radio, of course, because radio is a medium. It's broadcast far and wide and gets out to people who are tuning into your program. So, of course it helps CD sales. There's no question about it. Always has, always will.

(Wiffen Personal Communication 2005)

So, the nature of radio as a broadcasting medium, and the range of its terrestrial and digital signal, are seen here as assets for local musicians.

In addition to providing air-time to local musicians, stations in the St. John's market direct some of their required Canadian Talent Development contributions to the local community. OZ-FM, for example, recently produced a CD of local artists called "Rock of the Rock," which included music from established musicians and musicians looking to achieve a larger audience. In addition, the station donates prize money to local talent contests and it sponsors music festivals, like the Torbay Swiler Days, around the island in an effort to "promote talent development in all music genres, including traditional Newfoundland music, among the province's youth" (O'Connell Personal Communication 2006). While not all the commercial radio stations in St. John's were able to provide information regarding the recipients of their Canadian Talent Development contributions, the stations that did share that information all focused their

contributions on local and provincial organizations. Thus, stations in St. John's promote and present musical culture through monetary means as well as broadcasting support.

Making money as a musician in St. John's is difficult, and many musicians have jobs in addition to playing music. My interviews with radio station personnel told me that the stations realize this hardship and see their relationship with the local music community as a symbiotic one. When I asked station personnel what would happen if local music was *not* broadcast on the radio, they unanimously agreed that it would be difficult for radio stations survival because local content is what attracts listeners. Therefore, the listening audience demands Newfoundland music, so the radio stations need a constant supply of local music to maintain a healthy listening audience. In turn, local musicians need the radio stations to help promote their music, which ensures the survival of many local bands. Yet, there is another element that makes broadcasts of local music important. As the next section will explain, broadcasts of local music are an important means of preserving local culture.

Radio Broadcasts as Cultural Preservation

Not only do station personnel work together to ensure a thriving music industry in Newfoundland, they also see their role in broadcasting Newfoundland music as a way to help preserve particular aspects of Newfoundland culture. In order to understand why station personnel see Newfoundland music as an aspect of culture worth preserving, it is necessary to explore their personal definitions of Newfoundland music.

Defining Newfoundland Music

Through my interviews with station personnel, I came to realize that there is not simply one definition of Newfoundland music. Rather, the definition of Newfoundland music is highly personal and varies from person to person. There were some commonalities, however, in the descriptions station personnel provided. Some station personnel described Newfoundland music in relation to musical genres, sound, and instrumentation. Sam Whiffen, host of *Homebrew* described Newfoundland music by saying, “it’s not that commercialized radio sound where it’s there and it’s almost like it’s untouchable. I think the *Homebrew* [listeners] feel that they can reach out and touch it, and play around with it a little bit” (Whiffen Personal Communication 2005). Another example of how sound helps define Newfoundland music was addressed by Katie Norman, host of *Fresh Focus*. Katie talks about the blending of musical genres to make Newfoundland music. “The Ennis Sisters...they’re trying to look pop, but sing traditional, so they blend the traditional with the pop [by] adding a little bit of a Newfoundland twist to it, or [some groups] if they’re traditional trying to add a little bit of pop to it to try and make it a little more marketable” (Norman Personal Communication 2005). Katie’s definition implies Newfoundland music has been hybridized, which also adds to the music’s popularity.

The presence of an accordion was often included in definitions of Newfoundland music (Hann Personal Communication 2005; Jamieson Personal Communication 2005). The accordion, these participants told me, helps to add a Newfoundland flavor to music. It helps turn a pop song into a more Newfoundland-sounding piece.

Other participants defined Newfoundland music by what it is not. David Williams (Personal Communication 2005) said that Newfoundland music was not just Irish music. “It’s not under one category by any means,” he told me. His co-host agreed. “They’re all mixed together” (Martin Personal Communication 2005). Station personnel responses also indicated that Newfoundland music was not just music with an Irish-traditional sound (Martin Personal Communication 2005; Williams Personal Communication 2005). “[Newfoundland music is] not all fiddles and guitars, you know. There’s a lot more to it than that... I know it when I hear it” (O’Connell Personal Communication 2005). Paul MaGee agreed. “It’s not all jiggs and reels, not all playing spoons on your knee or making sure there’s an accordion in it” (Magee Personal Communication 2005). In other words, Newfoundland music is *more than* just Irish music. Participants had an interest in differentiating the Newfoundland sound from Irish music, but as an outsider, it was often hard to tell the difference. The process of defining Newfoundland music by what it is not implies that faulty assumptions regarding Newfoundland music have been made in the past. Defining Newfoundland music by the absence of a sound shows that station personnel are trying to correct a stereotype, possibly the stereotype that Newfoundland music only includes the Irish-traditional genre.

In other cases, Newfoundland music was defined by the residency of the performers. To Glen Tilley, programmer at CBC Radio One, Newfoundland music is, “any piece of music written by a Newfoundlander...[The musicians] are all Newfoundlanders and came out of that tradition...There has to be a sensibility of the culture that he or she lives or lived in” (Tilley Personal Communication 2005). Kevin Kelly agreed with him. In choosing music for his all-Newfoundland music show, he told

me, “the only criteria would be that [music] would be 100 percent local artists or artists who were born in Newfoundland” (Kelly Personal Communication 2005). Angela Antle, whose show features a variety of musical genres, said that the fact that musicians are working in Newfoundland makes those musicians interesting to the local community. “I’ll play Mopaya, which is African and Newfoundland, and, you know, it’s Newfoundland music. They’re working here as musicians, so we’re interested in playing them and talking about them.” Angela also considers displaced Newfoundlanders still part of the local music scene. She gave an example of a singer who was from Newfoundland originally and now lives in Vancouver. “She’s still a Newfoundlander, as far as I’m concerned” (Antle Personal Communication 2005). One participant even goes so far as to use residency to distinguish between the two types of music housed in the stations’ music library: “Legitimate Newfoundland music, which is written and performed by Newfoundlanders, and music that [Newfoundlanders] have used that’s been written by others” (Personal Communication 2005). In this definition, the participant uses the word “legitimate” to categorize music whose elements were created by people from or living in Newfoundland. What underlies all these definitions based on residency of the performers, however, is the feeling that being in Newfoundland either now or some time in the past allows the musician to experience Newfoundland as a place, an experience which most station personnel felt essential to writing and performing Newfoundland music.

Lyrics are also an important aspect in defining Newfoundland music. For many station personnel, lyrics are important because they speak to the experience of living in Newfoundland. Tony Hann, DJ for the show *Jiggs and Reels* told me,

I'm looking for stuff that is speaking to people, that's identifying who we are as Newfoundlanders. I'm looking for anything that speaks to the whole Newfoundland experience, especially speaking to things like the moratorium, losing your job, hard, hard times, that type of thing...what it's like to live here, what it's like to leave, what it's like to be in Toronto, you know, missing home.

(Hann Personal Communication 2005)

In other words, Newfoundland music is music that tells a story (Norman Personal Communication 2005; Jamieson Personal Communication 2005). While many instrumental tunes exist that would be considered Newfoundland music by my participants, lyrics are an important aspect of songs because they are essential for story telling. Paul Magee explained the importance of story telling in music.

Newfoundlanders love stories. We have passed the time that way for years and years and years when there wasn't the best in communications, newspapers, radio, television, any of those kind of things. And so stories got written into music, and they got sung. By nature we are a fishing community, and a shipping community, and so you have a lot of high tales from the seas coming in here and, you know, songs that were shanties and what not, and some on the decks of ships being passed down to people, you know, and that's really part of our culture, I think, and that's Newfoundland music to me.

(Magee Personal Communication 2005)

So, music and song became an important method from which to pass down information generationally. Songs were used both to teach and entertain.

In many of the descriptions by station personnel, place was an important element in deciding whether or not a piece of music was "Newfoundland" music. Sometimes, the community orientedness of music makes it Newfoundland, even if the musical genre is not traditional. "The jazz festival...now is that a Newfoundland thing? Maybe a little bit because it's a *community* event" (emphasis added) (Tilley Personal Communication 2005). Association with Newfoundland outports is another characteristic that labels a

piece of music as Newfoundland music. Outport style music, as Katie Norman told me, is “people talking about life in rural Newfoundland. A lot of it’s about hardships growing up in this place” (Norman Personal Communication 2005). Her DJ partner Josh described it as “hangin’ out around the bay” (Jamieson Personal Communication 2005). In these examples, place is described in very general terms. That may be because the *experience* of place is what drives many definitions of Newfoundland music. Brian O’Connell explained.

It’s more than [a type of instrument]. I think a song reflects the province, the people, our culture, some of the day to day things that happen in our lives here, living next to the ocean, songs that talk about our past, songs that talk about our family...all that is very much in the Newfoundland music when you talk about what makes up Newfoundland music.
(O’Connell Personal Communication 2005)

While O’Connell speaks of the experience of living in a place, some participants gave more specific locations that they associated with Newfoundland music. One of the most common places mentioned by station personnel was home. Newfoundland music is Newfoundland music because of “the way they talk about home, you know, mom and apple pie, that kind of thing” (Hann Personal Communication 2005). Another participant agreed. “There’s something about a Newfoundland artist or Newfoundland music, as a Newfoundlander, that you listen to it and you’re home. I can’t describe it more than that. There’s just this total sense of home and of what it is to be a Newfoundlander when you hear it” (Griffen Personal Communication 2005). Where the music is played helps define it as well. Gary Tredwell, program director for Coast 101.1, defined Newfoundland music as that which gets played in pubs (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005). This association between Newfoundland music and feelings of home was more specific in

some cases. For example, “Newfoundland music is anything that I listened to since I was a kid that I can remember hearing in the kitchen” (McDonald Personal Communication 2005). Here, the participant refers to a specific room in the house. The kitchen has traditionally been a very central location in Newfoundland households because it was the location of the main source of heat for the house. In many outport communities, the kitchen door was the main entrance to the home, at least for friends and family, and it was where most social aspects of life took place. Spontaneous music-making events in Newfoundland came to be called “kitchen parties” because of the location where they originated (Pocius 1991).⁷¹ Thus, the use of location, such as the home or the kitchen, to define Newfoundland music makes sense because these places served as venues for music making.

Finally, some station personnel feel that music becomes that of Newfoundland when they can make an emotional connection with it. For example, Newfoundland music reflects family ties. Brenda Silk told me, “I’ve lived in many places across Canada, and there’s not a place like Newfoundland for family. They dearly love their family and their land, and they’re very, very connected to it” (Silk Personal Communication 2005). Another participant explained that Newfoundland music makes her feel a certain way. “Newfoundland music to me is music that’s got heart and soul. It’s got...a soul that just warms your heart” (Griffen Personal Communication 2005).

While my interviews revealed that more than one definition of Newfoundland music exists, and that each definition contains many elements, the importance of music as

⁷¹ In my personal experience, the name has stuck, and these jam sessions are still called kitchen parties even if they do not occur in the kitchen.

a central part of Newfoundland culture was clear. One could argue that I naturally got this response because I was talking to people whose job it is to broadcast local music.

However, through my four summers in Newfoundland, I saw much more attention paid to music in the province than to other art forms. Even in dinner theaters, which are quite popular forms of cultural presentation in Newfoundland, local and traditional music was used to some extent. Thus, the popularity of local music among residents of the island, and the fact that so much of the music talks about the experience of living in Newfoundland either today or in the past, makes the broadcast of local music a way to preserve aspects of Newfoundland culture.

Cultural Preservation Through Radio Broadcasting

I had been working on transcribing my interviews with station personnel for about three weeks when I decided to print out the transcripts I had completed. Working with tangible papers has always been my preference. I like to highlight, underline, and write in the margins.⁷² As I began to glance through the hardcopies of transcripts I did a double-take. My interviews with station personnel were semi-structured with direct questions (unlike my interviews with listeners). Yet in so many of the transcripts I saw that my participants had spent pages (of single-spaced typing) answering my questions. A closer look revealed that many station personnel had included personal anecdotes and detailed explanations in answer to my questions. I had not expected this. I thought my questions had been simple and straightforward, but it was obvious that I had initially underestimated the complexity of broadcasting local music. Earlier in this chapter, I

⁷² I never made much money returning my books to the campus bookstore for a refund.

described the pride with which station personnel spoke regarding their job broadcasting local music. Through these interviews, however, I came to understand that many station personnel saw the broadcasting of local music as a chance to *preserve* aspects of their culture that they feel may be lost.

Newfoundland music that falls into the traditional category was usually the genre most associated with cultural preservation. “I personally feel it’s a very important genre,” one DJ told me. “It’s important to keep and maintain, and it’s vital that we have radio stations like Radio Newfoundland that make that their focus” (Jamieson Personal Communication 2005). Angela Antle described it best when she called Newfoundland music “our glue to culture” (Antle Personal Communication 2005). According to some station personnel, this “glue” is very important for connecting younger people to their Newfoundland roots. Ernst Rollman, the program director at the college radio station gave me an example. One evening around Christmas time he was teaching a radio programming class to university students in the CHMR studios.

[We were] sitting in here doing our Christmas carol thing, you’ll have a bunch of people and their friends around here, and Ron Hynes [well-known Newfoundland musician] walks in the door with his guitar and sits down and plays a couple of songs, one of which has not even been released yet. He just wrote it and he wanted to give it to us for our Christmas show. And you look around the table at these young volunteers who are just like “wow, this is pretty cool.”

(Rollman Personal Communication 2005)

Here, the radio station served as a merging point between young Newfoundlanders and older ones (Ron Hynes) whose music speaks about Newfoundland culture. This is not to say that performers of traditional Newfoundland music are all of the older generations. One of the most interesting trends I observed in studying music broadcasting in

Newfoundland was the wide age range of performers of traditional music. The genre was not only popular among the aging population on the island. Younger musicians were playing traditional music as well. Josh Jamieson explained that “there are some people who are younger coming into that genre because they want to hold on to their own culture that’s been passed down to them from their parents” (Jamieson Personal Communication 2005).

The story-telling element common in most traditional Newfoundland tunes is extremely important aspect that affects cultural preservation. Songs tell stories that inform listeners what life was or is like in Newfoundland. This characteristic is one of the means through which Newfoundland culture is preserved. “[People] are singing these songs, they’re telling these stories that have a level of familiarity for the people in the province, or have some of the themes that people understand in the province” (Davies Personal Communication 2005). In other words, Newfoundland songs mean something because the stories told through them describe situations with which people in Newfoundland can identify. According to VOWR’s station manager, station personal at that station take on a story-telling role by playing music about Newfoundland. “I think it helps our culture,” he said (Tessier Personal Communication 2005).

Radio helps to ensure that there is always a place for Newfoundland music, and it helps bring Newfoundland music to the masses. Kevin Kelly described radio music broadcasting as “a modern way” of passing culture from one generation to the next (Kelly Personal Communication 2005). One DJ explained that for Newfoundland music to survive, it has to be available to a wider audience. “If you don’t make an effort to bring [Newfoundland music] out of the kitchen party into the mainstream, it can very easily be

lost” (Jamieson Personal Communication 2005). Josh’s comment refers to the fact that rural communities, traditionally the most common locations for kitchen parties, have been hollowing out as young people move to St. John’s or leave the island all together in search of employment. Tony Hann expanded on this idea. “I find that the younger people...they don’t have as much of a cultural identity as we had when we were that age, and I think the music kind of helps keep that alive...It gives us a sense of place and a sense of who we are” (Hann Personal Communication 2005).⁷³ Coast 101.1 program director, Gary Tredwell, said that ensuring a place for Newfoundland music on the radio is part of the broadcasting philosophy in St. John’s. “What we try and do is we try and talk to the people that live here about what happens here and what relates to them here. That’s sort of the attitude” (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005).

Promoting local culture, mentioned earlier in this chapter, is also closely linked to the idea of cultural preservation. One DJ explained that “the [show’s] overall goal is to promote Newfoundland and Labrador culture and traditional music...Each of us does it to the benefit of the entire idea of keeping that traditional Newfoundland and Labrador music scene alive and productive” (Whiffen Personal Communication 2005).

Broadcasting Newfoundland music on the radio not only preserves Newfoundland culture on the island of Newfoundland, but it also helps connect those who have moved away with their culture (O’Connell Personal Communication 2005; MaGee Personal Communication 2005). One DJ suggested that a distance decay effect occurs. “When you’re living in Newfoundland, your access to traditional music is so huge. So the further

⁷³ This criticism of the younger generation by the older generation was expressed on other interviews, especially interviews with listeners. However, I saw almost as many “young” performers at the folk music sessions at the Ship Inn in St. John’s as I did seasoned performers. So, there is interest in folk and traditional music by younger generations, but the extent of this interest is beyond the scope of this research.

away you get from that...your access is limited...The further away I think you get from the province, the more it means to you and the more you enjoy hearing it” (Whiffen Personal Communication 2005). Brenda Silk called the broadcast of Newfoundland music an “emotional lifeline and a tie back to the island” for those living away (Silk Personal Communication 2005). So, the Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio (via the Internet) serves as a cultural umbilical cord for the Newfoundland diaspora.

The radio is not simply a connection between living persons, however. One participant told me that listeners connect with deceased relatives through the radio as well. “We get a couple of requests a week, two or three, asking me to play a song for someone who has passed away” (MaGee Personal Communication 2005). The act of dedicating songs for dead family members implies that Anderson’s (1983) imagined community of listeners in Newfoundland is not solely limited to living persons.

So, in St. John’s, the radio is used by station personnel as a means of preserving local culture. Because “Newfoundland music” by definition represents aspects of Newfoundland culture that station personnel (and listeners) feel are important, playing the music on the radio means that the stories, sounds and images of Newfoundland are available regardless of which station a listener chooses. In Newfoundland, radio has become a secondary medium (spoken/sung performance being the primary medium) for cultural promotion and preservation.

St. John's Radio Stations and Canadian Content: Do the Regulations Matter?

During the summer of 2005, I set up an interview with the program director of the newest radio station in town, Coast 101.1. Coast 101.1 broadcasts adult music from the 1970s and 1980s, with occasional current music mixed in. The station's headquarters were located not far from the university campus where I spent much of my time, so one afternoon I stopped by to talk to Gary Tredwell. As I waited in the small lobby for Gary, I glanced around and noticed an interesting sign on the wall. It read "Less Hollywood, More Holyrood."⁷⁴ The sign implied that this particular commercial station was possibly more interested in music produced locally than music produced in the United States. I knew that all radio stations in St. John's were subject to Canadian Content requirements, and I decided to investigate whether these regulations were the underlying influence on the emphasis of local music in the St. John's radio market.

Generally speaking, local content has been present on Newfoundland radio stations from the inception of radio technology. When radio became a means of communication, Newfoundland was an independent country, so naturally radio content was produced locally. Between 1934-1949, when Newfoundland was under Commission of Government, Britain's public broadcasting system (the BBC), was not extended to Newfoundland, and Newfoundland radio stations continued to operate pretty much as before. As radio technology evolved and global political climates changed, Newfoundland radio stations were influenced by mainland Canadian and American content, especially via the American military bases on the island during World War II

⁷⁴ Holyrood is an outport community in Newfoundland about 45 minutes from St. John's on Conception Bay.

(Webb 2004). When Newfoundland became a province of Canada in 1949, its radio stations fell under the jurisdiction of the Canadian government. The three radio stations in operation at that time (VOCM, VOWR, and VOAR) were allowed to keep their original call letters, while all subsequent stations assumed call letters that started with C. When Canadian Content regulations came into being in the early 1970s, Newfoundland radio stations, like those in the rest of Canada, were required to play a specific percentage of Canadian music. No requirements concerning locally produced music existed. Since that time, technological innovations and globalization have meant greater access to all music. Yet, Newfoundland music remains part of the programming for St. John's radio stations. In most cases, Newfoundland music broadcast on St. John's stations fulfills Canadian Content requirements. So, I asked station personnel what Canadian Content requirements meant for their station, what influence the requirements had, and what music was used to fulfill the requirements.

Two related themes emerged in response to my questions about Canadian Content: how station personnel felt about the regulations, and whether or not they used Newfoundland music to fulfill the regulations.

Canadian Content Viewed Favorably in St. John's

Many station personnel spoke favorably about Canadian Content, which is surprising considering that, historically, the biggest critics of Canadian Content for radio were broadcasters. Station personnel in St. John's felt that Canadian Content requirements were good for the music community. In fact, the only negative comment that I heard when I asked station personnel about their views on Canadian Content was

offered by the classic rock station. The program director there mentioned that it is a little difficult to meet the requirements in a classic-rock format because the music they broadcast is from an era before Canadian Content regulations when there was not many broadcast-quality Canadian recordings produced (Campbell Personal Communication 2005; Tilley Personal Communication 2005). Aside from this perspective, however, station personnel thought that Canadian Content regulations were supportive of the local music scene. “It keeps people going, you know, when they’re getting played. Local artists that get some play here and some recognition—it might encourage them to do more” (Rollman Personal Communication 2005). One station person commented that not only was Canadian Content regulations important for musical artists, but that the regulations should be enhanced by adding a requirement to play a certain percentage of local music (Kelly Personal Communication 2005).

These comments imply that, at least in Newfoundland, the fact that radio stations have to adhere to Canadian Content requirements has positive implications for local musicians because many radio stations use local music to fulfill their Canadian Content quotas.

Using Newfoundland Music to Meet Canadian Content Requirements

Although I was surprised that station personnel spoke so favorably about Canadian Content regulations, what really caught my attention was that 45 percent of the stations in St. John’s (not counting the CBC) play Newfoundland music to fulfill Canadian Content requirements. In most cases, these stations had a “Newfoundland

Music” category in their music library or music database so that local music could be easily identified and accessed by the DJs.

The amount of Newfoundland music used to fulfill the requirements varied from one station to the next. The station manager for VOAR estimated that at least half of the Canadian Content music played was Newfoundland music. With other stations, the amount was smaller. Radio Newfoundland (CJYQ), however, plays more than 80 percent Newfoundland music. This target was self-imposed when the station came into existence. When the Newfoundland Capital Corporation (NewCap) purchased the assets of VOXM, which included CJYQ, they came in possession of four stations: two AM stations and two FM stations. According to CRTC regulations, in a radio market the size of St. John’s, one company could not own more than *three* radio stations. NewCap applied for an exception to this policy, and they used the argument that the fourth station, CJYQ, would fill a void in the radio market by broadcasting 95 percent Canadian Content and 80 percent Newfoundland content. The request was approved, and the St. John’s radio market gained an AM commercial station that played over 80 percent local music.

Most station personnel, when speaking about Canadian Content, used the word “we” to refer to Newfoundlanders, usually when contrasting something about Newfoundland to mainland Canada. Brian O’Connell of OZ-FM, however, thought that Canadian Content regulations were as important to Newfoundlanders as they were to the rest of Canada because the regulations gave all Canadians an edge over music from the United States.

Some broadcasters say, ‘if its any good, it can stand on its own,’ but often times because of the sheer volume of music that’s coming out of the United States, smaller Canadian artists may not even get into the cut

here...so there had to be some rules to make the playing field a little more fair...Once [Canadian artists] started getting those spins, then all of a sudden, different bands started to appear...It was, 'wow! We have talent in this country!' So Canadian Content is a very important part of who we are.

(O'Connell Personal Communication 2005)

This particular quote is significant because it is one of the few where Newfoundlanders were on the same side of an issue as the rest of Canada against the United States.

Throughout all of my interviews, participants usually positioned themselves as Newfoundlanders first, even if they were speaking positively about Canada. This participant, however, saw that in terms of competing with the US commercial music market, Newfoundland and Canada can act together for mutual benefit.

Since the confederation debate in 1949, there have always been a group of vocal Newfoundlanders who felt that they would always be Newfoundlanders and not necessarily Canadians. When explaining why his station uses Newfoundland music to fulfill Canadian Content requirements, however, John Tessier of VOWR justified his practice by saying that Newfoundland musicians are just as important as other Canadian musicians. "Our Newfoundland performers are there and they're legitimate Canadian artists...So we use Newfoundland performers more so than we do other Canadian artists because...they're just as much Canadian Content as any other Canadian performers from other provinces (Tessier Personal Communication 2005). So when it comes to Canadian Content, this participant felt that Newfoundland walks on equal ground with the rest of mainland Canada.

The stations that said they do not play Newfoundland music purposely to fulfill Canadian Content requirements (55 percent), though, said that Newfoundland music is

included in the Canadian music category and does get played. In other words, Newfoundland music does count towards a station's Canadian Content quota, but that is not these stations' main motivation for playing Newfoundland music. According to Gary Tredwell of Coast 101.1, a station that combines Newfoundland and Canadian music in the same category, Newfoundland music has "an equal share with everybody else that's Canadian in that category" (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005). While his motivations for equally sharing are slightly different from John Tessier's, Tredwell is essentially also putting Newfoundland artists on an equal footing with their mainland counterparts.

Therefore, Canadian Content regulations affect the amount of local music that gets played on the radio. For the stations that do not purposely play local music to fulfill the requirements, the fact that local music gets played anyway implies that there is an effort by these stations to emphasize and promote local music, and the local music communities helps these stations reach their requirements by producing music that the stations can play.

The CBC and Canadian Content

CBC Radio One is a unique case in terms of Canadian Content. The CBC's mandate is to provide programming that is "predominantly and distinctly Canadian," that "actively contributes to the flow and exchange of cultural expression," that "reflects the multicultural nature of Canada," and that "contributes to a shared national consciousness and identity" (*Broadcast Act* 1991, Section 104-34). Because of this, the CBC usually has no problem meeting Canadian Content requirements. As part of its mandate to serve the

Canadian public and support the Canadian arts, the CBC already carries a large amount of Canadian content in its programs. So what do Canadian Content regulations mean for the CBC? My interviews with three station personnel from CBC Radio One in St. John's explored this question.

Programming on CBC Radio One in St. John's is a mixture of local programs and national feeds. As a result, station personnel rarely have trouble meeting Canadian Content requirements. Angela Antle mentioned that occasionally, when she's playing a lot of world music, she has to remember to throw in something that meets the criteria for Canadian Content, but other than that, meeting the requirements is easy (Antle Personal Communication 2005).

Since almost all the content on CBC Radio One is Canadian Content, the amount of *local* content is under a heavier spotlight from listeners. "The music is representative of the community," Glen Tilley told me. "There's a lot of local music and its part of who we are". Because of the importance of music in Newfoundland culture, the CBC station personnel I spoke with do not feel pressured to include local music in their broadcasts. Local music will get played "if its good and its appropriate to the show you're doing" (Tilley Personal Communication 2005).

The CBC station personnel did, however, credit the Canadian Content regulations with giving huge numbers of Canadian musicians an outlet for their music that was not available prior to 1970 (Tilley Personal Communication 2005).

The fact that, by mandate, the CBC broadcasts more Canadian Content than probably any other station allows them more flexibility. "I'm doing this show about the Mississippi Delta," said Glen Tilley. "There is no room for Canadian Content." Here,

Glen points out that because the CBC already plays so much Canadian and Newfoundland content, there are fewer issues that arise when the station produces the occasional show that does not reflect local culture or the larger Canadian sentiment. Permission to broadcast or produce a non-Canadian show is usually needed, but these requests are usually approved because of the already overwhelming amount of Canadian content aired (Tilley Personal Communication 2005).

Glen Tilley and Angela Antle produce CBC shows that combine Newfoundland content with national or international content. *MusiCraft*, a show produced by Francesca Swan, is, however, almost exclusively Newfoundland in focus. Although her show mainly includes classical music, Francesca told me she has no problem finding enough Newfoundland content for her show. Compared to other musical genres, there is not as much classical music being written by Newfoundlanders, so the music on Francesca's show usually meets only the "A" and "P" criteria of the MAPL system discussed in Chapter Two. That is, the Artists are Canadian (and many times Newfoundlanders) and the musical Productions occur and are recorded in Canada, including Newfoundland. St. John's is also home to the largest university in Atlantic Canada, which has a music department, and this circumstance opens up the realm of recording and broadcasting possibilities for a show like Francesca's.

Therefore, where CBC radio is concerned, the existence of Canadian Content regulations actually encourage the incorporation of local content because the local content is what helps distinguish CBC Radio One in St. John's from CBC Radio One in other Canadian cities. The only hindrance to the maintenance of local content on the radio applies to all stations, not just the CBC. This hindrance includes the pull factors

from central Canada that draw Newfoundland musicians off of the island. Brad Martin explained the situation.

The province can only do so much for you, and I'm not saying 'leave' in any way, cause the scene is great here, but if you define success by record sales, possibly videos, you're gonna have to spread out. You're gonna have to go talk to your...major promoters because we don't have anyone here that's really pushing [the music].

(Michaels Personal Communication 2005)

In other words, Canadian Content regulations have driven the demand for more Canadian-produced music. And, so much Canadian music has been produced as a result that Newfoundland artists, somewhat ironically, who want to make a living as musicians or record on a major record label have to leave Newfoundland to do so. The province does not have the resources to support many fulltime musicians. So, the major record labels in Toronto become pull factors for musicians, while the lack of people and resources in Newfoundland become push factors.

Summary and Conclusions

It is difficult to ignore the prominence of music in Newfoundland culture. Through interviews with station personnel, I learned that radio has become an important medium for defining local music and determining the popularity of particular genres, promoting local music, and preserving Newfoundland culture. Underlying this trend of local music on the radio are the Canadian Content regulations. Station personnel in St. John's see the regulations as positive for two reasons. First, Canadian Content gives stations an excuse to play Canadian music, and many times this "Canadian" music is actually music from or about Newfoundland. Secondly, the regulations are seen as

something distinctly Canadian, and their existence adds to the broad idea of what it means to be Canadian. As a result, station personnel in St. John's see Canadian Content as one of a few strong underlying forces behind the presence of Canadian music in the world market today.

Canadian Content regulations may influence the broadcasting choices of St. John's radio stations toward local content. I believe, however, that in the case of the St. John's radio market, local content would be present on the radio even without the regulations. Prior to 1949, Newfoundland was independent and provided its own broadcasting. Local content, especially local music, existed on the radio then, and the local content survived Newfoundland's confederation with Canada. My research tells me that if Canadian Content regulations were withdrawn tomorrow, radio stations in St. John's would keep the collective emphasis on local programming. In other words, the local content in St. John's radio broadcasts is not totally dependent on federal policies instituted at the national level. In a way, the inherent importance placed on local content in Newfoundland radio is one way that Newfoundland remains culturally independent from Canada.

CHAPTER SIX: CULTURAL IDENTITY AND NEWFOUNDLAND MUSIC ON THE RADIO

The previous chapter discussed results from my interviews with station personnel surrounding the themes of cultural presentation and cultural preservation. In this chapter, I review relevant literature relating to identity construction and sense of place, especially concerning music, and then discuss themes of Newfoundland identity that emerged from my interviews with those who listen to the Newfoundland music broadcasts from the St. John's radio market.

Music cannot be “contained within a single explanatory theory” (Connell and Gibson 2003, 17). At the most localized scale, issues of identity are informed by Castells’ (2004) theory regarding the construction of identity. Identity, Castells wrote, is “the people’s source of meaning and experience” (p. 6). An identity becomes so when an individual internalizes his/her experiences, and when the process of internalization itself means something to the individual. Meaning, according to Castells, is the conscious awareness an individual has toward his/her actions (p.7). Individuals organize the meaning of experiences according to time, space, and aspects of social structure. The experiences that create an identity acquire meaning based on when and where they occurred, and who else or what else was present. For example, part of my individual identity comes from being a graduate student at the University of Tennessee. The experiences I’ve had here that form my identity as a graduate student involve working long days and into the night (time), having an office in the Geography Building (space), and taking classes with other people who also call themselves graduate students (social

structure). These experiences have meaning to me because I distinguish them from my undergraduate experience, and I see them as privileges of having proceeded to an advanced level of higher education.

An individual may have multiple identities, and these identities should be distinguished from an individual's role.⁷⁵ Roles are defined by societal norms, and while they may influence behavior to an extent, it is the internalization and organization of the meaning of experiences that constructs individual identity, not the roles themselves.

Castells posited, however, that in a "network society" (a term Castells used to explain the interactions between groups or individuals), individuals possess a *primary* identity which frames other individual identities and around which meaning is organized. In my case, my primary identity is that I am a graduate student. Even when I am playing the trumpet in a community band, it is my schedule and commitments as a graduate student that have made it possible for me to spend the time in such an activity. Being a female trumpet player would be a secondary identity.

Castells acknowledged the power relationships in society through his three forms and origins of identity building: 1) legitimizing identity--the domination of one institution over a group or society; 2) resistance identity--shared by groups that feel they occupy the position of "the other" in society; and 3) project identity--when a group wishes to impose its new identity on others in the transformation of the larger society (Castells 2004, 7-8). These forms of identity are not mutually exclusive, but rather evolutionary. Resistance identities may, for example, lead to projects which eventually become dominant

⁷⁵ Castells uses mother, teacher, socialist militant, union member, basketball player, churchgoer, and smoker as examples of roles from which identity potentially could be distinguished (Castells 2004, 6-7).

institutions in society. This evolutionary process reminds us that identities are not fixed, but rather are constantly changing as new meaning is attributed to new (and old) experiences.

General Themes in Identity Studies

Sociologist Stuart Hall (1996, 3-4) employed a strategic and positional method of describing identity. Hall believed that identity does not evolve linearly throughout history and it does not emerge only from within an individual. Instead, identity is an ever-changing process with many branches that emerge at different times, and these branches are all linked back to the same individual, or group of people. Hall claimed that “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being” (Hall 1996, 4). The term “becoming” implies a continual process, while the term “being” implies a point at which a process has terminated.

Regarding the construction of identity, Hall made two assertions. The first is that identities are constructed through discourse, not outside it, because identities emerge by verbalizing differences rather than unity. It was Hall’s opinion that without discourse, differences would not surface, and specific identities would remain unspoken. Hall’s first assertion is directly related to his second: that identities are constructed through, and not outside difference. Identities are constructed around uniqueness. Without interacting with “the other,” or individuals with different characteristics and traits, identities would never be realized (Hall 1996, 4-5).

The other way to address the identity debate is to determine to what point the concept of identity can be reduced (Hall 1996, 2). Hall posited that identities are

temporarily attached to common positions ('temporarily' because positions or individuals are constantly changing). Reducing identities beyond their connection to a position makes them no longer elements of identity (Hall 1996, 7).

Instead of reducing identities, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1996) separated the identity debate to which Hall referred into two periods: modernity and postmodernity. Throughout modernity, scholars searched for ways to solidify and constrain identity constructs. In the postmodern period, however, the focus has changed. Instead of trying to stabilize identities, postmodernists try to avoid the fixation of identities, thus allowing them to constantly evolve and change. Bauman stated, "one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioral styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence" (Bauman 1996, 19). Bauman's view of identity construction, like Hall's, allows identities to change as experiences and situations an individual is placed in also change.

University of North Carolina Communications professor Lawrence Grossberg (1996) agreed only in part with Hall. Grossberg agreed that identities are formed around difference and through interaction, but he added that Hall's models of identity construction did not account for the fact that an individual or group can experience multiple identities. This experience usually occurs, according to Grossberg, when more than one difference was experienced, such as differences in race, class, and gender. Because Grossberg believed in the existence of multiple, simultaneous identities, he saw identities as fragments or categories of a dominant identity. The dominant identity is

often mistaken as a single identity because it is the most visible. Grossberg called for an examination of dominant identities *within the context of* their partial identities, but he admits that such an examination is more difficult.

Kevin Robins, a British cultural geographer, considered Hall's and Bauman's ideas regarding the infinite process of identity construction. Robins used issues of Turkish national identity placed within a broader European or Western context to explain how identities are constantly being renegotiated when one country. In this case, Turkey is not sure where it belongs. Turkey's location between the Middle East and Europe has been of strategic importance to Europe and other Western countries. Yet, culturally and politically, Europe has always viewed Turkey as different. In their quest for membership in the European Union (EU), Turkey argued that they were, in fact, Europeans. The EU, on the other hand, was not convinced of Turkey's claim, mainly because the EU saw an absence of a unified Turkish national identity. Instead, Europe viewed Turkey as a buffer nation, one that occupies a place physically, culturally, and politically in between the Westernized nations of Europe and Islamic nations in the Middle East. However, because of its location between Europe and the Middle East, Turkish national identity is constantly being renegotiated as these regions experience social, political and economic changes (Robbins 1996, 61-67).

In addition, cultural meaning in Turkish culture was added by the Turkish government when they measured how certain aspects of Turkish culture compared to Western culture. The Turkish government measured their cultural achievement by how much they thought Turkish culture resembled European culture. Turkey tried to ignore its past because of its historically strong cultural ties with the Middle East. The presence of

Islam in Turkey, however, made the government's efforts to "modernize" the country difficult. The Islamic East protested against Turkey's turn toward the West. Now, new identities are being formed as Turkey tries to negotiate between cultural connections with the Middle East and economic connections with Europe (Robins 1996, 67-82).

Exploring the Concept of National Identity

In recent decades, the nature of cultural identity has begun to occupy a prominent place in social science research. Tim Edensor contended that researchers should not distinguish between individual and national identities, but he assumed the two are connected in complex relationships. Edensor used the metaphor of a matrix to describe the interconnections between individual and national identity. In fact, the identity matrix is so complex that researchers are forced to focus on specific dimensions (Edensor 2002, vii).

It is also important to remember that multiple identities exist, and that identity formation is not a finite, linear process, but one that is constantly changing and reinventing itself (Edensor 2002, 1-2). In 1992, John Agnew wrote of one such linear process when he warned against the residual approach to studying identity: the assumption that local and regional identities are becoming less homogenous in the face of globalization and modernization. In his study on the politics of place in post-war Italy, Agnew contended that the ever-changing nature of local and regional identities also makes them ever-present (Agnew 1992, 53, 68).

The influence of everyday activities in identity formation cannot be over emphasized. Agnew used his study in Italy to illustrate that "all people live in cultural

worlds that are made and remade through their everyday activities,” and that “cultural worlds are grounded geographically in the experience of place” (Agnew 1992, 68-69). Local identities help to define cultures, and as identities change and evolve, so do the cultures they reflect. Edensor agreed with Agnew that identity is “grounded in the every day, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge” (Edensor 2002, 17). My study shows that radio listening is one such everyday activity that can be used to trace cultural change and create identities.

Place and Identity

In geographical literature, the word “place” is often used interchangeably with words like “space,” “location,” or “landscape.” But some geographers have distinguished “place” from words it commonly replaces.

Yi-Fu Tuan, for example, distinguished between space and place. We live in spaces, said Tuan, but it is places that have value and meaning to us. In other words, space is quantifiable, but place is usually not. Tuan also contended that space and place are co-dependent. The definition of one depends on the existence of the other. For example, space allows for movement while place can be thought of as a pause. According to Tuan, “each pause in movement makes it possible for location [or space] to be transformed into place” (Tuan 1997, 6).

Geographers have debated whether or not “place” can have boundaries. According to Robert Sack, an area or region becomes a place when we “intentionally bound it and attempt to control what happens within it through the use of rules about what may or may not occur” (Sack 2004, 243), or when we name it. He used the example

of federally designated wilderness areas to show how humans have taken a space and made it a place by giving it tangible boundaries and by creating rules that determine what activities can and cannot take place within the area. Sack saw places as tools that give us space in which to act. On the other hand, geographer Tim Oakes disagreed with Sack's definition of place. In his research on tourist spaces and places, Oakes viewed place as unbounded. He believed that place transcends scale and serves as a point of intersection, or a stage, for actions and interactions on many scales (Oakes 2005, 50-51). For example, the Bellagio Hotel in Las Vegas can be seen as a place or stage, which transcends scale. The global scale, such as the Las Vegas hotel's connection with its Italian roots, intersects with the local Las Vegas landscape and serves as a place where tourists interact with the experiences for which Las Vegas is known (Minca 2005, 104-106).

Tim Cresswell used place as a way to understand the world. He defined place as the space of human activity that has meaning to those acting within it. Places are created when people personalize or add meaning to a space. For example, we may buy a house, but it becomes our "place" when we decorate it, paint it, put our furniture in it, and put our name on the mailbox. Soon, this space becomes a place that not only includes the physical structure of the house, but also includes the personalized aspects of space such as the lawn, flower beds, and sometimes even the whole neighborhood (Cresswell 2004, 1-5).

Space becomes place when meaning is added. Geographer John Agnew stated that for place to be meaningful it needs to have location, locale, and sense of place for the individual (Agnew 1987, 25-28). By location, Agnew meant the physical placement of

the place.⁷⁶ Locale refers to the material aspects of the place, such as the shape of buildings or design of parks around or through which human interaction occurs. Agnew calls the emotional attachment humans have for places a “sense of place.” Places such as our homes have particular emotional meaning that only those who live there can understand.

Cultural geographer Soren Larsen studied the importance of emotional attachment to place in identity formation. He explored how local leaders in northern British Columbia construct symbolic meanings of place in an effort to resist the influence of outside corporations that came to the area for the purpose of extracting natural resources. The diverse mixture of people in this region (aboriginals, European immigrants, American immigrants, and Mennonites) had a strong connection to place. The land and the environment in this British Columbian region had meaning to its residents (Larsen 2004).

While the land and environment had meaning to local residents in the region, this meaning changed when the residents were obligated to work for resource extraction companies operating in the area as a means of employment. Larsen contended that such employment alienated locals from the same land to which they attached meaning, and that the tension between alienation and attachment to place became the common element in the creation of a resistance identity among locals. For example, through qualitative interviews, Larsen asked residents what made their place unique. The most common response Larsen received was that isolation was the region’s most unique quality. This

⁷⁶ One should note that this definition excludes the possibility of imaginary places, yet imagined/ideal places are just as important as real places.

isolation, coupled with the harsh climate, often required residents to survive in difficult living conditions. Residents saw their ability to survive as something that set them apart from “outsiders” such as tourists, corporate employees, and seasonal residents. Survival in a place added meaning to that place. Only those who survived in the harsh conditions could share this meaning, and thus endurance in harsh conditions became the characteristic that separated an “insider” from an “outsider.” Endurance and survival, brought about by unique characteristics of place, became part of the local identity because it was something that the ethnically diverse local population had in common (Larsen 2004).

Considering the role of place in identity construction is essential to my argument because Newfoundlanders’ identities are inextricably linked to Newfoundland as a place, rather than a space. These connections are described in greater detail later in this chapter.

Music and Identity

In a cultural context, music can mean many things. Whether one is involved with music through composition, performance, or as a listener, music can remind people of past experiences. Through music, people can relate to places, social contexts, and identities. When groups of people share a musical event, like attending a concert, the meaning of the music brings about common feelings shared by those involved. These shared feelings are called collective memories or collective identities. Through such experiences, music becomes a means by which identities are constructed (Stokes 1997, 1-7). This chapter discusses the linkages between music and identity. Specific examples from Newfoundland are elaborated on later in this chapter.

John Baily suggested two ways in which music and identity are linked: 1) groups use music to maintain cultural identity, and 2) music serves as a means with which to express values (Baily 1997, 46-47). In Afghanistan during the 1970s, music, especially that which was broadcast on the radio, had become a unifying factor between diverse ethnic groups. The radio had been used to convey the values of the state, such as the message of the Q'uran, to the rest of the population. The music used to convey the state's message combined elements of the major ethnic groups in Afghanistan (Pashtun, Tajik, and Hindustani) and musical traditions of different regions within the country. The result was the emergence of an Afghan popular music heard by a large percentage of the population. In this case, music broadcast on the radio contributed to the evolution of an Afghan national identity.

Music can also contribute to a sense of identity when it reflects the values of the state and the nation. These values are often expressed musically through a combination of song and symbol. Music can serve as common ground between the political unit (the state) and citizen groups (the nation). The impact of Chopin in Poland is an example of the link between music and nationalism.⁷⁷ Chopin used small parts of Polish folk songs, which were familiar to most Poles, in his music. Because his compositions were not inherently religious, the communist authorities in the twentieth century considered Chopin's music an acceptable part of Polish ideology following World War II. Chopin's use of folk songs in his music also linked peasant culture with elite culture, as there was finally something to which both societal groups could relate. In addition, Zdzislaw Mach concludes that a

⁷⁷ Other examples include Jan Paderewski, who was a concert pianist and Prime Minister of Poland, Eduard Greigg and Ole Bull in Norway, and Jean Sibelius and Finland.

national focus on Chopin's music in the post-war era symbolized a Polish ideology based on peasant culture, rather than elite culture. This further fulfilled the aims of communist authorities who were trying to lessen the gap between the poor and elite classes. Finally, the lack of political meaning in Chopin's compositions prevented his works from being exclusively associated with the communist era, and thus they are still held in high esteem even after the fall of communism (Mach 1997). In other words, the nature of Chopin's music was what allowed it to assume a nationally symbolic role.

Music and identity are often linked through a musical style or instrumentation that becomes associated with a particular place. In Liverpool, England, for example, purposeful construction of a "Liverpool sound" highlighted power relationships at many different scales (local, regional, national, international). Most of the music that came out of Liverpool expressed social, economic and political issues that were unique to the city. This music impacted the way people, both local and non-local, conceptualized Liverpool as a place. The Beatles' popularity put Liverpool on the map in the 1960s, but issues of unemployment and out-migration from the city, inherent in music from Liverpool, have shaped the way the city is portrayed by the media. As a result, Liverpool identity was constructed through themes of survival during economic hardship, pride in the face of economic downturns, and individualism in relation to wider society. This identity surfaced in the popular music from Liverpool, a music that listeners described as "hard," "hard-edged," "unique," and "blunt." While there are disparities among individual opinions of what a "Liverpool sound" is, most participants in this particular study noted that music from Liverpool was different from the rest of England. They often compared

music from Liverpool to music from other cities. In other words, the music from Liverpool influenced the way people thought about Liverpool (Cohen 1997).

Music, when used as a means of cultural expression, can contribute to national identities. Within the Kalasha group of northwest Pakistan, music performance was a means through which members expressed allegiance both to themselves and their communities. The spatial organization of those involved in a song celebration reflects an underlying hierarchy in an otherwise 'egalitarian' ethnic group. Although Kalasha culture recognized equality among households, the movements that coincide with song performance emphasized the importance of male heads of household, and the subordinate role of wives and dependents. In this example, music and its performance manifest collective identities by alluding to an internal societal hierarchy (Parks 1997).

Musical instruments themselves have been indicators of social status, and identities have been constructed around their use. For example, trumpets were associated with royalty. In fact, certain kinds of trumpets were reserved for use only when royal affairs required them. From the sixteenth century until the early 1800s, the time spent learning and playing an instrument had social implications as well. The ability to play an instrument meant that one had leisure time and was, therefore, affluent. In addition, further restrictions were placed on who was allowed to play the instruments. For example, a courtier of this time was only permitted to play those instruments with strings that could be bowed or plucked. Furthermore, it was more common for girls in noble families of England to receive music lessons because musical ability was thought to enhance a young girl's marital opportunities. Therefore, the knowledge of music and the act of performing

it was a symbol of collective social identity shared by members of the elite in a highly gendered social space (La Rue 1997).

Links between social identity and music are often made possible through technology. Recent innovations in music technology have allowed for the construction of new identities in Colombia. The once strictly rural musical genre of *vallenato* has achieved new recognition and popularity both within Colombia and beyond due to advances in music distribution. Through performances at festivals, a little support from drug lords living in rural areas, and a “modernization” of the *vallenato* musical sound, the genre and its performers found a national spotlight. This “modernization” included the addition of more percussion instruments, such as bongos, timbales and congas, as well as the use of synthesizers. Despite this transformation, however, Colombians continued to identify (in both a positive and negative way) with the genre’s rural roots. One *vallenato* singer, Carlos Vives, tried to use the musical genre to remind Colombians of what it meant to be Colombian. He purposefully used media production and performance technology to create something he felt was distinctly Colombian in contrast to popular music of North America (Sturman 2003). Thus, technological innovations assisted Vives in successfully reaching the Colombian population musically.

Music has also been used to connect members of a diaspora with their cultural hearth. Songs will speak of aspects of home, or past experiences, that help define the diaspora and distinguish them from others. This is the case with the Torres Strait islanders living on mainland Australia. These former islanders express their identity through musical narratives that speak of their island homes, and particular times and events, such as the arrival of Christianity in the region and complexities of colonization.

Mainlander songs also express a tension between this group's attachment to their island home and where they live now. The themes expressed in Torres Strait music serve as identity narratives or a discourse that "encourages a new explanation of the world so as to alter it" (Davies and Neuenfeldt 2004, 140).

Simon Frith is a British English and Sociology professor who has written extensively about the interactions between music and culture. He posited that when studying links between music and cultural identity, one must not only consider how people create and shape music, but also how people are shaped by music. In other words, Frith was interested in the dynamic tension and reciprocity between people and music. Two questions Frith used the latter approach to answer were: 1) Why do many Europeans love African-American music? and 2) When Ella Fitzgerald sings Cole Porter, what does the music say? Frith looked at popular music from a bottom-up perspective. He wanted to know how music produces people and how music creates experience (Frith 1996, 108-109).

Frith supported his approach using two premises. First, he believed that identity is mobile and part of a never-ending process. Second, Frith calls the experience of music making and listening "an experience of [the] *self-in-process*" (Frith 1996, 109). He used music as a metaphor for identity because he believed that music must be examined in the context of its social, economic, political, and ethnic being. Similarly, identity must be examined in these contexts if one is to try to understand the meaning of identity to an individual or group. Frith states that music embodies, rather than represents, cultural values. He used the case of white listeners in Britain enacting black musical values through performance of African-American music, specifically jazz. In this case, jazz

embodied different cultural values when performed by whites. “Musical identity is, then, always fantastic, idealizing not just oneself but also the social world one inhabits” (Frith 1996, 123). In conclusion, Frith asserted that we must look not only at different musical genres in an attempt to understand how music contributes to individual or group identity, but also at how music places people in different social groups. Frith stated, “music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives” (Frith 1996, 124).

Canadian Identity

Because of the diverse mix of culture and ethnic groups within Canada’s borders, speaking broadly of a unified Canadian identity is as problematic as defining an American identity. When “Canadians” are mentioned in literature, it is not clear which Canadians are being discussed. For example, some Canadian culture groups may be emphasized (white, Anglo-saxon, male), while others receive less attention (women, Francophone) (Diamond 1994, 13-14). Like its neighbors to the south, Canada experienced periods of colonial rule, yet texts that address Canadian culture still centralize aspects of European culture. This focus on European traditions in Canadian texts places Canadian culture outside of, or in extension to European culture, thus encouraging Canadians to view Canadian culture as an “other” (Diamond 1994, 24-25).

Canadian cultural identity cannot be discussed without also addressing issues of hegemony, or power structures in society. Issues of hegemony are especially relevant when discussing Canadian cultural identity because, in Canada, the United States is often

viewed as maintaining a culturally hegemonic role in relation to Canada (Romanow 2005). Within Canada, Anglophone culture is seen as hegemonic as opposed to Francophone culture (Moore 2002, 7-8).

Carole Carpenter (1994), associate professor of Humanities at York University, spoke of the historic Anglo-Saxon/Canadian attitude of cultural superiority extending back to the Age of Exploration. Carpenter posited that the attitude of majority groups (English and French) towards minority groups (native Americans) resulted in the description of Canadian culture as a mosaic where multiple ethnicities co-exist. She pointed out that negative attitudes by the majority groups toward minority groups were usually stronger as majority groups lived closer to minority groups. For example, Europeans living in Europe referred to native Americans as the “Noble Savage,” while those who lived in North America referred to them as “pesky Redskins.” Carpenter also pointed out that attitudes toward minority groups in Canada were often contrasted to the attitude toward the same groups in the United States. In the U.S., minority groups were encouraged to blend in with majority culture, the idealized result being the United States’ “melting pot.” In Canada, it was all right for minority groups to remain distinct.

According to Carpenter, attitudinal differences between the majority and minority groups are reflected in two types of ethnic festivals. Ethnic festivals featuring one distinct ethnic group are more concerned with sharing traditions among those who belong to the ethnic community. On the other hand, festivals that feature a conglomeration of ethnic groups are more focused on exposing outsiders to traditions of minority cultures. The former is focused on minority group preservation, while the latter is concerned with awareness of the minority group by the larger population. On one hand, these larger

festivals that feature many ethnic groups are metaphors for the Canadian mosaic of cultures and the feeling that in Canada, minority groups are free to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. On the other hand, Carpenter concludes that the increased attention given to minority groups in Canada is actually a situation where “the majority is more ready to use and/or abuse the minority traditions in order to maintain their position in the nation, to amuse or entertain themselves, and to portray Canadian culture abroad” (Carpenter 1994, 133). In other words, Carpenter claims that majority groups often use minority groups to define Canada’s attitude towards ethnic diversity, but do not actually see minority affairs as issues of great concern. Nevertheless, attitudes towards minority groups are an inherent aspect of a Canadian national identity (Carpenter 1994, 134-135).

The diversity of ethnic groups in Canada, as well as its tremendous latitudinal and longitudinal expanse, causes problems for creating a Canadian national identity. Canada’s physical geography can serve two roles. First, the country’s vastness has historically separated its people because travel between places was difficult. Second, and at the same time, that vastness created strong feelings of community among those living close together. Common struggles often unite people, and the environment was the foe against which Canadians struggled. These feelings of community are what Canadians see as vital parts of individual identity (Romanow 2005).

Canadian national identity is even more difficult to define because of the ways in which Canada’s history differs from that of the United States. Where the United States can trace its separation from England back to a particular date (the Declaration of Independence), Canada’s disconnection with its colonial power was more gradual and is still not complete, as Canada claims commonwealth status under the English monarchy.

Canada's separation from England was also more of an economic issue than a political one. Canada began a "made in Canada" campaign in the 1920s as its own industrial economy grew. The growth of an industrial economy gradually reduced Canada's reliance on England for goods and services, and the desire to achieve an independent nation-state was realized. The United States, on the other hand, separated first politically from England by declaring independence, and the economic separation was secondary (Romanow 2005).

Newfoundland Music and Identity

Throughout this project, I refrained from defining Newfoundland music. Four summers on the island taught me that Newfoundland music was an inherently personal phenomenon. As an etic researcher studying a culture of which I am not a part, I decided to let my listeners define Newfoundland music themselves, and I let those definitions drive my research.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the definitions of Newfoundland music given by the station personnel I interviewed. In this section, I elaborate on the definitions of Newfoundland music that listeners gave. There are some commonalities between groups regarding the definition of Newfoundland music, but there are also some differences.

While my listeners' definitions of Newfoundland music varied, there were four common characteristics that they mentioned. Some listeners used instrumentation to define Newfoundland music. The most popular instrument mentioned was the accordion and the violin was a close second. "The accordion is major," one listener told me. "It's the best thing I like about Newfoundland music...the rhythm it gives you, the movement,

like if you sit down to listen to Newfoundland music, you can't help but tap your foot or your finger or nod" (J. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener agreed. "I think Newfoundland music is just ordinary, just good music that you can sit down and listen to even if it is accordion music or someone playing the violin" (Wall Personal Communication 2006). The presence of the accordion in Newfoundland music often evoked an emotional reaction from my listeners.

Another characteristic that made music Newfoundland music was the origin of the songwriters or performers. "To me, Newfoundland music means everything that's produced in Newfoundland, from the symphonies, to choirs, to the jazz, to the alternative, to the rock, to the country...so it's very diverse" (Purcell Personal Communication 2006).

Music that shows Newfoundland's connection to Ireland was also considered Newfoundland music. Sadie Kenny explained this connection.

If it's Irish music, then it's about people. People remembering what they heard from their grandparents about Ireland. So, really, when you're hearing Irish music, it's basically the same as here because...the people that came from Ireland, they had the same kind of background. They just brought it with 'em.

(S. Kenny Personal Communication 2006)

The important element in this explanation, though, is the *combination* of Irish and Newfoundland elements in music. Listeners clearly explained that it was the combining of Irish musical elements, such as tunes or instruments from Ireland, with the Newfoundland experience and performance style that made the music Newfoundland music.

Finally, music that talked about the experience of living in Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders connection to their environment was considered Newfoundland music.

“I think in the songs, [the songs] reflected that struggle,” one listener explained.

“Everybody was in a battle together, everybody was in the same struggle” (Keough Personal Communication 2006).⁷⁸ “Newfoundland music is stuff that’s written about Newfoundland,” another listener told me. “If you mention the Newfoundland name, or you mention a Newfoundland place, or even Newfoundland names, the “Kelligrew Soiree” is one, it’s a Newfoundland song” (Maher Personal Communication 2006).

One important idea to note in these explanations, though, is that these characteristics are not mutually exclusive. Many listeners used a combination of these four elements (instrumentation, origin of writers or performers, connection to Ireland, and the experience living in Newfoundland) to describe what they thought to be Newfoundland music. Most of the examples of Newfoundland songs that listeners mentioned contained more than one of these elements. Often, the song examples given by listeners were songs that were considered to be traditional Newfoundland songs or Irish-Newfoundland songs because songs of these genres are heard more frequently on the radio than other genres. These trends indicate that definitions of Newfoundland music, like Newfoundland identity itself, are fluid and changing as new versions of older songs appear, and new styles of music containing these four elements emerge.

With regards to Newfoundland music and identity, my research has suggested that most of the folk and traditional music heard on the radio in Newfoundland today started in the late 1960s and early 1970s in resistance to the overpowering presence of American and British culture, and to the feeling of collective inferiority experienced by

⁷⁸ The struggle of which this participant speaks is the one of Newfoundlanders against the environment and economic conditions.

Newfoundlanders after losing their independence first to Britain, and then, through political union with Canada. Music of this “renaissance”⁷⁹, as some of my listeners called this period, is laden with references to Newfoundland as a place, aspects of culture unique to Newfoundland, localisms perhaps understood only by Newfoundlanders, and a modernization of traditional Newfoundland and Irish songs with the incorporation of traditional instruments. This musical cultural movement sought to create a sense of pride in Newfoundlanders, and, in this sense, could be seen as a move from resistance to project identity. Today, the airtime dedicated to local music is dominated by the folk and traditional music of the last 40 years. In some ways, the traditional/folk and Irish Newfoundland music has become part of a legitimizing identity, its prominence rationalized by the relationship of the music to Newfoundland culture while other genres of music written and played by Newfoundlanders occupy a more peripheral position to the traditional/folk and Irish sound.⁸⁰

It can also be argued that Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio helps to create Anderson’s (1983) “imagined communities,” where members are connected by a feeling that others like them exist, but where face-to-face interaction does not take place. The references to place and use of localisms certainly connect listeners, as listeners could conclude that if such phrases are used in radio broadcasts, then there must be other listeners who understand them as well. In an age where for-profit commercial radio dominates the industry, one could also conclude that simply the act of broadcasting local

⁷⁹ This is not a typical use of the term “renaissance,” but it was referred to by many of the people I interviewed as this term-- a return to traditional Newfoundland music by music groups during the late ‘60s and early ‘70s (Figgy Duff and Ryan’s Fancy for example), but with new sounds, rhythms, and, often times, a fuller instrumentation.

⁸⁰ Peripheral genres include jazz, gospel, rap, hip hop, classical, alternative, and to a somewhat lesser extent, rock, pop, and contemporary country music.

music (which in Newfoundland is probably not the main money maker for stations) implies there is an audience, or an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) of willing listeners. My goal is to flesh out the actual character of this virtual or imagined community through in-depth interviews with listeners.

A Newfoundland Cultural Revival

In discussions of identity in Newfoundland, one cannot ignore the development of a strong regional discourse combining demographic, economic, political, and social dimensions of the province (Overton 1996, 46). While some claim that this regionalism is due to the decline of outport communities or the influence of North American popular culture (Overton 1996), others attribute the rise in regional sentiment (especially through music) to the imposition of federal policies in Newfoundland (especially concerning the fishing and oil industries) (Conrad 2002). Regardless of the reason, however, scholars agree that Newfoundland is experiencing a cultural revival.

This cultural revival, which began in the 1970s, is centered on the idea that Newfoundland is unique. Newfoundlanders believe they have a distinct way of life, and this way of life is mainly expressed in the rural communities referred to as outports. Newfoundland sociologist James Overton (1996, 52) called these outports "the seat of homegrown Newfoundland culture, authentic and popular." Defending this outport way of life against the onslaught of globalization and the closure of the fishery has become the focus of the Newfoundland cultural revival. After all, aspects of globalization (e.g. industrialization, consumerism, mass culture, the media) are what Newfoundlanders feel

have destroyed the outport communities when residents were forced to resettle in larger towns (Overton 1996, 46-50).

Outport culture may have become the focus of the Newfoundland cultural revival for another reason. Overton points out that communities or individuals living on the periphery are often romanticized and idealized in contrast to urban life. Cultural traditions can remain strong when there is little outside influence or incentive to change. Life in traditional outport communities in Newfoundland *was* isolated, and many cultural traditions were carried down for generations. In contrast, Newfoundland's urban area, St. John's, was far from isolated. The city had a busy harbor, and the city was a stop-over point for journeys between Europe and North America. With a constant influx of new people and ideas, it makes sense that the constants in Newfoundland culture were cultural practices of the outport communities. These constants were another reason why the cultural revival in Newfoundland is centered on rural culture (Overton 1996, 49-50).

One criticism of this understanding of the cultural revival is the assumption that Newfoundland is culturally homogenous, or that there is one overarching cultural identity. The problem with the one-culture theory is that it becomes impossible to identify what constitutes that one culture. Identifying the single culture can be subject to further criticism because such a practice ends up being a reflection on the past rather than an examination of the present. Finally, the one-culture theory does not account for the fact that culture and society constantly change (Overton 1996, 51).

Overton offered one explanation of how the cultural homogeneity idea developed in Newfoundland. He cited traits that come out in most of the literature on Newfoundland culture and identity: hospitality, self-reliance, religiosity, a strong work ethic, pride,

cheerful optimism, spiritual self-preservation, independence, egalitarianism, individualism, distrust of strangers, passiveness, industriousness and innovativeness (Overton 1996, 52). Overton proposed that what most people perceive as an overarching Newfoundland culture is really a common idea about what the stereotypical Newfoundlander is like. He suggested that not only is Newfoundland culture real (not an individual illusion), but that Newfoundland culture can be used as a “particular lens through which the world is ‘seen’ and to raise some questions about how this lens was ground and the nature of the vision that it allows” (Overton 1996, 57).

Historian Margaret Conrad, however, called this overarching identity a “mistaken identity.” She argued that much of what is seen as Newfoundland’s dominant identity is based on how other Canadians view Newfoundland rather than how Newfoundlanders view themselves. Conrad cited accounts of negative stereotyping against Newfoundlanders both by Canadians in the central region, and by the other Maritime provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) in their effort to avoid being grouped with the “backward” Newfoundlanders in the stereotypes of Atlantic Canada that came from the central region. Stereotypes are, though, part of the on-going process of identity construction, and part of an active (not-so-subtle) cultural hegemony. Negotiating stereotypes and identities is difficult. Conrad did not have an answer. Rather, she posed the question, “how do we balance the often conflicting and ever-evolving contexts and identities – individual, local, provincial, regional, national, continental, global – that inform our condition?” (Conrad 2002, 168). While my research did not reveal a definitive answer to Conrad’s question, it did reveal some stereotypes regarding Newfoundland identity. Most of these stereotypes probably result from the fact that a

majority of the Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio is referred to by listeners as traditional and Irish-Newfoundland music, which carries with it particular themes and instrumentations.

Radio Listening, Community and Identity

When radio was the primary form of mass communication, before the onslaught of television and film, it also facilitated cohesion and interaction between those people already in proximity to each other. Stern (2003) notes that radio oriented itself toward family togetherness as it often occupied a central place in the home, and he paints a picture of the family gathered around the radio listening together (see also McGee, 1985; Webb 1994). Stern shows that historically the radio was used in the cultural context of the family and for the specific cultural practice of providing evening entertainment in the home.

Radio's role in family life was challenged, and in many cases replaced, by the invention of television. The radio did not completely vanish from societal use, however, because it benefited from two technological innovations: the transistor, which made receivers smaller and cheaper, and the expansion of broadcasters to the FM spectrum, which enhanced signal strength and clarity of sound. These innovations made radio an ideal medium for broadcasting music, and thus radio changed its focus from broadcasting to the population at large to broadcasting for niche markets. The number and variety of radio stations grew as smaller stations sprang up to capture smaller, more-defined audiences (Grossberg *et al.* 1998, 104).

Before television became commonplace, radio also played a role in establishing a national identity. This happened not so much through content, but as a “national, temporal symbol” encouraging everyone to tune in at a particular time (Moore 1993, 86-87). Radio acted as a “speaking clock” (Hay *et al.* 1996, 329), which announced the time periodically during broadcasts. This type of control mechanism helped to synchronize the private activities of the listeners even when great distances separated them. Radio broadcasts of annual or national events attracted listeners from across the country. The idea that everyone in the country or region listened to the same thing at the same time is another example of Anderson’s (1983) “imagined community:” the idea of “the nation” (Moore 1993, 87). This is best illustrated through the 1938 radio broadcast of *War of the Worlds* and its effect on American audiences. While the actual number of listeners differs among reports, almost one-third of the listeners believed they were listening to a live radio broadcast, and a smaller, but substantial number were frightened enough to call police or the radio station (Ryan and Wentworth 1999, 48; Ruddock 2001, 44-45). The present-day focus of niche marketing in radio, however, may synchronize a region’s clock when DJs announce the time of day and the date between broadcasting segments, but the synchronization is not necessarily around a particular event or program as in the past.

On the other hand, Tong Soon Lee offers a modern day example of how radio *can* create imagined communities based on a particular event. He shows how Muslim prayer radio broadcasts in Singapore facilitate community cohesion and help maintain identity among people who might not live in proximity to each other or to the mosque. In this case, the presence of radio transmission makes up for the absence of physical proximity

of listeners to each other. It is used within the cultural context of the Muslim faith and for the specific cultural practice of calling Muslims to prayer (Lee 2003).

Radio listening as a cultural practice survived the onslaught of television, but its role as a present-day form of technoculture continues to change. The changing role of technology has led to new ways of examining the interaction between culture and technology. Wong states that technology itself is culture and that “an examination of technological practices in context is the only way to get at what technology ‘does’” (Wong 2003, 125). Webb also agrees with this assumption. He believes that “relating culture to the material basis of society has shown how new technologies and new social structures are created or adapted so that the new technology fits into existing social relations” (Webb 1994, 5). In other words, those who adopt new technology (such as radio) are actively shaping its use and purpose to society. Thus, we must look not only at the radio itself, but also at what radio conveys to listeners, and how it conveys its message, through the use of technology. Berland argues that radio serves as a medium for “the enactment of a community’s oral and musical history” because it is a means through which users convey something of meaning to listeners, who then decide if it is meaningful. To justify the radio as a form of technoculture, we must examine those who consume this aspect of culture: the audience (Berland 1994, 176).

Radio in Newfoundland and Labrador

Though not part of Canada at the time, Newfoundland played an important role in the development of radio technology. Signal Hill in the provincial capital of St. John’s was the site of the first trans-Atlantic wireless signal reception, completed by Guglielmo

Marconi in December of 1901 (Knutson 1969; Weightman 2003). Also the site of the first message sent by underwater cable from Europe to Newfoundland in 1864, the island had become a communication link between Europe and North America (Knutson 1969, 48). It was not until the end of the 1920s, however, that radio broadcasting had grown into an influential medium (Webb 1994, 6). Radio broadcasts were particularly valuable to Newfoundlanders in this time because they brought information to the small, isolated communities around the island (Knutson 1969: 42). Radio was also a service that people with limited income could (and still can) afford.

The British Admiralty Wireless Station in Mount Pearl, Newfoundland, hosted the first radio station, whose purpose was to serve as a communications center between land and British navy vessels (McCarthy *et al.* 1994, 168). The first radio stations to provide a variety of programming, not just communications services, were established by religious leaders, not business men. Soon, churches such as the Wesleyan United Church with VOWR in 1924⁸¹, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in 1929 operated their own radio stations (McCarthy *et al.* 1994, 169). Commercial stations quickly followed suit. The Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland (BCN) was established by the provincial government to “upgrade and broaden the coverage that the private stations were offering” (Knutson 1969, 59). Now a part of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the BCN operates stations in St. John’s, Gander, Grand Falls, and Corner Brook (Knutson 1994, 59). Religious radio broadcasting was important to the residents of Newfoundland because it brought about a sense of community among isolated religious adherents.

⁸¹ VOWR has been in continuous operation since its birth on July 20, 1924, and is located in its original facility in the Wesley Church on Patrick Street in St. John’s.

In the 1930s, radio broadcasting was believed to have a profound influence on its Newfoundland audience. In his study on radio broadcasting in Newfoundland from 1922-1939, Webb (1994) noted that during this time of economic hardship and British governmental control, the Newfoundland government used public broadcasting to “achieve a cultural change and make people more self-sufficient” (Webb 1994, 18). In this case, the government made certain assumptions about the kind of programming which Newfoundland listeners were willing to consider. Between 1922 and 1939, however, neither traditional Newfoundland music nor popular music was being broadcast. This is consistent with the early view that radio had an educational purpose and should not “cater to the common or vulgar taste, but rather reflect the views of the establishment and try to instruct and uplift its audience” (McCarthy *et al.* 1994, 171). This format, however, soon changed.

The Newfoundland radio audience was directly responsible for the establishment of commercial broadcasting as a mass medium in Newfoundland and the Maritimes between 1922 and 1932 (Webb 1994, 222). The audience also underwent some demographic shifts during this time. Listeners were no longer exclusively middle and upper-class men. As a cheap form of entertainment, most people could afford a receiver regardless of socio-economic status. It was at this time that listening expanded from being an almost exclusively male activity to a medium that was consumed by the entire family. Owners of receivers in rural areas were still underrepresented at this time, mainly due to issues of poor reception and programming targeted more to the wealthy urban dweller than the poor rural fisherman. This trend changed with the increasing availability

of electric power and the presence of high wage industries, such as paper mills and mines, in rural Newfoundland (Webb 1994, 222-241).

The act of listening to the radio created new cultural practices in Newfoundland and the Maritimes. For instance, those who owned a radio would invite those who did not to listen. Webb assumed that this community activity dwindled as more people were able to afford radio receivers. Quoting a conversation with Philip Hiscock, Professor of Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Webb writes, “More radio sets in a community meant smaller and smaller groups listening together until the experience of radio became a non-public one” (Webb 1994, 243). Thus, an even newer cultural practice of private listening was created.

Music Radio Broadcasting in Newfoundland

Crisell designates two kinds of content in radio broadcasts: news and music. This study focuses on music broadcasting, specifically music referred to as “Newfoundland music” by broadcasters in the St. John’s radio market (Crisell 1994, 229).⁸² Historically, music became the staple of radio programming because it was “cheap to produce and could be transmitted effectively over primitive equipment” (Webb 1994, 332). Listening to music on the radio was what people in the 1930s considered entertainment. Initially, classical music broadcasting was the norm, as this was considered appealing to the elite and middle class, who were the initial owners of radio receivers. Classical music became less prominent in programming, however, as more people obtained receivers and the

⁸² It is my opinion that news can also be used to reinforce a national identity, depending on its slant or bias, but consideration of news broadcasts is beyond the scope of this study.

prominence of commercial radio on the broadcasting landscape increased (Webb 1994, 332). During this time, “music programming was shaped not only by the taste or the intention of the broadcaster, but also by regulatory and cultural constraints” (Webb 1994, 333). Commercial broadcasters were often concerned with what music would hold the audience’s attention. University and public broadcasters, on the other hand, tried to focus on “serious music to create a moral improvement in listeners” (Webb 1994, 333). The radio audience was largely unaware of the immense amount of power and influence they had over music programming on the radio.⁸³ Although this power was a product of its time, I believe that the listening audience in the St. John’s radio market does exhibit some influence on the musical agenda of radio stations today as well. Many station personnel mentioned that some songs were played by request, or that e-mail responses were considered when deciding whether or not to take a song out of rotation, or put it in rotation. This consideration implies that there is a certain amount of consumer sovereignty, or a buyers market, prevalent in the St. John’s radio market.

Between 1922-1939, however, radio was not necessarily creating new music. Stations often used local musicians because they were readily available, and musical recordings from Europe and other areas of North America were abundant. People did not expect to hear new music on the radio because they were used to “consuming music that had been produced by others” (Webb 1994, 335). Government intervention in 1935 mandated, however, that broadcasts of music be restricted to daytime hours only (Webb 1994, 336).

⁸³ Although Webb (1994) does not mention the power radio had over listeners, I suspect that the limited amount of stations present at the time meant that a few stations decided what people wanted. In this sense, the stations had power over listeners. Whether or not the listeners were aware of this power, I cannot determine.

The first station in Newfoundland to broadcast local music was VOGY in St. John's, which began airing radio programs in 1932. Bob Monroe and Frank Wood invited musicians of popular and traditional music to the studio and encouraged the audience to vote by mail on their popularity. Listeners, relatively poor, younger, and with distinct cultural preferences, actively participated in the music broadcasts through these votes. When Responsible Government in Newfoundland ended in 1934, VOGY merged with its competitor, VONF, which then had a monopoly on radio broadcasting in the St. John's market. After the merger, local music and talent became absent from the air (Hiscock 1991, 179-181).

During World War II, Newfoundland radio audiences were exposed to an abundance of American popular culture through VOUS (Voice of the United States), which was a broadcasting station for American military bases in Newfoundland during the War. This station introduced Newfoundland to American popular culture through a government-programmed medium to which many Newfoundlanders chose to listen.⁸⁴ Webb argues that the influence of VOUS led civilians in Newfoundland to develop a taste for American popular culture, possibly due to their curiosity. He also explores how Newfoundland culture was interpreted by the servicemen in charge of programming. However, VOUS offered competition for other Newfoundland stations because many Newfoundland listeners enjoyed the commercial-free environment that VOUS, with its

⁸⁴ Initially, the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) programs were broadcast on the local Newfoundland stations VONF (government operated) and VOCM (commercially owned). These programs were designed to help home-sick military and civilians working over seas, and, according to Webb, were also popular with Newfoundland audiences. The Newfoundland government curtailed the AFRS programs on VONF, but granted the AFRS permission to establish its own station, VOUS, which began broadcasting on November 1, 1943 (Webb 2004). While Webb does not indicate how many Newfoundlanders listened to the station, and how often they listened, he implies that there was an audience for American popular culture because he says the station was "vital to how Newfoundlanders perceived the American forces" (p. 97).

government backing, was able to employ.⁸⁵ The attraction of Newfoundlanders to VOUS made the station an important ambassador for American culture because it was “vital to how Newfoundlanders perceived the American forces (Webb 2004, 97).

Radio as a Contributor to Newfoundland’s National Identity

The use of the radio to help create a sense of national identity among Newfoundlanders is not a new practice. Shows such as the *Irene B. Mellon*, *The Barrelman*, and *The Fisheries Broadcast*, paved the way for radio’s influence on Newfoundland identity.

The *Irene B. Mellon* show was one of the first to emphasize Newfoundland identity through music. The program was originally aired on VOGY in the early 1930s, and then canceled by VONF when the two stations merged, but finally reinstated by VOXM in 1936. The show aired until 1941. The *Mellon* was a fictitious, dramatic series about eight men and a stowaway girl upon a three-masted Newfoundland schooner that traveled and traded throughout the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Traditional Newfoundland and Irish tunes, as well as other popular songs of the day, were an integral part of the show, and the actors, who were also musicians, formed a band of typical instrumentation for that period.⁸⁶ Music occupied almost half of the program, and the *Mellon* served as the gateway for many original songs to enter into Newfoundland’s oral tradition (Hiscock 1991, 182-183). The *Mellon* allowed Newfoundlanders to “remain proud of their heritage despite their loss of political freedom” (186). It emphasized that

⁸⁵ This is similar to the rising popularity of commercial-free satellite radio today.

⁸⁶ This included violin, accordion, guitar, Hawaiian guitar, and mouth organ. The accordion was said to add a “regional flavour” to the music (Hiscock 1991, 183).

cultural independence was more important than, and could survive the loss of, political independence. Hiscock calls the *Mellon* a “celebration of a living Newfoundland cultural identity” and a “forum for indigenous Newfoundland culture” during a time when American and British popular culture dominated the airwaves.

The Barrelman was a radio program begun by Joseph R. Smallwood, former premier of Newfoundland and the man held responsible for bringing Newfoundland into confederation with Canada. Smallwood’s radio show began before his political career took off, but he attributes his political success to his early radio presence (Narvaez 1986, 47). The program aired for fifteen minutes, six nights a week, eleven months of the year between October 1937 and December 1943. Through the use of geographic, historical, economic and cultural information Joey Smallwood’s radio program attempted to “make Newfoundland better known to Newfoundlanders.” This became the *The Barrelman*’s slogan. (Narvaez 1986, 47; Hiscock 1994, 4). Smallwood attempted to educate Newfoundlanders and validate Newfoundland culture through his selection of stories and facts, including a focus on Newfoundlanders who were successful by Smallwood’s definition. In other words, Smallwood attempted to create a Newfoundland nationalism through his radio program at a time when Newfoundland was suffering from feelings of inferiority due to their loss of independent status and return to British political control (Narvaez 1986, 54).⁸⁷

The information Smallwood relayed through his radio program was often collected from listeners’ stories which he encouraged his listeners to send in. Narvaez argues that in this sense, Smallwood became a collector of Newfoundland folklore, as

⁸⁷ Newfoundland gave up its dominion status and returned to British control in 1934.

many of the stories “reflected a strong regional flavor” (Narvaez 1986, 56). While some stories’ facts were questionable, and others contained references to the supernatural, these stories reflected the oral traditions of Newfoundland (Hiscock 1994, 247-48). By broadcasting these stories on the radio, Smallwood was continuing and emphasizing this oral tradition.

Smallwood also encouraged Newfoundland nationalism through his use of terms unique to the island. The result was a sort of linguistic separatism, which also allowed him to connect to his audience.⁸⁸ He privileged otherwise mundane activities by giving them notice on the radio, possibly attributing power to them through the medium (Hiscock 1994, 172, 193). This use of localisms again probably created Anderson’s (1983) “imagined communities.” Listeners were aware that a larger audience of *The Barrelman* existed, an audience of Newfoundlanders who would understand the localisms used.

The Fisheries Broadcast, one of the most successful CBC programs, also led to a collective sense of identity among Newfoundlanders, most of whom were involved in the fishing industry at the time the show aired (Narvaez 1991, 191). The show evolved from a CBC effort on the mainland to provide farmers with up-to-date information relative to farming. CBC stations in the Maritime provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) included information relative to the fishing industry, and this tradition was replicated in Newfoundland beginning in 1951, airing daily from 5:30-5:45pm. These programs were “designed to bring listeners full marine and inland weather forecasts, farm and fish prices, producer information and the latest news about events and

⁸⁸ A separatism that is still so strong that some interviews with Newfoundlanders on CBC television often require subtitles.

meetings of interest to farmers and fishermen” (quoted in Narvaez 1991, 194). The monotony of the announcer’s tone, however, led to the inclusion of a monologist,⁸⁹ Ted Russell, whose job it was to add drama to the broadcast (195).⁹⁰ *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose* resulted.

Ted Russell’s *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose* was a fictitious dramatization of fishing culture. The narratives Russell included were those he had heard, those people had sent him, and ones he made up himself (Narvaez, 1991, 197). These stories took place in a fictitious community called Pigeon Inlet, and Russell used the characters he created, mainly Uncle Mose, to present different views and lead discussions on fishing, politics, and social issues. The topic of Canadian identity and becoming Canadian led to one of the most memorable monologues (198-199).

The Chronicles of Uncle Mose resulted in what Narvaez (1991) calls “para-social, rhetorical communities,” or “groups united by sensory perceptions rather than by contiguity in physical space” (p. 192, 199). Narvaez describes Uncle Mose’s (i.e. Ted Russell’s) advice as “serious, real, and true” (200), despite the mixture of reality and fantasy in the monologues. He “sounded like a real outport Newfoundlander” (201), in contrast to the “townie”⁹¹ speech of the other radio announcers, and he used colloquial expressions that were unique to Newfoundland. Russell also shared personal information with his listeners, information that was normally only shared among close friends and family, thereby encouraging the formation of bonds between listeners and between

⁸⁹ One who performs monologues.

⁹⁰ *The Fisheries Broadcast* still exists today, although the nature of the show has evolved with changes in Newfoundland’s fisheries.

⁹¹ A social term applied to those who lived in St. John’s, the provincial capital, instead of the outport communities.

listener and Uncle Mose (201-203). Thus, listeners considered the character of Uncle Mose as ordinary and someone with whom they could relate. The town of Pigeon Inlet, as described by Uncle Mose, was a place that Newfoundlanders could collectively imagine.⁹²

The Mellon, *The Barrelman*, and *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose* all worked to create sense of pride among Newfoundlanders. These shows began a precedent for the use of radio broadcasting to contribute to a sense of national identity, a tradition continued by the Newfoundland music broadcasts of today.

Cultural Identity and Newfoundland Radio Music Broadcasts

Cultural geographer Don Mitchell claimed that identity is often constructed through consumption. It is for this reason that the present study, which uses interviews with the consumers of radio (listeners), is an ideal way to study identity construction. Radio listening is an everyday activity for most Newfoundlanders, and because it is an everyday activity, it is part of Newfoundland culture. However, Mitchell reminded us that culture is not what people do, but how they make sense of what they do (Mitchell 2000, 62, 77). When people make sense of what they do, the activities in which they are involved become meaningful. It is through this process that everyday activities become important players in the construction of identities.

⁹² This was not unlike today's Lake Wobegon made popular by Garrison Keillor on NPR's *A Prairie Home Companion*.

Themes of Connection in Listener Interviews

The everyday activity under examination in this study is listening to the radio. For this research, I used phenomenological techniques to interview twenty-seven listeners in three communities within the St. John's radio market. I asked listeners to "tell me about your experiences listening to Newfoundland music on the radio." These interviews helped answer my second research question: How does the Newfoundland content (especially music) broadcast on the radio influence the construction of a Newfoundland national identity? Interviews were transcribed and then analyzed by myself and the phenomenological research group at The University of Tennessee. The group and I read the interviews with attention to which themes and sub-themes emerged.

The main underlying theme that emerged from the interviews was that of connection. Both Newfoundland music and the radio together helped connect listeners to five ideas: connection to their Irish and Newfoundland identity, connection to Newfoundland as a place, connection to other Newfoundlanders including family and non-family, connection to periods and points in time, and connection to the rest of the world. The remainder of this chapter explores each of these ideas through the words of my participants.

Music and Radio as Connections to Newfoundland and Irish Identity

Much of the Newfoundland music that my listeners said they heard on the radio talks about family, the experience of living in Newfoundland, the foolishness appreciated by many Newfoundlanders, and Newfoundlander's Irish heritage. Therefore, it is not surprising that twelve listeners told me that the music means something to them and they

like the music because they can relate to it. “[Newfoundland songs] are talking about stuff that’s personal or that there’s a story behind,” said one listener. “I guess that’s why it’s popular, I suppose, ‘cause the music is good to listen to and it sort of means something” (R. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). “It’s more than just music,” explained two listeners of the *Jiggs and Reels* show on OZ-FM. “It has the culture in the music” (Decker Personal Communication 2006). “And you can relate to the songs that are there even though it’s about...times gone by” (Brenson Personal Communication 2006). Still another listener pointed out that Newfoundlanders like music that talks about themselves, which is most likely why they can relate to it. “Most [songs] are related to the sea of course,” said one listener, “and about the hardworking people and their toils and stuff like that,” chimed in their spouse (F. Hanley Personal Communication 2006; P. Hanley Personal Communication 2006). Because Newfoundland music talked about the Newfoundland experience, the music “validated the lifestyle. It reflected the [cultural] values” (Keough Personal Communication 2006). These comments show that my participants can relate to the music and enjoy the music because it talks about things Newfoundland. Music listening and performance have become prominent traditions in Newfoundland culture.

Considering the connection that participants have to Newfoundland music, and the historical communicative role that the radio has played on the island, it made sense when three listeners told me they could never live without the radio. “It was our lifeline,” one listener explained (S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener declared, “I can’t imagine doing without a radio, you know. We do love the radio” (K. Moran Personal Communication 2006). Two listeners compared their need for the radio

to their attachment to television, and the radio was always the most important. “I could live with out television, no problem,” said a retired teacher with whom I spoke, “but I could never live without the radio” (Mooney Personal Communication 2006). One possible reason for this strong connection between my participants and their radios is the long tradition of radio listening in Newfoundland. The St. John’s radio market is host to two radio stations that have been broadcasting continuously since the mid 1920s, and there are others, such as VONH (Voice of the Newfoundland Hotel), that began broadcasting in the early 1920s, but have since ceased to exist. In Newfoundland, there have always been radio stations to listen to from the inception of the medium, and these stations have always focused on local content, be it news, public service announcements, radio dramas, or music. My research indicates that radio listening traditions in Newfoundland are still strong, even despite improved methods of transportation and communication.

This connection between Newfoundlanders and their music is further evidenced by the emotional reaction that music heard on the radio solicits in listeners. “It makes you happy, or you want to sing along with it,” one listener explained. “It’s something you can laugh at instead of cry at, right? It’s more appealing to you than a sad song” (Wall Personal Communication 2006). Two listeners specifically mentioned the effect that Newfoundland music has on their heart. Shirley Sullivan described how she felt when she heard Newfoundland music. “I love Newfoundland music, and if I go to a dance I’m one of the first ones up there asking if they have ‘Grey Foggy Day’ or something, or an old fashion waltz...It’s almost a carefree music, really...’Saltwater Joys,’...it just tugs at my heart” (S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). David Bragg also told me how the

music affects his heart. “[Music]tells a wonderful story, right?...It touches something and it give you a message that really hits home, right? In here. [David touches his heart as he says this]...heart touching, I mean...it puts something in your head that you stop and think about, you know, and try to put yourself in the same position” (Bragg Personal Communication 2006).

Another emotional reaction to or motivation behind Newfoundland music is humor. One listener explained why The Irish Descendents, Great Big Sea, and Buddy Wasiname and the Other Fellas, all Newfoundland music groups, were so popular. “We love them because they’re foolish. Newfoundlanders love foolishness, right? We love foolishness” (Mooney Personal Communication 2006). “You can only survive [in Newfoundland] with a sense of humor,” another listener told me (Keough Personal Communication 2006). A number of listeners mentioned specifically “foolish” songs, such as “Aunt Martha’s Sheep” by Dick Nolan. A similar sense of humor is something that the Newfoundlanders with whom I spoke said that they share. Humor is something that brings Newfoundlanders together and it is a reminder of their commonalities. Because humor is present in music considered Newfoundland music by my listeners, music becomes an important mechanism for maintaining strong ties between Newfoundlanders.

Many listeners became very emotional when they spoke about Newfoundland music and what hearing it meant to them. Their faces would light up, the expression in their voices was full of passion and pride, and in some cases their eyes would fill with tears when they related songs of loss and their personal experiences with similar tragedies. There is clearly a strong emotional connection between Newfoundlanders and their music,

a connection fostered first by live performances, and then by listening to this music on the radio.

One of the strongest personal connections that emerged from my interviews with listeners was that Newfoundland music and radio broadcasts helped connect Newfoundlanders with their Irish heritage. One listener from an outport community located along the Irish Loop, a section of the southern Avalon Peninsula where many migrants from Ireland settled, explained the Irish connection and its influence on Newfoundland music.

There's strong Irish links to us here, our heritage, our villages, you know. Most of our ancestors came from Ireland and loved the Irish music. It under went a major revival around here, I guess in the 60s and 70s. A lot of groups from Ireland came over here performing, and it kind of caught on because when I was in university, which was back in the 60s, these groups were starting to form around St. Johns and they were spectacular. I think they probably were the ones who... I don't know if it's a revival, but there was always an Irish music element here, you know...It seemed at that point younger folks started to get a liking for Irish music...These groups were singing Irish music and then Newfoundland groups started singing Irish music, and they started singing Newfoundland music, and it kind of all came together.

(White Personal Communication 2006)

This quote is important because it speaks of the hybridity present in Newfoundland music, a musical genre where Irish and Newfoundland elements are mixed. This idea was reinforced by two other listeners. After her mother told me that the family background was Irish, Julie interrupted to add, "Not just Irish. Newfoundland we're talking too. Newfoundland and Irish" (J. Maher Personal Communication 2006). One listener equated the Irish experience with the Newfoundland experience to tell me why the Irish element in Newfoundland music was so important.

If it's Irish music it's about people...people remembering what they heard from their grandparents about Ireland, right? So, really, when you're hearing Irish music, it's basically the same as here...'cause the people came from Ireland and they have the same kind of background. They just brought it with 'em.

(S. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).

So, the blending of Irish and Newfoundland elements in Newfoundland culture is where listeners find meaning. According to these listeners, that mix was initially a result of the Irish migration to North America, specifically Newfoundland. Later on, advances in transportation technology made it possible for Irish musical groups to travel to Newfoundland and reaffirm that connection through music.

The Irish connection in Newfoundland is reflected in some of the radio broadcasts. Many listeners told me that they listen to *The Irish Newfoundland Show* on VOCM on Saturday mornings. One listener felt that the show played an important role in bringing Irish and Newfoundland music together.

It seemed at [one] point younger folks started to...get a liking for Irish music...These groups were singing Irish music and then Newfoundland groups started singing Irish music, and they started singing Newfoundland music, and it all kind of came together on this *Irish Newfoundland Show* that VOCM produces every Saturday morning.

(White Personal Communication 2006)

Another weekend show, *Jiggs and Reels* on OZ-FM, also combines Newfoundland and Irish music. Two listeners to this show said that it was the Newfoundland background of the DJ that made the show such a strong connection for them to Newfoundland and Irish culture. "He's kind of got the 'Newfie' accent, too, so he fits the show, I would say...He knows his music, and he can identify maybe with the music a little better" (Decker

Personal Communication 2006). So, radio stations, too, have become mechanisms for combining Irish and Newfoundland culture.

Music and radio are cultural connections for Newfoundlanders because they help reinforce a sense of identity.

The radio kind of brought rural communities together and sort of gave them a sense of identity and connected us to one another. That couldn't happen any other way. Everybody was in the battle together. Everybody was in the same struggle...it was a common cause...So, I think that's the sense of identity, and [radio] sort of reaffirms that for everybody.

(Keough Personal Communication 2006)

Another listener explained why the music heard on the radio in Newfoundland reinforces a sense of identity. "I just think it reminds people of their roots and where they came from, and I don't think anyone wants to lose that. Everyone's proud of their roots here and most people are from Irish backgrounds, and everyone is so proud, and by singing it, it's just reinforcing where you came from, I guess, where you'll go" (J. Maher Personal Communication 2006). Music is, first and foremost, important for reinforcing a sense of identity in many of my participants. Radio, as a means of music distribution, helps to reinforce that sense of identity because the stations in the St. John's market play music that listeners find meaningful and music to which they can relate.

Music and Radio as Connections to Newfoundland as a Place

In their book *On Air: Methods and Meanings of Radio* (1998), Shingler and Wieringa state that radio stimulates the audience's visual imagination (p.77). According to my listeners, this is certainly the case. Recall that one of the characteristics of Newfoundland music is that it talks about Newfoundland as a place. The nature of the

music gives listeners visual images of the Newfoundland landscape that they picture when listening to the music. Much of the Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio accomplishes this effect. The effect is so important that twenty listeners mentioned it, making “connection to place” the most popular response to my phenomenological question. One listener, who spent a few years in Labrador, talks about how the music of Harry Martin affects him.⁹³ “When I listen to Harry Martin songs, it’s like looking at an album of Labrador. The sounds are just one image after the other...the sounds, the sights, the smells, the tastes. The images are so powerful” (K. Lewis Personal Communication 2006). While this research has spent only a limited amount of time talking about Labrador, the important part of this quote is the powerful visualization the listener had while hearing a song about a particular place by a particular individual. Another listener provided a Newfoundland example. “[The music] kind of paints a picture of rural Newfoundland in your mind, and if you’re not in rural Newfoundland then you’re picturing the place in your mind” (Decker Personal Communication 2006). The virtual visualization effects of Newfoundland music were further described by another listener. “We often sit and we listen to [Newfoundland music], and you can almost picture that you’re the one that’s writing that song, or they’re singing about you and your past, right?” (R. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).

Place is not only important for connecting Newfoundlanders to Newfoundland, but it is also important for distinguishing origins of songs. “Location is important,” one listener explained.

⁹³ Harry Martin is a singer-songwriter who has spent most of his life in Labrador.

Even though we're [towns in Newfoundland] not that far away from each other, we might not know their songs, so then they [the songs] get passed around...you get them all together and you mix them all up, and then like everybody changes their songs up...depends on where you're from in the province that you add that extra bit from your community or your heritage.

(J. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006)

This listener accounted for the regional variations in Newfoundland music. Because many of the Newfoundland songs talk about experience with place, and, as Castell's reminds us, people experience place differently, the same song might have different verses depending within which Newfoundland community it is sung.

Music also refers to specific geographic locations in Newfoundland that listeners are familiar with and can picture in their minds. One listener provided an example. "'The Squid Jiggin' Grounds' is a favorite of mine because where I grew up in Holyrood...that was one of the kingpins of the squid fishing...we have an oil refinery in Holyrood and the first line of the song is, 'Down in Hoyrood where the squid jiggins' good and the oil refinery is humming away.' That's the opening line of it" (K. Lewis Personal Communication 2006). Frank Maher gave another example of the importance of place names in songs. "If you mention the Newfoundland name, or you mention a Newfoundland place...the Kelligrew Soiree is one...[it] is a Newfoundland song. There's only one place in the world with Kelligrews, as far as I know" (F. Maher Personal Communication 2006). Still another listener gave an example. "[Songs] have place names like 'Bonavista,' [or] 'Morton's Harbor,' ...which are all little communities, all close to each other...All these places that are familiar, people write songs about everyday life and write songs about what's around them...so place is important, too" (J. Sullivan Personal

Communication 2006). In other words, the familiarity with places mentioned in Newfoundland music helps connect Newfoundlanders to those locations.

“Newfoundlanders have a strong connection to place,” one listener explained. “I don’t know if it’s stronger anywhere else, but we do have a strong connection to this place” (White Personal Communication 2006). Recall that many of my participants defined Newfoundland music as music that talks about places in Newfoundland. When I asked listeners if the music that has such strong connection to place is the kind of music they hear on the radio, almost all of them said yes. Therefore, the importance of place in Newfoundland music is evidenced by both the participants’ definitions of Newfoundland music, and the connections to place listeners have when hearing the music, including the music that is broadcast on the radio.

Listeners also attributed Newfoundland’s geographic position as an island to the way they are able to connect to Newfoundland music. “You write what you know or what you want to know about,” one listener told me. “There’s so much influence here by the fact that we’re an island” (Mooney Personal Communication 2006). Newfoundland’s island factor also came up when listeners talked about non-musical radio events, such as call-in shows, or open-line shows. These shows host callers who ring the station to share their thoughts about the topic of the day.

Newfoundland talk shows don’t seem to concern themselves too much with what’s going on in the world, you know...I mean, we’re so far removed in many respects by the nature of being an island and they’re other sources of information and places where we can access this as well.
(K. Coffey Personal Communication 2006)

From my experience, Newfoundland's island position is a matter of pride for listeners. "It's all back to our geography," one listener explained. "Newfoundland's an island...We were the last ones to join the country...Everybody else is [from the mainland] except us...I think that's why it makes us so proud. Proud to say that we're from Newfoundland" (J. Maher Personal Communication 2006).

The connection to place fostered by Newfoundland music and radio broadcasts is not limited to towns or landmarks in Newfoundland. Nine listeners mentioned connections to places in and around their houses. Six of these listeners talked about the connection between music and the kitchen. The importance of the kitchen in Newfoundland society harks back to the days when Newfoundlanders heated their homes by a wood stove. The stove was in the kitchen, and therefore, the kitchen was the warmest place in the house during long winters. Naturally, the kitchen became an important social focal point for families and friends. The kitchen parties for which Newfoundlanders are famous evolved from the congregation of friends and family in the kitchens of Newfoundland homes on winter evenings (Pocius 1991). Even today, the most trafficked entrance to Newfoundland homes is often through the kitchen, and I experienced this myself when I went to Newfoundlanders' homes to conduct interviews.⁹⁴

Considering the importance of the kitchen in Newfoundland homes, the connection between music and this room of the house makes sense. Twenty-one of my

⁹⁴ Some front doors to Newfoundland homes, especially in outport communities, do not have a front step. These unpassable entrances are commonly called "mother-in-law doors." These entrances usually lead to a living room and would only be used by a stranger or someone unliked. Because there are few strangers in outport communities, and because the kitchen is the entrance to the home used by friends and families, many Newfoundlanders in outport communities never built a front step to their (rarely used) front door.

listeners (77 percent) had radios in their kitchens and talked about listening to the radio, usually local programs, when they were in the kitchen. One listener described a typical event that would take place in the kitchen.

My mother had her eightieth birthday in March and she wanted to have a party. So she wanted to have her friends in the afternoon for tea and whatever, and then we had called everybody for supper that's in the family, and then that night she wanted to have just our family, just the ten of us. They had ten kids, and our spouses and whatever, and we just had to sing along and my brother played guitar and we danced to the kitchen...take their kitchen tables out and everything, and have a party.

(S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006)

Another listener said she liked a particular radio program that is broadcast on the weekends because it reminds her of kitchen parties, spontaneous music-making events with family and friends that take place in the kitchen. “[The radio show] makes you feel like you don’t have any work to do, you can just relax and spend some time with friends. I think it’s all about spending time with friends [like in] the old-fashioned or Newfoundland Christmas party” (Brenson Personal Communication 2006). So the kitchen is still a social space in Newfoundland. When I would go to people’s homes, especially in the outport communities, I was always most flattered when people spoke to me in their kitchens. I took this gesture to mean that the people with whom I was visiting no longer considered me a stranger.

In addition to the kitchen, three listeners told me that they use the radio and its Newfoundland content to define their social space outside the home, such as in their yards or gardens. One couple described the sounds they heard standing in their back yard in a Newfoundland outport. “[There’s] heavy rock up over the hill, and we probably say the Irish over here [referring to their yard], and maybe over there [pointing] it’d be all

rock and roll or country music, see, at least here on the hill” (C. Moran Personal Communication 2006). “But it doesn’t drown out your own,” his wife added, “because if I came around the house this side, I hear it from this end, and if I go over there, I can hear the old rock and roll coming from across the road there, but...the Irish Newfoundland music [is] on here” (K. Moran Personal Communication 2006).

The radio also adds to the ambiance of being outdoors. “When I go in the garden, I used to turn the radio on out there, like in the evenings, and I would hear a bit of music going, and then talk shows and stuff would come on. I listen to that in the background just to see what someone’s saying about whatever. Sometimes you hear important things, sometimes it’s only foolishness” (S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener described how he uses the radio and Newfoundland music outside. “I got a campfire out there now,” he told me, pointing to his back yard.

[I] go up and sit around with the old radio going. [If] you know this one then you’ll sing along with it, you know, right? Next door might come over or whatever. I know in this area [his neighborhood], everyone of ‘em will have the Cabin Party on,⁹⁵ and all the campfire on, and have a decent old song on. Some of ‘em will get up and all dance or have it right on the gravel [driveway], or a waltz, or whatever the case on the recording, or according to whatever the song is, you know.

(Shea Personal Communication 2006)

So music, through the radio broadcasts, serves as a connection for listeners to particular places in the house, and also to the outdoor environment. It fosters a social space that is associated with relaxation, and family and friends.

⁹⁵ The Cabin Party is a radio program that comes on on Saturday evenings in the St. John’s radio market.

Music and Radio as Connections to Others

In addition to connecting listeners to place, music and radio also serve as connectors to family and other people. Even today, generations are connected through music as songs and instrument techniques are passed down from one generation to the next. The importance of family in Newfoundland's musical culture was explained by thirteen of the listeners I interviewed, making this connection the second most common one that emerged from my interviews. Janine Sullivan, who learned to play the accordion from her relatives, explained how it worked in her family.

Grandparents and aunts and uncles play a big role in the little children developing their music skills. Obviously households were a lot bigger then they are now and a lot of people lived together...So therefore, when the children had nothing else to do a lot of times ... like if someone in the family was musical, they'd sing and have a sing along or they'd play an instrument and have a sing along ...it kept the music in the family, and then like, of course they listen to what was on the radio back then in that day, which obviously wasn't great quality, but they did listen to it and they did pick stuff up from there too and then incorporate into their songs that they probably made up over the years, which....family does play a huge role in anything, especially in Newfoundland. It's amazing. Everything gets passed down from generation to generation. An example would be my uncle had an accordion and it was my grandfather's and my uncle... none of his children played and then it became mine because I was the one who started to play so he give it to me. Its an old, old accordion, but it sounds awesome. It's hauled apart before and taped back together but it still sounds really good and like they pass...stuff gets passed on from generation, especially oral lyrics for songs. That's a big thing.

(J. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006)

There are two important points that Janine makes in this explanation. The first is that the traditionally large families in Newfoundland meant an active audience. Music was an important form of entertainment in the home. Because playing music in the home was so common, there was, and still is, an environment where learning music from older relatives helped bridge the generation gap in families. Secondly, the fact that music was

performed regularly at home meant that there was a venue readily available where young musicians-in-training could perform what they had learned. Janine was only twenty-six years old when I interviewed her, and I think she, and other Newfoundlanders like her, are evidence that young people can learn and appreciate their past through music.

Music becomes a connection between non-family members as well. “Music is an excuse, really, to get together,” Sadie Kenny told me. “But where we get together, there’s music,” her husband chimed in. “It’s almost like its part of us. I don’t know how to explain it.” Sadie tried to explain further. “There’s a lot of times if we’re asked to a party somewhere, and we go, and there’s no music, well, we didn’t have a good time. But if you go, and there’s a guitar there, and there’s an accordion there, and there’s a couple of guys there and they’re singing the whole night...” Her husband finished her sentence. “Music just seems to be a part of those people...and [the radio is] where you learned those songs” (S. and R. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).

One specific musical tradition in Newfoundland that connects both family and non-family members is mummering, and five of the listeners I interviewed mentioned this connection.

What we do[is] we dress up in uh, like we could put a mask on, any kind of a mask or...like pillow case ,right?... sometimes we just cut an eye and a mouth and dress it up with a bit of paint, then put it down over your head and... like I might dress up as a woman or dress as an old man hunched over, and you visit the houses. Now people didn't mind letting you in, [they] probably wouldn't let you in today, with the way things are today, but we visit all the houses and you wouldn't take off your mask unless they guess your name, guess who you are, right? Now if they said 'ok that's Ron Kenny there.' So then I just take off my mask and say 'its Ron Kenny,' and then usually what you would do then, they'd also give you a treat like uh, they'd give you a bit cake or bit of wine or whatever... or syrup like you know...and then you'd just move on to the next house and that's all, but that's where you had your fun, right?

(R. Kenny Personal Communication 2006)

What Ron didn't mention in his explanation of the mummering tradition is the musical element (Sider 2003). Ron's wife added to his explanation. "...They'd bring their accordion and they'd bring their guitar and they sit around the table here and they sing and they dance" (S. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).

Ron's explanation of mummering, according to both he and other listeners, is the way mummering used to be done in the 'old days'. As communities become less and less isolated, people have become more wary of strangers. "You only go to your friends house now," Ron's wife told me (S. Kenny Personal Communication 2006). One listener told me that she was actually afraid of some mummers that visited her home, until her husband looked out the window and recognized the car that the mummers had driven. According to some of my listeners, mummering has become less common, although it is still practiced occasionally, usually around Christmas time. When a mummering event does take place, however, music is often involved. In this way, music helps connect and reaffirm ties between friends and neighbors in a time when many non-Newfoundlanders are buying property in St. John's and Newfoundland outports, and when the island is

experiencing an increase in the number of tourists. In other words, music provides the common ground between Newfoundlanders, and its existence and performance motivates social interaction in Newfoundland.

The radio and its musical and non-musical programs also motivate social interaction in Newfoundland. Most of the listeners I interviewed had at least four or five radios in their homes and cars, but before the cost of radios dropped, only two or three people in a town might own one. “In outport Newfoundland it was a focal point for people, for the community, a focal point for family to get around, and very often the only bit of news they had from the outside world was radio itself” (K. Coffey Personal Communication 2006). One listener gave a specific example of the communal nature fostered by radio.

My grandmother used to have a radio in her general store in Trinity Bay, and when the fishermen would come in with their catch at the end of the day after they had all the splitting and everything done, and all the fish processed, they’d go to my grandmother’s shop and play darts there, and they would just sing along with the radio that was there in the shop too, as well, and we used to go to the shop a lot and get sodas and just listen to the radio, ‘cause there was no jukebox or anything like that at that time...
(C. Coffey Personal Communication 2006)

So, in this personal account, radio was a secondary medium for the fisherman in the grandmother’s shop. It was on in the background and helped create a comfortable social environment. Another listener, though, told of a time when radio listening was the primary activity, and a means of connecting people to each other.

The radio stations would send the news out to somebody, probably in an outport...probably [there'd be] one or two radios there. And they'd all gather round the radio and listen to the news from St. John's. If anybody was coming home on a boat or something, then they would tell it to VOCN, or they tell to the CBC, or VONF...and then they broadcast it to around the bay.

(F. Maher Personal Communication 2006)

Radio ownership is very common in Newfoundland today, and while listening to the radio has become more of an individual activity, the radio still serves as a means of connecting listeners to real people. Now, however, the connection radio facilitates is the one between listeners and station personnel, and the one between listeners and the performers they hear. Ken Coffey told me that many of the DJs on the St. John's radio stations had been doing their job for many years. The apparent low turn-over rate of DJs in this market created an atmosphere of longevity and consistency that the listeners came to appreciate. Furthermore, the DJs, many of whom are from the local area, became involved in the community, which helped to further foster that connection between listeners and station personnel. "[DJs] were very interested in local people," Ken's wife, Carole Anne, told me. "Exactly," Ken agreed. "[They are] very involved in the community and everything...the St. John's community itself is such that people know each other directly or indirectly, so a lot of times you're listening to the radio again and the familiarity of hearing somebody...that you know is quite common" (K. and C. Coffey Personal Communication 2006). What DJs say about the music they play is also important to listeners. Referring to the primary DJ on Radio Newfoundland, the station that plays 85 percent Newfoundland content, one listener commented, "I like her. I must say, she seems to really delve into who else is on the CD, and she'll say, 'so and so is on this now'...she's really knowledgeable. She's really good" (K. Moran Personal

Communication 2006). So the tenure of DJs on the St. John's radio stations, and their knowledge about the music they broadcast, helps connect listeners to the people at the station.

The radio stations in the St. John's market also help to connect listeners to the performers they hear on the radio. One listener spoke about hearing another person from the same town on the radio. "Bob Wall is the one that put [music] down here, right? And now he's something. He's the first to sing without any music [instrumental backup], and he actually got his song on the radio here. We've been listening to it...He's that good that he actually recorded on the radio" (R. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener indicated similar sentiments when she spoke about hearing her son, who is a well-known Newfoundland fiddle player, on the radio. "...When I'm in the car, I turn my radio on...because you know I'm gonna hear him [her son]. Either his music is on someone else's CD, or I heard him singing, so that's reason enough for me to turn it on" (K. Moran Personal Communication 2006).

Probably the most mentioned example of the connection through the radio between listeners and people they know is the example of Ron Hynes. Ron Hynes is a very popular musician in Newfoundland whose influence extends internationally. Well-known artists such as Emmy Lou Harris have covered his songs. He hails from the town of Ferryland, which is one of the outport communities where I interviewed listeners for this project. Ron is most known for his song "Sonny's Dream," which, in March 2005, made the list for the Top 50 Tracks in Canada. The song talks about a young man who yearns for the riches and adventure of the world outside, but knows he will only be happy at home. I heard many people speak of Ron Hynes, both in casual conversations and

official interviews. Four of the listeners in Ferryland alone that I interviewed mentioned a connection to Ron Hynes and his music. During the summer when I interviewed listeners in Ferryland, the town was paying tribute to Ron during their annual music festival. Ferryland radio listeners that I interviewed talked about how Ron Hynes' songs, many of which are played on the radio, make them feel.

'Sonny's Dream' would appeal to me ... for a particular reason in that I knew Sonny. I know about the story of the postman, which was the only truck that you had to watch out for if you were sliding out Sonny Hill in the evening. [Ron Hynes] talks about a time. It talks about a way of life that you were aware of because it reflected something that was genuine....It was a reflection of our society around us and how people felt. And I think he's brilliant at it.

(Keough Personal Communication 2006)

Another listener mentioned that hearing people like Ron Hynes on the radio meant that there was a shared sentiment for things Newfoundland. "Ron Hynes is a native of Ferryland, and all of us recognize him, and you know, ... and its always our very own" (S. Maher Personal Communication 2006). So not only did these listeners speak with pride about hearing a fellow townsman or family member on the radio, but they indicated that achieving radio airtime was considered a significant achievement or measure of one's importance as a musician.

The final way in which the radio serves as a connection between Newfoundlanders and other people is through public service announcements and open line shows. One listener explained how radio stations used to serve as mediums for the transmission of messages to family members.

They used to have all kinds of real interesting announcements on [CHCM]. Like maybe somebody came along, passed by the station and went in. 'Passing through Marystown, put the bread in the oven. I'll be home in an hour,' Right? Or 'Spending the night.' They used to put all kinds of

announcements on the radio, personal things, besides selling things. But they would put on, 'Visited someone in the hospital last night and the leg is just about healed up now.' Really personal stuff.

(Mooney Personal Communication 2006)

Another listener explained how the radio helps eliminate distance and connect people who do not necessarily live in close proximity to each other.

I think it connects the province especially where Labrador and Newfoundland... the geography separates us, but if you turn on the Open Line show in the night time you see people from Labrador come in and they'll bring up an issue, and then someone from the island will call in and they'll [say] 'I'm just responding from Ms. So and so's call from Labrador and we're having the same thing down here,' and then someone else will call in and say, 'now I'm going through the same thing that they're going through,' you know, it just makes you feel like you're more close knit.

(J. Maher Personal Communication 2006)

The "Open Line" shows of which this listener spoke are programs on VOCM hosted by a DJ who introduces a topic for debate or discussion and then takes listener calls on the air regarding the topic. More than one-third of VOCM's broadcast day (8.5 hours) is occupied by these shows. The amount of time dedicated to this type of programming is evidence of the importance of these shows for information and connection between listeners.

So, the constancy of the on-air personalities and their familiarity with the community and the music broadcast creates connections between listeners and the stations. Connections are formed between listeners and performers because listeners enjoy hearing music on the radio by people they know. Non-musical local programs, such as call-in shows, connect listeners often separated by distance along topical lines. In this way, music and radio connect listeners to others.

Music and Radio as Connections to Time

The fourth theme that emerged from my interviews with listeners was the idea that music and radio connect listeners to time. This idea includes a connection to the past, connection to particular points in time, such as Sunday mornings in Newfoundland, and connections to culture through particular listening traditions that have survived the passage of time.

Within this theme, the most common expression used by listeners was that “music takes me back.” “That’s what I like about the music,” one listener told me. “It just takes me back. That’s the way I feel about it” (S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Here, the listener felt that the music, including that which is broadcast on the radio, helped her remember events or feelings of the past. For another listener, Newfoundland music reminded him of traditional ways of fishing “in a dory,” which is a small boat used by those Newfoundlanders who participated in the inshore fishery. “Music sets times in an era,” he explained to me. “You hear a certain song, it can bring you back...So, music to me is a memory jogger. It keeps memories alive, not only what’s going on inside, [but also] whatever happened when you were listening to that song” (Barbour Personal Communication 2006). So, for this listener, music and the medium of radio help connect emotions and events.

Music, including that heard on the radio, also helps listeners recall specific personal events in the past. “When I listen to ‘Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary’s,’ I almost met my end off Cape St. Mary’s,” one listener recalled. “So, every time I hear [that song], that [event] comes to mind” (K. Lewis Personal Communication 2006). Another listener recalled an event from her childhood. “I can remember when I was just a little girl... Dad

would be in the rocking chair. There was four of us. I can remember ...one on each leg, and one on each arm of the rocking chair. He'd be rocking and singing to us while mom took up the supper" (S. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). For Carole Anne Coffey, the music and radio combination jogged her memory.

What I remember the most, this is very nostalgic for me, is driving to and from Trinity Bay with my parents when I was a little girl, and it would take hours and hours to get there on the old rock roads that we had. We didn't have paved highways at the time, and it was such a long drive that we tuned in to the radio quite a bit on our way to and from and, you know myself and my sister and my parents and sometimes some of my cousins would be with us, and we'd all be crammed in the car. Sometimes there'd be people sitting on your laps, you know, because you were allowed to do that back then, and we'd all be singing along to the songs on the radio.

(C. Coffey Personal Communication 2006)

So in these examples, music and radio became elements for nostalgia to listeners. In the first two examples, listeners recall events in their lives when they hear a song, regardless of the medium through which it is heard. In the last example, the medium of radio is essential to the memory of the listener.

It should also be noted that these examples, like many I have used here, overlap with other themes, such as connections to place in the Cape St. Mary's example, and connections to family in the last two examples. It has probably become evident to the reader at this point these five themes are not mutually exclusive. I use listeners' words to help explain each theme, but their anecdotes can easily be used to illustrate other themes.

While some listeners recalled events in the past brought to mind by music and radio, fourteen listeners told me that listening to Newfoundland music on the radio brought to mind a specific day of the week. In almost all cases, this day was and/or Sunday. "It'd be strange to wake up on a Saturday or Sunday morning and not be

listening to Irish music,” one young listener told me. “It’s like, you wake up out of bed, get up, come up, turn on the kettle, and you’re listening to Irish music in the house. If it wasn’t there it just wouldn’t be the same” (J. Maher Personal Communication 2006). “Sunday morning was such a good morning,” her mother agreed. “Mom was cooking on Sunday morning...and it be nothing for five or six fellows... to show up at your house... and they’d have a few drinks... and there would always be a few tunes too, alright? That was Sunday morning” (S. Maher Personal Communication 2006).

The Irish music which many listeners spoke about was sometimes heard live on Sundays, but it was also heard on the radio. Many radio stations in the St. John’s market broadcast programs on Saturday and Sunday mornings that feature Newfoundland and Irish-Newfoundland music. Listening to these programs, in the case of my listeners, has become a tradition. “It’s all local,” one listener explained. “They just got local people, like VOCM. You can turn on VOCM [and] you get Irish music Sunday mornings or Saturday mornings” (C. Moran Personal Communication 2006). “Sunday mornings you take a bit of extra time...to cook breakfast and sit back for a while, and chat” another listener added (Decker Personal Communication 2006).

This laid back approach to Sundays makes radio listening an activity that fits in well with the routine. “Eating breakfast Saturday and Sunday morning, definitely the radio is on,” said one listener. “Cooking dinner on Sundays is definitely...that’s a tradition, that the radio is on Sunday mornings” (J. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener gave an account of what went on in his home. “We cook Sunday dinner, right?...and our family come here Sundays...So, while we’re cooking Sunday dinner...that’s what we did. We listen to *The Irish Newfoundland Show*, right?...In most

cases in Newfoundland, people still gather for that Sunday dinner. That brings families together” (R. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).⁹⁶ “I love radio,” another listener added. “I got to say,...if there’s something here on TV say Saturday or Sunday, TV may be on, but the radio is on too” (K. Moran Personal Communication 2006).

Listening to Newfoundland music on the radio on the weekend mornings has become important in Newfoundland because that is where listeners hear new music. “I’d say there’s a good many recordings around this island that the first time they’re heard is on Sunday mornings” (R. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). What this listener said is important because it means that in Newfoundland, radio is still a place where people go to here new music. I believe this is more often the case in the outport communities. Many bands in Newfoundland get their start by playing the bar and pub scene in St. John’s, so the city becomes a mecca for those in search of new music. But for those who cannot get to the city, or do not go very often, the new music they hear is most often on the radio during these shows that feature Newfoundland music.

While most listeners who mentioned radio listening traditions associated them with Sundays, a few listeners also noted music and radio traditions on Saturdays as well.

Saturday night, when I go over to Calvert...they usually has a good house party going on...but then there’s the family in Calvert...and they’re all really talented, and they all sing, and the all play , and the kitchen is full, you grab a chair, you turn over a box or something, and you find a place to sit down, and there’s always guitars going and Newfoundland music.

(J. Maher Personal Communication 2006).

⁹⁶ Sunday dinner in Newfoundland can occur anytime from late morning to early evening. Mid-afternoon was a popular time for Sunday dinner when I was in Newfoundland.

So, Saturday nights were a time when friends and family gathered for socialization and music. I witnessed a few such Saturday nights when I was living in Newfoundland. But, radio listening also became a part of Saturdays as well. The program called “The Big Six” was a favorite among listeners, although the show is no longer on the air, and listeners also mentioned “The Cabin Party” program. “There were times like Saturday mornings [when] there was a program on called ‘The Big Six,’ which everybody tended to listen to,” one listener confirmed. “It was Irish music [and] it was a bit of Newfoundland music” (Purcell Personal Communication 2006). Speaking of “The Cabin Party,” another listener described memorable weekends. “We’ll go home to my cabin...and we’ll just sit there outside, and we’ll have a fire going or a fire pit, and Dad would go out and flip ‘The Cabin Party’ on and put the speakers up to the window, and you’d roast marshmallows and some wieners and maybe have a drink or something” (Brenson Personal Communication 2006). In these examples, listening to Newfoundland music on the radio was something associated with weekend family traditions and times of relaxation.

While listening to Newfoundland music on the radio helped connect listeners to memories and traditions, listeners also noted changes in Newfoundland music over time. Some listeners spoke favorably about this change. Other listeners were concerned about the newer trends in Newfoundland music. “They’re moving away from the accordion and the fiddle, which disturbs me,” one listener lamented. “They’re starting to use, I can’t really say synthesized, but more of a rock/pop feel to their music...like different sounds put into [the music] that don’t belong there, that aren’t traditional, and it’s kind of taking

away from the music... I don't like to hear a traditional Newfoundland song rocked up"

(J. Sullivan Personal Communication 2006). Another listener shared his sentiment.

You got this new trend...not talking about codfish anymore.
Newfoundland music is slowly going out...There's nobody writing these
songs...like 'Scarbetty Bell' and stuff anymore...I love the music of
VOWR because they play all of the stuff that I liked back in the '40s and
'50s...my preferences are back in the olden days. I liked the music. You
could understand the words and the ...stories told. Not today, of course.
VOWR plays all of these, God love 'em. I love 'em. It's really, really
good music. My type of music.

(F. Maher Personal Communication 2006)

Still another listener noticed a change in traditional music. "You're getting less and less of any traditional music, what we would call Newfoundland music. Newfoundland music today is post-rock and roll,...and that's to be expected. People don't live in truly isolated communities, no matter where they live" (Keough Personal Communication 2006). To this listener, changes in transportation and communication technology have meant changes in music as well. In his mind, Newfoundland music is about experiences, and many of the experiences that made the older music so popular are experiences that, according to him, cannot be had in Newfoundland today.

While these listeners felt the changes in music over time have not been positive, other listeners had a different opinion. Although the music has changed, the changes haven't been significant. "Newfoundland music is [like]good quality aged cheese," offered Sherry. "The other stuff seems like it comes and goes,...but Newfoundland songs, it seems like they play the same song over and over again" (Brenson Personal Communication 2006). Her boyfriend picked up on the analogy. "Most of the other stuff is like processed cheese...It's good any time, but it's not good cheese" (Decker Personal

Communication 2006). What has changed, according to this pair, is the tempo and quality of the music. “The quality has changed with technology, right?” said Sherry Brenson. “Sometimes they take the old music, the older songs with newer bands. They put another twist on it” (Brenson Personal Communication 2006). “The biggest difference I can think of, though, is speed,” her boyfriend added. “The new stuff is faster. It’s more popular, per se” (Decker Personal Communication 2006).

I was interested to see if there was a generation gap between the listeners who spoke negatively about the changes in Newfoundland music, and those who spoke positively. Using retirement as a dividing demographic, what I noticed is that all of the retired listeners that mentioned changes in the music did not feel that the changes were entirely positive. Of the non-retired listeners that mentioned changes in music, however, some felt that these changes were negative and others simply noted the changes without expressing strong opinions either way. So, opinions about the changing elements of Newfoundland music were not a result of differences in age, but rather they are probably a result of differences in connection to the music, and to the mediums in which music is experienced, be it live or via the radio.

While listeners, such as those quoted above, commented on changes in Newfoundland music, no one mentioned changes in radio. In fact, one listener explained that when a particular radio program’s timeslot was reduced, listeners called in to complain until the entire show was reinstated (J. Maher Personal Communication 2006). So, while Newfoundland music has changed with time, radio listening seems to have experienced fewer changes. It is possible that this consistency in radio stations and

programs is what makes it possible for radio listening to become part of, and thus help connect, Newfoundlanders and their traditions.

Music and Radio as Connections to “Away”⁹⁷

The previous four themes spoke of connections people, places, time, and identities on the island of Newfoundland. Music and radio also connect Newfoundlanders living on the island to the rest of the world and Newfoundlanders living off the island to their homes.

Radio plays a significant role connecting Newfoundlanders with the rest of the world. The most common historical example of this role mentioned by listeners was the influence of the American radio stations that were present in Newfoundland as a result of the American military bases on the island. World War II, in particular, was a time when radio was important for communication not only on the war front, but on the home front as well. “I think the importance of the radio connecting people to the outside world was tied into that World War II experience,” one listener told me. “Many Newfoundlanders that fought overseas were from rural communities, and the only source of information about what was going on was from the radio” (Keough Personal Communication 2006).

Another listener talked about listening to the radio during the Vietnam conflict.

I can remember at some point back probably in the early ‘70s, when the Vietnamese conflict was on, just being so worried... the fact that when something would happen we’d get the report on it so quickly on the radio and be able to hear it. I remember being so conscious of the importance of

⁹⁷ “Away” is a term used by Newfoundlanders to refer to the location of Newfoundlanders (and others) living off the island. The term implies that Newfoundlanders who live off the island view the re-location as temporary, rather than permanent.

it being able to disseminate information, uh, I guess such a great distance, such a short period of time.

(K. Coffey Personal Communication 2006)

Still another listener recalled how important radio was to her grandfather for hearing information from the rest of the world.

My grandfather [was] in the house when the news would come on, [and] we all knew, as young children, that we had to be really quiet ... because the radio was the focal point at that time. My grandfather was listening to his news ... 'cause it was very important to him to find out exactly what was on the go in the world, and we weren't to talk or make a lot of noise at that time or prevent him from listening to that.

(C. Coffey Personal Communication 2006)

Radio, in these cases, was a means of obtaining information.

American radio stations in Newfoundland during World War II were also glimpses into American culture for many Newfoundlanders. "I used to listen to the American station from the base, too, on Saturday mornings," another listener shared. "I didn't listen to them for music, [but] they'd have cowboys, the Lone Ranger, and all these" (C. Moran Personal Communication 2006). Here, the listener had access to radio programs produced the United States, so the radio served as a connection to American culture.

American music did, however, not leave the island when the war ended.

American produced music has always been available through the radio. "There was a lot of American music," one listener recalled. "A lot of it was pop...a lot of it was what I call 'mainstream country,' which, in many cases, was sort of Top-40, but it was Marty Robbins. It was Johnny Cash. It was people like that. We didn't hear a lot of traditional American music" (Purcell Personal Communication 2006).

Today, information from the rest of the world can be accessed more easily, and the sense of isolation in Newfoundland is not as strong. Never-the-less, music and radio still play a prominent connection role. Instead of bringing information from “away” to Newfoundlanders, music and radio help bring Newfoundland culture and information to Newfoundlanders living off the island. This connection has become increasingly important as many young Newfoundlanders leave the island for mainland Canada in search of employment.

Newfoundland music alone serves as a connection to home. One way that music connects Newfoundlanders living off the island is through traveling live performances. One listener explained the situation.

There’s a lot of young Newfoundlanders now living in other parts of Canada, you know. Alberta in particular, and [Newfoundland] groups travel to those places to perform, and my understanding is they’ve got quite a following at those places where many Newfoundlanders live and work ... I guess its a connection to home for those people who are working away in the oil fields in Alberta, for example, and other places, you know... Whenever you are away from home, you like to hear things that are connected to home in some sort of way.

(White Personal Communication 2006)

The very nature of Newfoundland music makes it conducive for connecting people to their home. Recall the general characteristics of Newfoundland music that my listeners described. While the instruments used in the music, and the origins of the performers serve as connectors, the most important aspect of Newfoundland music that makes it such a strong connection for Newfoundlanders is the reference to places and experiences that are unique to Newfoundland. The importance of live performances in connecting Newfoundlanders to home was confirmed by another listener. “We had a...it was called a

‘Newfie-time’ in Boston,...and they were having this reunion...they had [the family] gathered all together, and they hired someone from Newfoundland to play... to bring back the memories” (S. Kenny Personal Communication 2006).

Leaving Newfoundland has always been a part of the Newfoundland experience. From the first Europeans who came to Newfoundland to fish and who stayed for only part of the year, to the young people that now leave Newfoundland for employment, leaving Newfoundland has become a common event. One listener offered an explanation for why there is a large amount of Newfoundland music that talks about leaving the island.

When you long for something, maybe that opens up a floodgate of creativity or something...it has to. Because when you’re in a situation and your living in an environment, you take it for granted. Don’t you? It’s only when you go away from it that it becomes ... something that you almost have to have, like breath itself. You have to have it. I hear it in my daughter’s voice. She’s out in Calgary. ‘Mom, I can’t wait to get home. Mom, oh my God, I’m so excited! I can’t wait to come home.’

(Mooney Personal Communication 2006)

Another listener in her twenties talked about going to Germany with her fiancée, who is also a Newfoundlander, and missing home.

When we went away to Germany, we craved Newfoundland music. When you go away, you really crave it, I think. We had one CD with us, which was the *Irish Descendants*, and we played that over and over and over, and it really makes you homesick for home...When people say, ‘Oh, I don’t like Newfoundland music,’ I’m like ‘Just go away from home and then you’ll enjoy it. You’ll appreciate it more when you’re not there.

(Brenson Personal Communication 2006)

While leaving Newfoundland is part of the Newfoundland experience, so is returning to the island. This act of leaving and returning has impacted the music because

musicians who leave the island return with new influences on their music. “These are guys who went to work in Toronto, started to sing, and made records... and they became quite popular across Canada. Harry Hibbs did and Dick Nolan, you know” (White Personal Communication 2006). In other words, the musicians who left Newfoundland and recorded or performed in other parts of Canada have helped create national and international recognition for Newfoundland as a place that turns out good music.

In addition to live musical performances, radio has become an important means of connecting Newfoundlanders living away to their home. This connection has become prominent during the last decade as many radio stations (and all of the radio stations in St. John’s) put up websites and offer a listen-live option. Newfoundlanders can now listen to the music, news, announcements, and talk shows from Newfoundland radio stations via the Internet. One listener told me that the radio program *Jiggs and Reels* on OZ-FM, which is broadcast through both terrestrial and Internet radio, was a point of connection between herself and her fiancée who was doing research in Europe.

When Stephen was away in Germany...I used to be on MSN [Instant Messenger], and I used to email ‘Jiggs Breakfast’ [another name by which the *Jiggs and Reels* radio program is known]. And he’d [her fiancée] would turn it on, and it meant something. Sunday morning when Newfoundland music was on, and he was away, I used to try to make a point to remind him that it was on. It was the middle of the day in Germany, so he didn’t have to get up early to listen to it, or anything like that. [One time] I was on MSN and he was on MSN, and I emailed Tony Hann and I said, ‘Can you play “Salt Water Joys?,” and I gave him my last name and I told him it was for my fiancée who’s in Germany doing his research. And Stephen [had also] emailed Tony Hann and asked him to play the song for me. Anyway Tony had a great chat about that on the radio.

(Brenson Personal Communication 2006).

Here, the radio, Newfoundland music, and the live DJ all help to connect two people living an ocean apart. When I visited the radio stations in St. John's, some DJs let me read emails from their listeners living off the island. One such email said, "You will never know what its like to be connected to my culture like this. We appreciate it here in Ontario" (Listener Email Communication 2005). In other words, radio via the Internet serves as a cultural connection for those living off the island.

Summary

This chapter sought to explore the concept of identity as it applies to Newfoundlanders through their association with Newfoundland music and radio broadcasts. Interviews with listeners revealed that music is an important aspect of their Newfoundland identities. On the island of Newfoundland, the importance of radio is secondary to music. Radio serves as a medium through which music is accessed and enjoyed. While radio's importance as a means of communication was emphasized by listeners, it is not as important as live performance in its role as a transmitter of music and culture. It is my belief that if radio did not exist, music would still be the prominent art form used in creating Newfoundland identities. Radio increases the accessibility of music, especially for those without opportunities to purchase CDs or hear frequent live performances. When one moves off the island, however, radio becomes a more important means of accessing local music, especially if we assume a distance decay effect, where the availability of live music and CDs from Newfoundland decrease the farther one gets from the island. Technology plays an important part in ensuring the prominence of music and radio for Newfoundland culture groups located off the island.

Communications professor Andrew Crisell claims that “the feelings [of the listening audience] are a poor guide to the programme’s effects or influence” (Crisell 1994, 205). The results presented in this chapter refute Crisell’s claim. Because Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio is, in many cases, used as means of cultural preservation by the station personnel, listeners’ feelings about and reactions to what they hear are *very* important for understanding the influence of these music broadcasts. During the interviews, some listeners became very emotional when describing how they feel when they hear a particular Newfoundland song on the radio. Quotes included in this chapter show how Newfoundlanders are connected to time and place through what they hear in Newfoundland music. Thus, their feelings are a good indication that music broadcast on the radio plays a part in cultural preservation and the creation of a Newfoundland identity. Sociologist Victoria Billings accuses the mass media literature of treating the audience’s role as one that is “limited in scope and depth” (Billings 1986, 200). The information provided in this and the previous chapter, however, shows that the listening audience in the St. John’s radio market plays an essential and active role in radio’s efforts to contribute to cultural preservation both on and off the island. The next chapter discusses the interaction between the local and global through new technologies in radio broadcasting.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INTERACTION BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL IN NEWFOUNDLAND RADIO

According to communications and media studies professor Andrew Crisell, “the obvious advantages of modes of mass communication are that the sender can communicate with multitudes of receivers at the same time and at distances beyond that achievable by inter-personal communication” (Crisell 1994, 4). No longer is physical proximity a requirement for communication. Radio is one such form of mass communication, but it functions through a non-visual, auditory medium that relays words and voices, which invoke our imagination and force us to create images in our mind relative to the words and voices heard.⁹⁸ Significant advances in radio technology have allowed listening to evolve from being an activity exclusive to a fixed location, to an activity that, in many cases, has become secondary to other tasks and can encompass a great amount of mobility (Berland 1994, Crisell 1994). For example, one might listen to the radio while driving a car, or while cleaning the kitchen. The number of activities an individual can pursue while listening to the radio has increased with changes in technology.

While Newfoundland music undoubtedly has local influences, Connell and Gibson (2003) state in general terms that “the ‘global’ and the ‘local’ happen simultaneously” (p.17). Thus, while Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio is local in its influence, it has global implications at the same time. Anthropologist Arjun

⁹⁸ A recent New York Times article discussed the recent trend that radio stations are adding video content to their websites, which gives radio a visual element instead of a purely auditory one (Siklos 2007). I also mentioned the visual components of Newfoundland radio station websites in Chapter Four. These trends suggest that the nature of radio is changing to include a visual component. While further discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is something that scholars of radio and media will need to address in the future.

Appadurai (1996) poses the question, “What is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow?” (p. 178). I apply this question to the case of Newfoundland music broadcast on the radio in order to examine global aspects of Newfoundland music. I have already established that St. John’s radio stations have influence on a local scale. In this chapter, I argue that St. John’s radio stations are also global in their influence.

The St. John’s Radio Market and Issues with Internet and Satellite Radio

New technologies are constantly being created and made accessible through commercialization. Technological change presents new challenges for Canadian Broadcasting. It has become increasingly easy for Canadians to bypass Canadian broadcasting and access the ‘grey’ and ‘black’ satellite markets of the United States.⁹⁹ New technology requires new forms of regulation in order for it to work for the Canadian population (Our Cultural Sovereignty 2003, 15).

Over the last decade two new outlets for radio broadcasting have emerged: the Internet and Satellite radio. This section examines the Canadian Content issues that arise in regulating broadcasts on these new outlets. At a conference on the Information Society held in Brussels in 1995, the Canadian Industry Minister stated that “with a population thinly scattered across one of the world’s largest land masses, our communications systems have the critical role of tying Canadians, and creating and preserving our culture and identity.” Thus, the critical question for Canada is, “how can Canadian public policy

⁹⁹ The ‘grey’ market is the flow of information through channels that are not approved by the Canadian government. For example, Canadians purchasing satellite television subscriptions from a reseller of DirecTV would be operating in the grey market. The ‘black’ market includes activities that are illegal. The main black market issue in mass media is the buying and selling of copyrighted material without permission.

continue to ensure a range of Canadian choices in this new environment and the existence of a showcase for Canadian talents?” (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 45 and 3).

While the Information Super Highway is often regarded as a globalized, boundless form of media, discussions surrounding the Information Super Highway in Canada are really about borders (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 4-5; Our Cultural Sovereignty 2003, 16). The Internet, for those who can access it, ignores cultural and national borders, and thus the issue surrounding the Internet becomes one of border protection. Some would argue that the fact that 85 percent of the content on the Internet is in English and is driven by the Western developed countries threatens to homogenize the world culturally. This threat is of particular concern to Canada. In a country that makes considerable effort to distinguish itself culturally from its hegemonic neighbor, the United States, a borderless entity such as the Internet, and, potentially, satellite radio, threatens Canada’s cultural distinctiveness. Canada sees its efforts to preserve its culture uniqueness as an expression of good will and tolerance towards the distinctiveness of cultural groups both within and outside of the country. (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 4-5).

Radio Broadcasting on the Internet

By the early 1990s, the Canadian government recognized the necessity of connecting the country to the World Wide Web. In 1994, the Canadian government created the Information Highway Advisory Council of Canada (IHAC). The Council issued a two part report (Phase I and Phase 2) in 1995 and 1997 respectively, through

which it “made suggestions for policies and programs relating to access, Canadian content and competitiveness of the Internet” (Turk and Johnston 1997, 1). The IHAC wanted an equal balance between wealth creation, social cohesion, and political liberty on the information highway. It felt that the best way to get an equal balance of all three was to address issues of affordable access, Canadian Content, and economic competitiveness. These issues became known as the Three Internet Policy Pillars. (Turk and Johnston 1997, 1-3). In The Council’s report, the Three Pillars are shown supporting an equilateral triangle with each corner representing a different Information Highway issue. The equilateral feature was designed to show that none of the issues in any corner is more important or more driving than another issue. The Council believed that the Three Internet Policy Pillars were the key to achieving balance among the triangle’s corners (Turk and Johnston 1997, 2-3). This section will focus primarily on the Canadian Content pillar.

Historically, the public and private sectors in Canada have collaborated on many social and economic issues. The Internet is no exception.¹⁰⁰ Through such collaborations, represented by CA.net, the Community Access Program (CAP), and the SchoolNet program,¹⁰¹ Internet use and access has grown in Canada. The Internet is exceptionally important in Canada because access to it helps bridge the expansive geographical divides among the nation’s population. As of 1997, 40 percent of Canadians had a computer, but only 20 percent had access to the Internet. Business and industry had a greater share of

¹⁰⁰ Under the Constitution Act of 1867, telecommunications fell under federal jurisdiction.

¹⁰¹ SchoolNet was a program that aimed to link or network all the schools in Canada. In recent years, parts of this program have fallen victim to budget cuts.

the Internet access in 1997, though, with 31 percent of businesses connected to the Internet (Turk and Johnston 1997, 3).¹⁰²

One of the key objectives of the IHAC was to maintain the cultural presence of Canada on the radio and television as directed by the new Broadcast Act of 1991. In its Phase II report, the IHAC stated that: “Policies to promote Canada’s cultural identity have never sought to protect Canadians from exposure to foreign cultural content. What Canada has traditionally sought to preserve—in the context of exceptionally open access to foreign cultural content—is a measure of control by Canadians over our own cultural markets and our ability to create, produce and make available our own cultural content” (IHAC Phase II Report 1997, 57-58).

Ensuring Canadian Content on the Internet was not a new problem. Canadian Content regulations traditionally separated the audio (radio) from the visual (television) in their directions. The Internet, however, carries both audio and visual elements. In addition, CRTC regulations traditionally separated broadcasting and communication technologies.¹⁰³ The Internet combined these industries, and forced the IHAC and the CRTC to reconsider their definition of “programming.” Regulating the Internet became a highly debatable issue because Internet content was not just Canadian (Turk and Johnston 1997, 13-15). In addition, the Internet was defined as a “private communications medium” where ideas are exchanged between individuals. The Canadian government does not regulate content of private communications. Thus, the advent of the Internet and its role as both a broadcaster and as a communications device further complicated the

¹⁰² In the United States in 1997 36.6 percent of the population had a computer and 22.2 percent had access to the Internet (US Bureau of the Census 1997)

¹⁰³ The broadcasting sector of the CRTC includes radio and television broadcasting. The communications sector includes telecommunications.

regulation debate (Canadian Content and Culture Working Group 1995, 6). The IHAC recommended that the public and private sector continue their collaboration “to strengthen Canada’s linguistic and cultural distinctiveness by encouraging Canadian Content providers to maximize their opportunities to employ the Internet for the delivery of content-intensive products and services” (Turk and Johnston 1997, 13-15). Measures used to encourage access to Canadian content on the Internet included the digitization of material in archives, museums, libraries, and government agencies, in addition to radio and television broadcasting via the Internet.

The aforementioned Three Pillars are used to formulate and assess Canadian Content policies and programs. The Council and the CRTC want to achieve a balance within the triangle. Each of the three corners of the triangle represent wealth, social cohesiveness, and political liberty. Wealth creation occurs when jobs and industries are created to fulfill content requirements. According to the Council, social cohesiveness occurs when what Canadians see, hear, and learn via the media helps to foster a sense of national identity. Finally, maintaining political liberty occurs through open communication and ensures pluralism in discussions. According to Turk and Johnston, whether or not the Canadian Content pillar has been effective in all three corners of the triangle is simply problematic. It was clear to the Council that new measurement techniques for Canadian Content were needed for the Internet, and that these techniques would constantly evolve and change (Turk and Johnston 1997, 16).

Most radio stations that offer listeners the opportunity to listen live are broadcasting over the Internet exactly what they broadcast on the airwaves. In this sense, stations are maintaining a Canadian presence through Internet broadcasting. Prior to the

Internet, a listener within the political boundaries of Canada could turn on the radio and choose between a number of stations, all of which played Canadian music to some degree.¹⁰⁴ With the Internet, however, a listener has the option to choose between listening to a Canadian radio station, where they will hear at least some Canadian music, or to a foreign station, which may or may not play any Canadian music at all. In this sense, Stanbury's (1998) argument that Canadian Content regulations restrict the information consumers receive is no longer valid. Internet users in Canada who want to listen to the radio can choose a U.S. station that plays exclusively music from the United States if they want to. The interesting question now is, what Internet listening choices are Canadians making? And, more importantly, who drives the content on the Internet—the producers of content, or the consumers of that content?

Internet Broadcasting in the St. John's Radio Market

All of the radio stations in the St. John's radio market offer simultaneous web broadcasts. While only one listener I interviewed listened to radio on the Internet, station personnel told me that the Internet radio broadcasts were incredibly important to the Newfoundland diaspora.¹⁰⁵ The listeners I interviewed were all physically located within the range of the terrestrial signals of St. John's stations. However, many Newfoundlanders who have left the island use the Internet to connect to home. Many probably use the Internet's interactive communication features such as email, station

¹⁰⁴ This statement obviously does not apply to those within reception range of US terrestrial radio stations.
¹⁰⁵ According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "diaspora" refers to the dispersion of any people from their original homeland. Economic situation in Newfoundland forced many Newfoundlanders to move to mainland Canada in search of work. These mainland-dwelling Newfoundlanders would be part of the Newfoundland diaspora.

personnel told me that usually the Newfoundlanders living “away” provide a considerable amount of feedback for their programs by email. Ken Ash, Program Director for Radio Newfoundland, told me where some of the listeners to the almost-all-Newfoundland music station come from.

Most of our web listeners are not in NL, as you would imagine. We get a lot of Newfoundlanders who work in Ontario and Alberta. There seems to be some group of them in Houston as well that you always hear about. I think they’re in the oil industry. But, you know, we get them from everywhere...Alberta, obviously. Ontario...there’s probably more Newfoundlanders in Ontario than anywhere, but where ever work takes them, like Texas. A lot of Newfoundlanders are working in Korea and other places in the Far East as English teachers. And we get some now because there is a Newfoundland post-secondary institution located in Doha, Qatar. There are a lot of Newfoundlanders over there that are teaching and they listen... We’ve had some from New York as well... New York, New Jersey...could come from anywhere.

(Ash Personal Communication 2005)

As mentioned in Chapter Six, part of the Newfoundland experience is being away, and the radio stations can account for that by broadcasting over the Internet. Most listeners tuning in from away feel a stronger connection to home when they hear Newfoundland music outside of Newfoundland. One radio station program director allowed me to read some of the emails she received from listeners living away. For example, a Newfoundlander in Ottawa wrote, “My computer at my office and home are now locked in right here [to the station]. With the city going a hundred miles an hour around me, your site takes me back to a different time and place” (Personal Communication 2005). Still another listener wrote in after a friend sent him the link to a particular radio station’s listen-live site. “I am so happy. Now I can hear some good tunes

instead of this city crap where I live...I got [the link] yesterday at noon and still never turned it off. It was on all night” (Personal Communication 2005).

This feeling of connectedness goes both ways. Not only do listeners living away feel connected to Newfoundland through Internet broadcasts, but the Internet helps connect the radio stations to their listeners. “We’re constantly getting emails from people wondering about shows and things like that” (Williams Personal Communication 2005). In addition, the Internet connects local listeners to their non-local family. “In Radio Newfoundland’s case,” Brenda Silk told me, “it’s a manner of tying [local listeners] together with their loved ones that are far away” (Silk Personal Communication 2005). The listener who told me that she and her boyfriend living in Europe would both listen to the *Jiggs and Reels* show on OZ-FM, elaborated on in the previous chapter, is an example of how the Internet radio feeds connect listeners in Newfoundland to their non-local family. Even though they were on different continents, she and her boyfriend both requested a Newfoundland song on the show without knowing the other one was doing it (Brenson Personal Communication 2005). “It’s an opportunity for you for a few minutes to escape that place and come back here [to Newfoundland], at least in spirit” (O’Connell Personal Communication 2005). During my fieldwork, Alberta was a popular place from which radio stations received calls and emails. Throughout my interviews, I heard many more examples of connection between radio stations and those living away from both listeners and station personnel (Hann Personal Communication 2005; MaGee Personal Communication 2005; O’Connell Personal Communication 2005; Tessier Personal Communication 2005;).

The Internet serves several purposes for radio stations. Besides providing a means for broadcasting outside the range of terrestrial signals, the Internet is also the means by which some stations send and receive digital files of music that they put on the air. Brad McDonald explained this procedure.

We work off a server. It's called DMDS. It's digitally mastered music that is posted on a site, which you log into. You've got a user name and a password, and record companies [post music]...The quality is impeccable. And then I take it from [the site] and just dump it onto our software that we're using.

(McDonald Personal Communication 2005)

Commercial radio is not the only type of radio that is using the Internet to transfer or obtain digital music files. Christine Davies, music librarian for CBC radio in St. John's told me how beneficial digital music has been for the CBC. The music library in St. John's is a regional library, "a regional source [of music] for the entire province and part of the [CBC] network as well." "If there's a programmer in, say, Alberta, who requires a piece of music, and we're the only library that has it, I arrange a feed to that library" (Davies Personal Communication 2005). So, the CBC music library in St. John's connects Newfoundland to the rest of the country through its role in the CBC network.

Instant messenger is another Internet service that becomes useful to radio DJs in Newfoundland. Josh Jamieson and Katie Norman, hosts of *Fresh Focus*, use the Internet to communicate with listeners during their show. "We've set up an MSN Fresh Focus account so we can talk to the listeners online. We've had listeners from all over the world, which is pretty cool" (Jamieson Personal Communication 2005).

Digital Radio: A Short-Lived Technology

In 1995, the CRTC issued *A Policy to Govern the Introduction of Digital Radio* (Public Notice CRTC 1995-184). In December of 1994, the Radiocommunications Branch of the International Telecommunications, which is the body of the United Nations responsible for co-ordinating the development of international standards, recommended the Eureka-147 technology “for use as a global technical standard for both terrestrial and satellite-delivered digital radio broadcasting” (Introduction of Digital Radio 1995).¹⁰⁶ This recommendation by the United Nations prompted the CRTC to consider the role and future of digital radio in Canada. At the time the CRTC’s policy on Digital Radio was released, the agency expected digital radio to eventually replace the existing radio services. The advantage of digital radio was that stations that already existed in 1995 could simulcast their transmission on digital radio and traditional radio technology. In addition, digital radio offered a Compact Disc-quality transmission and the potential for a wider broadcasting range.¹⁰⁷ The disadvantage was that consumers needed a digital radio receiver to receive transmissions.

Digital radio never became a reality. Radio broadcasters in the United States, fearing stiff competition from stations that chose to broadcast digitally, never strongly pursued digital radio. There are currently twelve digital radio stations in Canada, all located in major cities. However, the manufacturers of digital radio receivers did not see the Canadian market, with a potential of only 30 million subscribers, as strong enough, and thus they discontinued the manufacture of the product. As a result, digital radio plays

¹⁰⁶ Eureka-147 technology is the technology used to broadcast digital radio. Multiple audio streams are combined into a single frequency, which limits the amount of interference and presumably gives digital radio a clearer sound than analog radio.

¹⁰⁷ Compact-disc quality transmissions tend to have less interference and clearer sounds.

a very minute role in radio broadcasting in Canada (Amodeo Personal Communication 2006). Radio stations in St. John's do not currently broadcast through the digital radio medium.

Satellite Radio

The advent of satellite radio provided some additional challenges for radio policy makers, especially concerning Canadian Content requirements. Canada does not have the technology to broadcast radio through satellites, and according to officials in the CRTC, Canada will probably never have that capability. In addition, the Canadian government does not consider the launching of satellites for the purpose of radio broadcasting economical (CRTC Public Notice 2005-61). The only way Canadian listeners could receive satellite radio was if the CRTC allowed foreign satellite radio companies to offer services to Canadians. The problem with allowing foreign broadcasters into the Canadian market was the fact that Canadian Content regulations would not apply to non-Canadian broadcasting companies.

In 2005, the CRTC approved the applications for multi-channel subscription radio programming undertaking by Canadian Satellite Radio (CSR), CHUM Limited/Astral, and Sirius Canada Incorporated (CRTC Public Notice 2005-246, 2005-247, and 2005-248). A majority of the interventions, or formal public responses, that the CRTC received regarding satellite radio were supportive of the new listening option. One reason for this support was that in addition to gaining new access to Canadian airwaves, the broadcasts of Canadian music through US satellite radio companies meant that Canadian musicians were getting exposure to the US market- exposure that Canadian

musicians would have not otherwise achieved. Interventions that opposed the introduction of satellite radio in Canada were based on what constituencies felt were insufficient levels of Canadian Content and lack of attention to Canadian culture and diversity initiatives as stated in the *Broadcasting Act of 1991* (CRTC Public Notice 2005-61).

Sirius Canada

Sirius Canada is a company owned by the CBC, Standard Radio Inc., and Sirius Satellite Radio Inc., an American broadcasting company. Although the CRTC cannot regulate the content of foreign channels, the Commission can require foreign companies to provide a certain number of Canadian-produced channels to subscribers. In the case of Sirius Canada, the company was required to provide at least eight Canadian-produced channels to subscribers. In addition, Sirius was required to provide at least one Canadian-produced channel for every nine non-Canadian-produced channels. If, for example, Sirius wanted to provide subscribers with 90 channels, at least 10 of those channels had to be produced in Canada. In addition, at least three of the Canadian-produced channels, and at anytime no less than 25 percent of the Canadian produced channels, had to be in the French language. This act ensured that at least 11 percent of the channels available to subscribers were Canadian-produced, and that at least 25 percent (and initially 30 percent) of the Canadian channels were French-language channels (CRTC Public Notice 2005-247).

While the CRTC could not regulate the content of the non-Canadian-produced channels, the Commission *could* regulate the content of the Canadian-produced channels.

The Canadian Content requirements on the Canadian-produced satellite channels are much higher than for conventional radio. At least 85 percent of the music broadcast on the Canadian-produced satellite channels must be Canadian. Furthermore, 65 percent of the Category 2 music selections on the French-language channels must be in the French language (CRTC Public Notice 2005-247).¹⁰⁸

Sirius Canada stated in its application that satellite radio service in Canada would give Canadian musicians access to a new venue through which their music could be played. The company also stated that Canadian musicians had to opportunity to broadcast music that would not necessarily get airtime on conventional radio. To ensure the opportunity for Canadian musicians, the CRTC required that a condition of license include the requirement that between 6am and 6pm, at least 25 percent of the musical selections broadcast on Canadian-produced channels would be selections that had not reached one of the hits charts approved by the CRTC.

Contributions to Canadian Talent Development were also a condition of Sirius Canada's license. The company is required to contribute five percent of its earnings to the CTD agencies identified in the license. The amount of this contribution must be equally divided between Canadian French-language talent development and Canadian English-language talent development.

¹⁰⁸ Sirius Canada launched service with 10 Canadian channels offered. In February 2006, after a series of interventions requesting that Canadian Content requirements for satellite radio be increased, the Government of Canada decided that the current requirements were sufficient and no increase was necessary (CRTC Broadcasting Decision 2006-36).

Canadian Satellite Radio

Canadian Satellite Radio (CSR) is a Canadian company, owned and controlled by Canadian citizen, John Bitove. CSR proposed to serve as the medium through which the American company XM Satellite Radio could be offered to Canadians. The proposal was based on the growing presence of a radio “grey market” in Canada. The “grey market” refers to Canadian citizens who receive (unauthorized) satellite signals from US companies by subscribing to the satellite service through an address in the United States. CSR stated that the only way to limit the grey market in Canada was to provide Canadian citizens with the option to subscribe to satellite radio through legitimate means. CSR proposed to offer XM Satellite Radio services to Canadians (CRTC Public Notice 2005-61).

CSR’s application for broadcasting license was approved by the CRTC in 2005. The same Canadian Content requirements that were imposed upon Sirius Canada were imposed upon all applicants wishing to undertake satellite-based transmission. Thus, CSR’s Canadian Content requirements are the same as Sirius Canada’s (CRTC Public Notice 2005-61).

CHUM Limited

CHUM Limited, a Canadian company, proposed to offer 50 L-band music channels to subscribers, all of which would be Canadian-produced. The company stated that they would observe the same Canadian Content requirements as conventional radio stations. This statement included a contributions of two percent annual revenue to Canadian Talent Development (CRTC Public Notice 2006-61).

Programming on CHUM satellite stations was designed to complement, rather than compete with, conventional radio. For this purpose, CHUM did not propose any news, traffic info, and weather channels because there are already conventional radio stations that provide these services.

Instead of broadcasting via satellite, CHUM has applied for use of the L-band for digital radio. While there will be significant gaps in coverage through the L-band, the CRTC considered CHUM's application "appropriate to provide consumers with a range of choices as to how they will receive this type of service." Although the CRTC acknowledged that CHUM may not be able to secure a significant consumer base alongside Sirius Canada and CSR, CHUM's proposal for Canadian-produced stations certainly fell within the policies and objectives stated in the *Broadcasting Act* of 1991. Therefore, CHUM was granted a broadcasting license in June 2005 (CRTC Public Notice 2006-61).

Influences of Satellite Radio on the St. John's Radio Market

During my interviews with station personnel, I asked how they thought new forms of broadcasting technology would affect the radio industry. The two types of broadcasting technology that emerged through their responses were Internet broadcasting, discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, and satellite radio.

Satellite radio has not become as visible in Newfoundland as it has in the United States and other parts of Canada. During my four summers in Newfoundland, I did not meet anyone who had satellite radio, nor did I see a satellite radio receiver in anyone's

car. My conversations with station personnel indicated several factors that may contribute to Newfoundland's preference for terrestrial radio.

One indication that satellite radio was not yet a prominent radio technology in Newfoundland was that there was a general unfamiliarity with the technology. Everyone I spoke to had heard about satellite radio, but some station personnel asked me how it worked, or how one received the signal (Griffen Personal Communication 2005; Williams Personal Communication 2005).

In regards to the fact that satellite radio is a subscription service, some station personnel were skeptical about whether or not listeners would actually pay for radio when radio is currently a free service. "A lot of people that listen to our show, they're listening to it for the music, but in regards to having to pay for it? That would be another question," one DJ told me (Williams Personal Communication 2005). Another DJ pointed out that it is hard to get people to pay for live music, so he thought they would be less likely to pay for radio-broadcasted music (Martin Personal Communication 2005).

Some station personnel hoped that satellite radio might eventually become an outlet for Newfoundland musicians. If that were the case, one DJ thought that the increased competition might produce a higher quality radio market in St. John's (Martin Personal Communication 2005). It could also mean an additional outlet for Newfoundland musicians (Kelly Personal Communication 2005; Parsons Personal Communication 2005).

On the other hand, one participant thought that satellite radio would not benefit local musicians. "Satellite radio could mean the Americanization of Canadian radio...it originated in the States and it has a very American sound, and, from a local perspective, I

can't see that being a great thing for local artists" (O'Connell Personal Communication 2005). What this participant means is that only a few artists who are successful at an international scale will get airtime on satellite radio. Considering the recent agreements between XM and Sirius, and the CRTC regarding permission to offer satellite radio subscriptions to Canadians, this participant's concern for Newfoundland musicians is legitimate.¹⁰⁹

Other station personnel said that the technology was still too new to make any generalizations about it. "It's still a little bit too early to tell," Francesca Swan told me. "There's an awful lot more choice out there for people to listen to, and it will be interesting to see what happens" (Swan Personal Communication 2005). Another participant was skeptical that satellite radio would remain commercial-free. "Their big selling point on satellite radio is that they're commercial free. But I'm no fool. They're going to put ads on there, and it's just gonna be like cable television. You'll get a bill at the end of the month, and you're listening to commercials and paying for it." The same participant also expressed concern about hearing new music on satellite radio. Terrestrial radio stations, especially stations that play popular music, are constantly updating their music libraries from the charts published by ranking companies. This participant feared, however, that satellite radio will not update their libraries as efficiently and therefore not be playing current music (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005).

What station personnel did agree on, however, was that the local music and content on St. John's radio stations would protect those stations from competition with

¹⁰⁹ An interesting investigation would be to determine how well-known the musicians that get played on the French language satellite radio channels are compared to ones that get airtime on terrestrial French language stations.

new forms of broadcasting technology, especially ones like satellite radio that concentrate on niche marketing (McDonald Personal Communication 2005; O'Connell Personal Communication 2005; Parsons Personal Communication 2005; Silk Personal Communication 2005; Tilley Personal Communication 2005; Tredwell Personal Communication 2005). "The least threat, I think, is to VOCM, and the reason is because we are totally based on community news, local events...what VOCM offers where satellite radio does not" (MaGee Personal Communication 2005). A DJ at another station shared similar sentiments.

Local programming...that's going to distinguish local radio from satellite radio...Satellite radio, as it stands right now, is not going to play traditional Newfoundland music. Local content is going to be very important in this market...That's why we need programming for local radio to be local. That will be the selling point, the strong point, I think.
(Whiffen Personal Communication 2005)

Even the program director at the classic rock station agreed. "We feel that to be local is the most important thing" (Campbell Personal Communication 2005). This is especially significant coming from a station that has a hard time finding local music to fit its format.

The collective effort to include local programming is also important for religiously-based radio stations. "If you're a local station, satellite radio shouldn't hurt you too much because that's what people enjoy. They tune in for the local. Radio's local. It's personable, and it's on your doorstep" (Griffen Personal Communication 2005). "It's about being here and living here and talking about it" (Tredwell Personal Communication 2005). In other words, the local content on the radio is meaningful to the listeners. "When someone turns on one of our radio stations, you can relate to what that person is saying or you can relate to what they're hearing. You have to connect with the listener" (Ash

Personal Communication 2005). Also, the station personnels' belief that remaining local will help preserve local radio is evidenced by the connection that listeners have to Newfoundland music, including that which ends up on the radio.

Maintaining a certain amount of local content, be it news, music, or announcements, on the radio is, therefore, not only collectively important to St. John's station personnel, but it is a necessity to preserve the listening culture that the radio market enjoys.

Newfoundland Music and its Global Influences

Advances in technology have created new challenges for Newfoundland music radio broadcasters. Some technologies have helped expand the influence of Newfoundland music beyond the island boundaries. Sound, instrumentation, and references to place have helped move traditional/folk and Irish Newfoundland music to a central position in radio music broadcasts. But how is this music also global in its influence? A global influence implies that Newfoundland music is mobile, and this mobility is made possible in great part by technological breakthroughs (Connell and Gibson 2003, 45). Many station personnel, when asked about their listeners, mention that many listeners are "away" in Ontario, Alberta or the United States, and listen to Newfoundland music on the radio through the Internet. Station personnel also mentioned that sometimes people who have no prior connection to Newfoundland will find Newfoundland radio stations and their Internet broadcasts when searching for folk, Irish or Celtic music on Internet radio. In other words, technology has helped radio stations

overcome space and distance, and gain a more global audience outside of its terrestrial broadcast frequency.

Another example of the interaction between the global and the local in Newfoundland radio music broadcasting is satellite radio. I asked station managers, program directors, and DJs whether or not they felt threatened by the pending influence of satellite radio. While many acknowledged that they thought satellite radio's presence would expand, few expressed fear of competition from the satellite venue because all of the radio stations play Newfoundland music to some extent. Most likely, Newfoundland music will not be an option on satellite radio, so stations in the St. John's radio market feel that the local music they broadcast protects them from losing listeners to satellite radio.¹¹⁰ Station personnel feel that Newfoundlanders want to hear Newfoundland music on the radio, and as long as local stations continue to play Newfoundland music, listeners will not abandon the stations for satellite radio. Again, here, we see that connection to place is still remains important for maintaining cultural identity and preventing cultural homogenization.

Newfoundland Music as World Music: A Fusion of Local and Global

When speaking of Newfoundland music and its global influence, we must also consider how Newfoundland music is influenced *by* other musics. Geographer Paul Knox suggests that music is an example of cultural hybridity, or the mixing of cultures. Knox claims that all cultures are a result of appropriation, or copying, and that this

¹¹⁰ Station personnel also mentioned that the fact that one had to pay for satellite radio would also protect them, but judging from the popularity of cable and satellite television visible in the province, I do not think that ultimately the fees charged for satellite radio will remain a deciding factor as to its acceptance rate.

appropriation destabilizes identities and power relationships (Knox 2005). In regard to Newfoundland music on the radio, I would argue that while the music is a mixture of Irish and English traditions with Newfoundland experiences, it is not the result of an intentional copying of the once-dominant English cultural power. Rather, Newfoundland music and the Newfoundland “sound” to which a few of my participants referred is an effort to acknowledge the past and consider present global influences, while at the same time creating something distinctly “Newfoundland” in contrast to the mass culture of the United States, mainland Canada, or the United Kingdom. As Shane O’Dea writes, “What distinguishes us is what we have made and what we have kept” (O’Dea 1994, 73).¹¹¹

One of the characteristics of Newfoundland music that has brought it to a global level is the global influences on the music. “Everybody’s influenced,” Glen Tilley told me. “I mean, if you’ve got a radio or a television, your’re influenced by everthing” (Tilley Personal Communication 2005). Radio and technology have merged such that Newfoundland music is disseminated around the world. Francesca Swan of the CBC gave me one example. She went to a Newfoundland musician’s home to interview him for her show, and when she arrived, he was listening to a non-Newfoundland radio station on the Internet. “It wasn’t traditional music that he was listening to, and I thought if somebody at his age is really enjoying what this new technology can bring into their lives, then I think that this technology is going to make a big difference to us all in the broadcasting business” (Swan Personal Communication 2005).

¹¹¹ O’Dea is not speaking specifically of music, here, but rather he is referring to architecture, settlement pattern, and material culture. Music can be viewed as working alongside these elements to distinguish Newfoundland culture from the rest of the world.

Radio is one of the mediums that contributes to increased access to music. Many public stations are incorporating world music shows into their programming schedules. While living in Knoxville, I listen to NPR's *World Café*, which is broadcast every evening on WNCW out of North Carolina, but not on the local NPR affiliate, WUOT. Likewise, the local community radio station in Knoxville, WDVX, primarily a bluegrass and Americana station, now has a world music show. In Newfoundland, Angela Antle's *Weekend Arts Magazine* is probably the best example of how world music is incorporated into local programming. And, of course, radio is only one means of accessing international music.

The global influence on Newfoundland music is not a recent phenomenon. Newfoundlanders have had access to music off the island for many years. For example, the American military presence in Newfoundland during World War II gave Newfoundlanders direct access to music from away. Glen Tilley of the CBC described it for me.

There were five huge American bases in Newfoundland...and they had their own radio station. And what were they playing? Rock and roll, jazz, R&B...A lot of musicians were on the base, [and they] eventually married Newfoundlanders, and some of them went back to the States and then came back to Newfoundland, and [others] spent their whole life here and really influenced the music scene...A lot of local bands came out of there [the areas near the military bases], and they spawned a whole bunch of horn players...Kids who would have been growing up in the late '50s, early '60s were totally influenced by the Americans, way more, I would think, musically, than anything they were hearing on Newfoundland radio. (Tilley Personal Communication 2005).

Of course, the radio station Glen was speaking of was VOUS, Voice of the United States—an American radio station broadcasting from Newfoundland with a terrestrial

signal not limited to the military bases. Newfoundlanders could pick up the VOUS signal and listen as well (Webb 2004).

Newfoundland music becomes world music through two means. One way is through the increase of the geographic reach of the music through Internet broadcasting. Secondly, some Newfoundland music becomes a hybridized form of world music because its creators and performers are influenced by music styles and traditions from other places.

Conclusions

When I was in Ottawa in the winter of 2006, I had a chance to interview Pierre Louis Smith, the Vice President for Radio at the Canadian Association of Broadcasters. “Radio is local media,” he told me. Pierre was not surprised to hear about local content on Newfoundland radio stations. “Radio cannot compete with the delivery of music over the Internet, so they have to go to their strength, which is local programming and local content” (Smith Personal Communication 2006). This statement from the public agency that represents, among others, all the radio broadcasters in my study told me a lot about the nature of music and the media today. Technology can help with local content, as seen by the testimonies about how important it is for the Newfoundland diaspora to be able to access Newfoundland radio stations. But, technology can hurt efforts to emphasize local content. The Internet, for example, presents a significant challenge to radio because, at least in Canada, the Internet is not regulated. Listeners can use the Internet to bypass the radio to get the music they want. The key to maintaining a healthy balance between terrestrial radio and its competition is for terrestrial radio to remain flexible. Radio

stations in St. John's, perhaps, have been able to maintain this necessary level of flexibility. In Newfoundland, much of the music by Newfoundlanders broadcast on the radio is about Newfoundland as a place and about common experiences that Newfoundlanders share. So, not only is the survival of terrestrial radio in Newfoundland aided by the efforts of station personnel to broadcast local content, the local content *in the music* aids in the survival of these radio stations as well.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research sought to explore the multi-scalar impact of globalization on Canada's cultural policy for radio, and to understand the role that music radio broadcasts in the St. John's radio market played in the construction of identity. I examined how Canadian Content regulations are influenced by changes in the global economy, and also how the regulations influence programming in the St. John's radio market. One of the underlying issues in a discussion about the influence of a national policy on a local area is the historical tension between provinces and the federal government (political), regionalism and nationalism (cultural), and the periphery versus the center (economic) (Hindley *et al.* 1977, 11-12). Area studies scholars Ali Mirsepassi, Amrita Basu, and Frederick Weaver contend that globalization studies can be made more meaningful if they are grounded in the local and the particular. In their words, "[globalization] has brought to the fore cultural differences that can be understood only through rigorous place-based knowledge" (2003, 13). While Mirsepassi *et al.*'s opinion is obviously influenced by the fact that globalization studies threaten to undermine the importance of area studies, my study adds merit to their belief. Newfoundland is a province with a strong sense of identity located on the periphery of Canada's geographical domain. By understanding how radio broadcasts in St. John's are consumed by listeners, I have shown that a strong local/global connection exists between Newfoundland and Canada, and Newfoundland and the larger world, and that these connections are manifested at many scales through both cultural policy and radio broadcasts.

Globalization and Cultural Policy

My first research question was to determine how the Canadian Content regulations influenced programming in the St. John's radio market, and to what extent the emphasis on local music radio broadcasts were a result of these regulations. Results showed that some radio stations use Newfoundland music specifically to fulfill Canadian Content requirements. For other stations the opportunity to use Newfoundland music to fulfill Canadian Content requirements was merely coincidental, and most of these stations would play local music even if the regulations were not in place. More importantly, however, results showed that station personnel across the radio market saw their job as broadcasters, and the regulations they followed, as opportunities to produce, present and preserve unique aspects of their culture.

In light of the presence of global trends such as governmental regulation of mass media, economic trends such as the growing importance of extractive industries, and migration patterns that threaten many aspects of Newfoundland culture, many radio broadcasts in St. John's focus on local, place-specific aspects of Newfoundland. While many radio broadcasters in Canada saw the governmental regulation of radio through the Canadian Content regulations as restrictive, St. John's radio broadcasters see the regulations as flexible enough to allow these stations to continue their emphasis on local, Newfoundland content. Burgeoning extractive industries in Alberta are attractive to young Newfoundlanders looking for employment, and an out-migration of Newfoundland's young and skilled labor has resulted. The addition of Internet web-casts by St. John's radio stations brings local, Newfoundland content to a national and international level, and allows those living off the island to connect with their culture.

The presence of Newfoundland music on 10 of the 11 stations in the St. John's radio market can be viewed as cultural production, presentation, and preservation, but it can also be viewed as a local response to globalization. Station personnel were confident that a continued emphasis on the local in terrestrial radio broadcasts would protect the stations from competition by the American-owned satellite radio companies. Furthermore, the Canadian Content regulations themselves can also be seen as a Canadian response to globalization, as the regulations were both a reaction to the American domination of popular culture, and a way to protect the Canadian media market from American domination.

Area studies scholars have claimed that with growing globalization comes, ironically, an increased focus on the local, the everyday, and the particular (Mirsepassi *et al.* 2003, 8). Of the two related ideas in globalization literature, global homogenization or global hybridization, this study shows that in today's globalized world, the local is gaining a stronger voice. Aided by communication technology, people all over the world have access to Newfoundland music through Internet radio broadcasting. Globalization creates a new media transnationalism while at the same time giving a voice to local content. On one hand, this study shows that cultural policy does not affect the amount of local content on St. John's radio stations because globalization means that the local is emphasized anyway.¹¹² On the other hand, one can see cultural policy as a part of that emphasis on the local that results from globalization. One of the initial intentions of the Canadian Content regulations was to give lesser-known musicians, like those that had not

¹¹² In the 1920s, the presence of local music on the radio was not a reaction to globalization, but today, based on the responses of station personnel in this study, part of the reason for a continued emphasis on the local is a reaction to globalization of mass media.

achieved an audience outside their local area, access to a wider audience. By creating a market for lesser-known musicians, the Canadian government has, in a sense empowered musicians by tying their citizenship and locality, or their “Canadianness,” to their potential success.

In the face of globalization, an increase in territorialization, or the focus on place-specific phenomena, becomes important (Cox 1997; Gertler 1997; Mair 1997; Storper 1997). By requiring citizenship criteria for the material broadcast on the radio, the Canadian Content regulations allow the federal government to territorialize radio content, or reaffirm the importance of place in the global-local relationship. Furthermore, because station personnel in the St. John’s radio market use local music and local content to fulfill Canadian Content regulations, whether purposefully or not, and because much of this music focuses on Newfoundland as a place, these radio stations have become a collective example of how territorialization helps terrestrial radio remain competitive in light of satellite radio’s presence. There are place-specific conditions in Newfoundland, such as the historical reliance on radio for information and the importance of local music in the construction and reinforcement of Newfoundland identity, that allow for Newfoundland terrestrial radio to remain the dominant form of radio broadcasting in the province.

With increasing globalization comes a fear of a decrease in the regulatory power of national governments (Storper 1997). My study showed, however, that the Canadian government continues to assert power through the implementation of cultural policies, such as the Canadian Content regulations, which aim to give preferential treatment to Canadian-produced content over foreign (especially American)-produced content. Thus,

the Canadian Content regulations are one way that the Canadian government has maintained regulatory influence in the global media economy.

Would Newfoundland music receive radio airtime if Canadian Content regulations did not exist? The fact that station personnel see the broadcast of local music as a means of cultural production, presentation, and preservation means the answer to that question is “yes.” But, that does not mean that the Canadian Content regulations are irrelevant in Newfoundland. The biggest critics of the regulations have been radio broadcasters. Yet, station personnel in St. John’s spoke favorably of the regulations. They understood the need to protect the Canadian music market from American competition, and they liked the fact that the regulations were flexible enough to allow stations in St. John’s to support local musicians while at the same time meet their Canadian Content requirements. In addition, the regulations have influenced the *amount* of local music that is broadcast, as influenced by the case of Radio Newfoundland,. While Newfoundland music has been a part of radio broadcasts since the first radio station emerged in Newfoundland, the Canadian Content regulations, combined with the place-specific nature of Newfoundland music, have helped make radio a place where Newfoundlanders look for local content.

Globalization, Music and Newfoundland National Identity

Sociologist James Overton stated, “Culture is on the march in Newfoundland” (Overton 1996, 46). There is great nostalgia in Newfoundland expressed for the traditional outport culture, and attempts to preserve “traditional culture” in the wake of North American influence in the province (Overton 1996, 46-47). Newfoundland music

that is broadcast on the radio is one way in which Newfoundlanders, whether listeners, musicians, record label representatives, or radio station personnel, have contributed to this emphasis on local culture.

Some of my participants pointed out that the nature of local music in Newfoundland, like Newfoundland identity itself, is changing. This is not surprising, considering that so much of the local music broadcast on the radio is related to past Newfoundland experiences, and new experiences are inevitable. While the newer, faster, more electrified sound did not appeal to some listeners, even the newer music contains intersections of place, culture and identity. At a time when global economic trends mean many younger Newfoundlanders are leaving the province in search of work, the elements of place, culture, and identity in Newfoundland music offer temporary cultural stability amidst social change.

Is there one, all-inclusive regional identity in Newfoundland? Throughout my travels around Newfoundland and interviews with Newfoundlanders, I noticed several sub-regional identities. Yet, place was an element common to all the sub-regional identities I encountered. In this way, perhaps Newfoundland is a microcosm of the Canadian national attitude toward the recognition of cultural distinctiveness in the Canadian “salad bowl.” The Newfoundland identity recognizes sub-regional differences in Newfoundland, just like the Canadian national identity recognizes cultural and ethnic differences across the country.

Folklorist and Newfoundlander, Sarah Moore, writes that “popular music that is produced at the local level often preserves the indigenous sound which helps to define its locality in the first place” (Moore 2002, 126). In their effort to broadcast local music,

radio stations in St. John's have influenced definitions of a Newfoundland sound. DJs in charge of shows that featured local music naturally played tunes that fit their definition of Newfoundland music. By broadcasting locally-produced popular music, radio stations assist in defining Newfoundland as a place and emphasizing particular aspects of Newfoundland culture.

After a presentation I gave on my research at a recent geography conference, an audience member asked me if I thought that Newfoundland identity was so strong because Newfoundland is an island; its physical separation from Canada making the influence of outside ideas less likely. This environmentally deterministic way of looking at Newfoundland identity is not valid. Since the first Europeans established settlements in Newfoundland, there has been cultural exchange. Initially, there were not any permanent settlements on the island. Europeans set up temporary settlements during the fishing season and returned to Europe each winter, where they heard new stories and met new people. When permanent settlements were established in Newfoundland, there remained strong ties between settlers and their homes in England and Ireland. As a result, cultural traditions, especially music, in Newfoundland emerged from a broad mixing of European ideas, which themselves were a result of mixing (Moore 2002, 128). Improvements in transportation technology and communication technology meant that ideas were exchanged at a faster rate. Newfoundlanders today have access to cellular phones, satellite television, the Internet, and easy transportation off the island. Newfoundland has become a more popular tourist destination in recent years. In other words, Newfoundland might be an island in geographical terms, but its residents are certainly not isolated from influences of the rest of the world. In fact, Newfoundland culture is itself a hybrid of

many cultural influences. Certain aspects of Newfoundland musical culture today, such as the prominence of the accordion in traditional and popular music, were purposeful, rather than accidental. The accordion, for example, is not featured in traditional music because it was the only instrument available to Newfoundlanders. Rather, it is featured because Newfoundlanders like it, they have used it for ages, and those who use the accordion chose it in light of, or in addition to, other instruments that exist. The popular Newfoundland band Great Big Sea, for example, uses mandolin and banjo in their music, in addition to accordion, fiddle, penny whistle, guitar and bodhran.¹¹³ Bands like Great Big Sea, The Fables, the Navigators, or the Irish Descendents, and their contemporaries incorporate new performance features into their music while retaining enough of the traditional style to emphasize their Newfoundland roots and connections (Moore 2002). This hybridity present in Newfoundland music, and the continued popularity of traditional-sounding bands is evidence that while Newfoundlanders are fiercely proud of their traditions, they are not exempt from, nor opposed to, change.

These Newfoundland roots in the music are especially important for the Newfoundlanders living off the island. Global economic changes have, in many cases, resulted in a forced migration of Newfoundlanders to mainland Canada. The fact that Newfoundland music, and much of the Newfoundland music on the radio, is rooted in references to Newfoundland experiences and places helps link displaced Newfoundlanders to their home. The radio serves as a means of rooting and preserving Newfoundland identity for Newfoundlanders living away.

¹¹³ The Bodhran is a round drum with a goat-skin head, open in the back, held by one hand, while the other hand uses a short, double-headed stick to beat the drum. The drum is most commonly associated with the instrumentation in traditional Irish music.

Radio is, itself, part of Newfoundland identity, although not to the same extent that music is. Listening to the radio has become part of Newfoundland traditions, such as Jigg's Dinner.¹¹⁴ Radio has also become a place where listeners go to hear about Newfoundland. Many radio programs, especially the open-line shows and Newfoundland music shows, encourage the audience to participate in the program by calling in requests or comments. In this way, radio in Newfoundland has become a shared social space (Huntemann 1999).

Don Mitchell wrote that "local identities are completely caught up in a web of global interdependence, in structures of power and domination that span nation-states. They have long been 'nodes' in a network" (Mitchell 2000, 274). Newfoundland identities, too, are nodes in a globally interdependent network. So much of the Newfoundland identity depends on the experience of Newfoundland as a place, or the experience of leaving the island and longing for home. In this way, the Newfoundland identity is dependent upon the presence of Newfoundlanders in the cultural hearth, or the island of Newfoundland. This continued presence on the island, however, is dependent upon other larger, global factors, such as tourism to the island and global demand for the natural resources in the province.

Over lunch in a coffee shop one afternoon, my colleague asked me if Newfoundland music was considered "world music." This is a difficult question to answer. "World Music" initially emerged as a marketing category in the late 1980s, and most of the music in this category carries with it elements of place and otherness. Music

¹¹⁴ Jigg's Dinner is a boiled dinner of salt beef, potatoes, carrots, turnip, cabbage, parsnip, peas, pudding with dumplings, and figgy duff, which is a boiled pudding made with flour, water and raisins (Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador 2006).

in this category is often stereotyped by controversial terms such as “authentic,” “traditional,” or “exotic.” For many musicians whose music falls into this category, the production of “world music” means a fusion of local content (i.e. experiences with specific places) with global elements (i.e. producing a CD and marketing it internationally), and this production often requires a negotiation between traditional and modern elements of culture (Connell and Gibson 2004). Traditionally, Newfoundlanders produced music for themselves. It was performed in kitchen parties attended by friends and families, and even today the performance of Newfoundland music is often combined with events and opportunities for friends and families to interact. Much of the traditional music performed today was never meant for anyone other than Newfoundlanders. But, bands like Great Big Sea, and others before them, have brought Newfoundland music to a national and international scale.

I ventured into Borders and Barnes and Nobles one afternoon looking for the newest release by Great Big Sea. I found the CD in the ‘World Music’ section of both stores. The location made sense, considering the themes, instruments, and Celtic undertones of the music this band plays. However, there were very few other North American groups in the ‘World Music’ category. Some of the others I found were Canadian bands from Nova Scotia, like Natalie McMaster, or bands with a strong Scottish or Irish sound, like Lehy and Enter the Haggis. These bands I just mentioned are all Canadian groups, and their members are all Canadian citizens. Some of them have even recorded on American record labels. Yet, I did not find Celine Dion in the ‘World Music’ section, nor did I find k.d. Lang or Sarah McLachlan or other popular Canadian artists. In fact, I saw few examples of popular music from any country in the ‘World

Music' section. This trend implies a certain bias, at least for marketing firms, toward world music as less electrified, more acoustic, less familiar, less popular sounds from other places. What the presence of Newfoundland music in the world music category implies, then, is that the prominence of the traditional, Irish sound in the music from Newfoundland that has achieved an international audience means that Newfoundland music is viewed as separate and different from other Canadian music in the commercial music world. In the World Music category, Newfoundlanders have, in most cases, achieved a separate identity from the rest of Canada.

The World Music category also implies a fusion or mixing of music from around the world. The Putumayo World Music collection is a good example. The company's motto, "music has the capacity to transcend all borders and languages," speaks to this fusion trend in the world music category (Putumayo Website). Many of the albums produced by this company, such as "One World Many Cultures," "Women of the World: Acoustic," "Blues Around the World," or "Swing Around the World," are international collaborations between artists.

Newfoundland music, too, is a result of the fusion of styles. Duane Andrews, a popular Newfoundland guitar player, recorded albums with a Django Reinhardt-style to his guitar playing.¹¹⁵ A popular performance at the annual Newfoundland and Labrador Folk Festival is the group called "Mopaya."¹¹⁶ Mopaya consists of eight musicians from various African countries and Canada who live in St. John's, and who incorporate Congolese, Angolan, and Newfoundland musical styles into their music and

¹¹⁵ Born in Belgium, Django Reinhardt was the first prominent jazz guitarist from Europe. He is famous for playing in jazz bands where there exists no percussion section. Instead, percussion sounds are played on the guitar.

¹¹⁶ Mopaya means "foreigner" in Lingala.

performances. Additionally, one trumpet player from Newfoundland that I met during my fieldwork, Pat Boyle, plays trumpet (and many other instruments) in both a jazz band and a rap band. I've heard him play a jig on the trumpet, and I've seen him sit in on a traditional style jam session at the Ship Inn in St. John's. Furthermore, many Newfoundland musicians travel to other parts of Canada and other countries to perform. The act of leaving for Newfoundland and yearning for home as a theme in many Newfoundland songs is a further example of how Newfoundland music has transcended borders, and how music from outside of Newfoundland has influenced music produced on the island. Because Newfoundland identities are expressed through music, the fusion of different experiences and musical styles in Newfoundland music means that as Newfoundland identities evolve and change, so will the music, and vice versa. While Steven Feld (2005) believes that musical fusion will homogenize world music, the Newfoundland example shows that the experience of place is what will always localize music in a way with which outside musical influences cannot compete.

Globalization, Radio and Technological Innovation

Radio is a form of mass media that crosses both regional and national boundaries (Abu-Lughod 2003, 101). Richard Sims, Director of the Montana Historical Society, wrote about how listening to Canadian radio stations became a part of his drive along Montana Highway Two, a stretch of road approximately 50 miles from the Canadian Border. He felt that the long drive was best accompanied by the CBC station out of Regina, Saskatchewan. "Hearing Satchmo's jazz set introduced by a French Canadian DJ helps the driver focus on the endless two-lane horizon," he wrote (Sims 2006). While the

Canadian government is concerned about the domination of its media by the United States, the transnational nature of media means that people living in the United States can access Canadian radio as well.

This transnational nature of radio is further evidenced by new technologies to disseminate radio broadcasts. Satellite radio plays a large role in the transnationalization of radio, as American subscribers to XM or Sirius satellite radio receive between 10-15 Canadian produced channels out of the 120 or so channels offered. At the same time, Canadian subscribers have access to all the American produced channels in addition to the Canadian ones, thanks to the agreement between these companies and the CRTC. Listeners can also download broadcasts of radio programs onto their MP3 players, devices which are then transported by their owners to many places both locally and internationally. So, satellite radio, the Internet, and podcasting have become conduits through which the international crossover and exchange of cultural material occurs, thus allowing these technologies to become global in their influence.

Geographer Kevin Robins criticizes new media technologies, including radio, for shifting their focus away from local or national issues towards global issues (Robins 1995, 260). In Newfoundland, however, I see a trend towards the incorporation or fusion of global issues with local content. The CBC is a good example of this fusion. While the CBC Radio One station in St. John's airs national programs, there is significant airtime dedicated to locally produced programs and programs that focus on local issues. Three of the CBC employees I interviewed hosted such programs. Specifically, Angela Antle's *Weekend Arts Magazine* merged Newfoundland content with content from the rest of the world. As the show's host, she added her own personal, local perspective to the broadcast.

The CBC model allows for the co-existence of local, national and global material.

Listeners who mentioned that they tune in to CBC programs listened because they like to learn what is going on around Newfoundland and also in the rest of the world. For them, the CBC station broadcasts become that bridge.

The influence of new broadcasting technology helps ensure the survival of terrestrial stations in Newfoundland. Web broadcasting and podcasting have allowed those located off the island to keep in touch with home. Many Newfoundlanders are migrating to Toronto and Alberta as unemployment in Newfoundland becomes more common. The ability to access radio stations beyond the traditional geographic limits of the terrestrial signal connects Newfoundlanders living “away” with their families and friends living at home. So, technology cuts both ways: local content can trump placeless substitutes *and* it can become globalized to the Newfoundland diaspora.

Globalization and technological innovation have resulted in the expansion of a community or nation’s natural limits (Morley and Robins 1995, 1). This expansion is certainly true for Newfoundland. The diffusion of Newfoundland culture was originally limited to the physical movement of Newfoundland migrants to areas off the island. Today, radio bridges physical distances to bring aspects of Newfoundland culture to consumers all over the world. While still quite small, there is now a world market for Newfoundland culture, and radio helps to meet that demand. Through web broadcasts of local material, the terrestrial stations of the St. John’s radio market have become transnational entities.

Final Thoughts

Geographer Christopher Merrett (2001) suggests that scale can be used to explain the relationship between local identities and global processes. Identities of Newfoundlanders are expressed locally through the performance and production of music. Thanks to the globalization of mass media and technological innovation, these identities are broadcast regionally (in the St. John's radio market), nationally, and internationally (through web broadcasts) helping connect the Newfoundland diaspora with their home and giving listeners outside of Newfoundland the opportunity to hear Newfoundland music. In addition, the Canadian Content regulations are an example of a policy implemented at a national scale that both influence local scale radio broadcasts and are influenced by global trends in radio technology and consumption.

To conclude, I return to Appadurai's question that began this research: "What is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow?" (1996, 178). The means by which cultural material is exchanged are constantly changing. Broadcasting technologies are making the local global, but also bringing the global to the local. Globalization combined with technological innovation allow for easier access to and distribution of media and music. Trade blocs, such as NAFTA and the EU, open new discussions concerning the exchange of cultural commodities at an international scale. At the same time, however, the importance of local, regionally specific content becomes increasingly important. Radio stations have to constantly negotiate between changes in global exchange of material and demands of their local audience. The very existence of cultural policies that ensure a place for cultural content in the media, are evidence of the influence of globalization at local levels; a form of, and resistance to, homogenization. As the

influence of globalization continues, cultural policies that govern media will become increasingly important means of regulating cultural flow.

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Putumayo World Music
<http://www.putumayo.com/>

Statistics Canada
<http://www.statcan.ca/start.html>

Population and Dwelling Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories,
2001 and 1996 Censuses

<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/popdwell/Table-PR.cfm>

Unemployment Rate by Province 2003

<http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/71-222-XIE/2004000/chart-c12.htm>

The Daily: July 21, 2005 (Crime Rates)

<http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050721/d050721a.htm>

“Newfoundland and Labrador: Biggest Net Loss in Two Decades to Migration”

<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/mob/nf.cfm>

Five top places of origin and destination for Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996-2001 (See Biggest Net Loss article for tables).

Number of migrants and net migration rates by age group for Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996-2001 (See Biggest Net Loss Article for tables).

University of Massachusettes Memorial Hall Museum. Turn of the Centuries Exhibit.

<http://memorialhall.mass.edu/turns/theme.jsp?x=2&y=2> (last accessed 1/26/07)

US Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports 1997: Computer Use in the United States (last accessed 2/2/07)

<http://www.census.gov/prod/99pubs/p20-522.pdf>

CBC Radio One: <http://www.cbc.ca/nl/>

CHMR: <http://www.mun.ca/chmr/>

CHOZ: <http://www.ozfm.com/>

CJYQ: <http://www.radionewfoundland.net/>

CKIX: http://www.991hitsfm.com/index.asp?CP=BBAR_1

CKSJ: <http://www.coast1011.com/music.php>

VOAR: <http://www.voar.org>

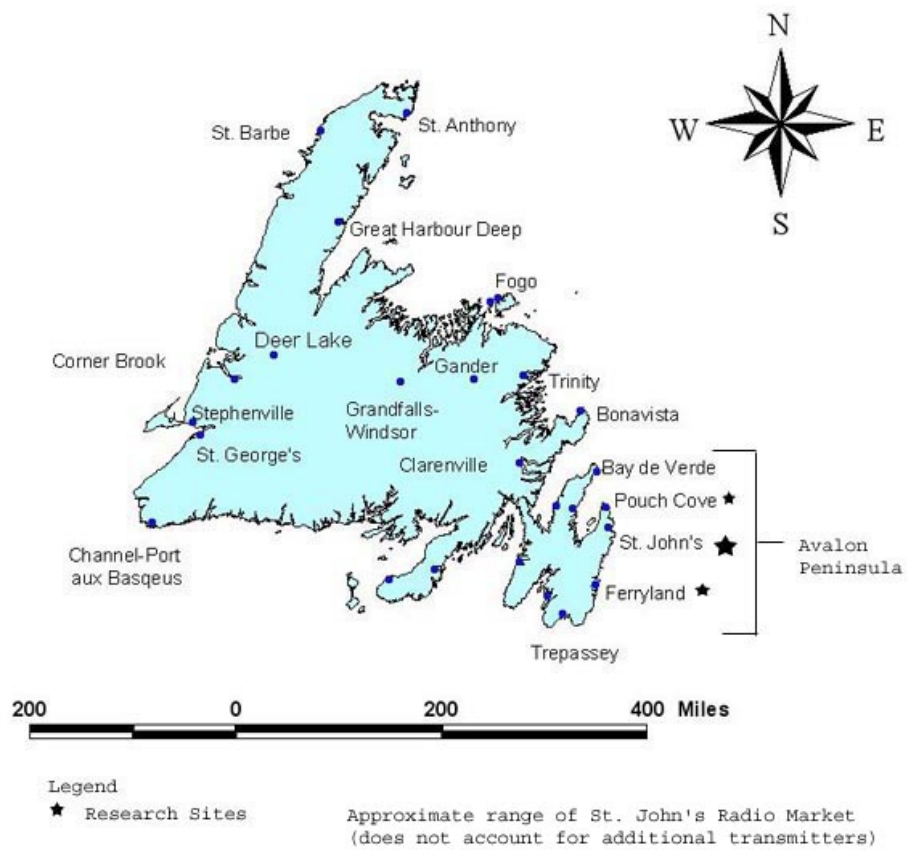
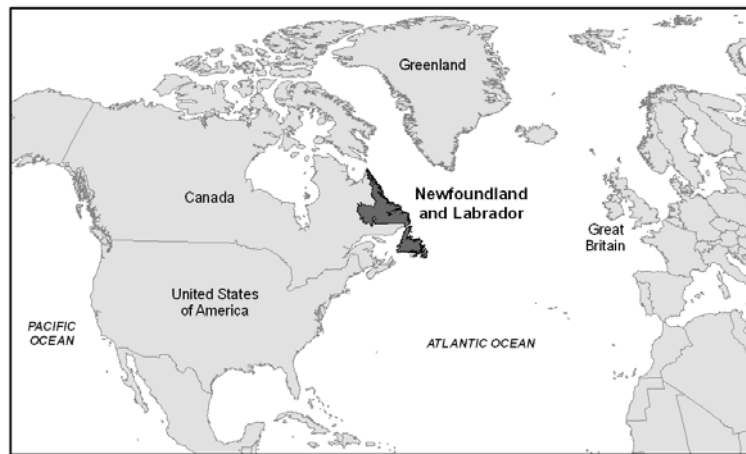
VOCM: <http://www.vocm.com>

VOCM-FM: http://www.k-rock975.com/index.asp?CP=BBAR_1

VOWR: <http://www.vowr.org/>

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Map of Research Location



Appendix B: Interview Questions

Questions For Station Personnel

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and your role here at the station?
2. How do you describe/define “Newfoundland music”?
3. By what processes does Newfoundland music come to be in the station’s music library?
4. What criteria are used to select music for placement in the library?
5. What might be a reason why a particular album of Newfoundland music does not become included in the library?
6. How is music selected to be played on the air?
7. What criteria are used to select music for airplay?
8. Is the Newfoundland music played on the air pre-programmed or programmed live?
9. What do you think would be the response if Newfoundland music did not receive any airplay at this station?
10. What can you tell me about the listeners to your show?
11. How does Canadian Content policy influence your broadcasting practices?
12. What threat do you perceive from satellite radio?

Questions for CRTC Employees

1. What is the current debate regarding Canadian Content regulations?
2. When the percentage was increased to 35 percent, what were the arguments for and against the increase?
3. Does the CRTC still hold regional public forums? If so, what is participation like? How does the CRTC get most of its feedback? (what format?)
4. Are there regional differences in opinion regarding Canadian Content?
5. What do you think will happen to Canadian Content regulations in the future?
6. What do you feel is the CRTC’s role as a government agency that deals with communications?
7. What is your opinion on the CRTC’s role in determining what is considered “Canadian?”
8. What is the debate surrounding satellite radio?
9. What do you think will happen to satellite radio in the future?
10. What other means of communications technology may affect Canadian Content and radio?
11. What are some of the issues regarding the implementation of Canadian Content regulations on satellite radio?
12. What are some of the challenges in creating policies for satellite radio?

Question for Radio Listeners

Tell me about your experiences listening to Newfoundland music on the radio.

Appendix C: Newfoundland Radio Stations and Owners

*indicates stations with transmitters in other towns

bold indicates stations included in study

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CBY-AM*	990	Corner Brook
CBG-AM *	1450	Gander
CBT-AM*	540	Grand Falls
CFGB-FM*	89.5	Happy Valley
CFGB-AM*	1349	Happy Valley
CBDQ-FM	96.0	Labrador City
CBN-AM*	640	St. John's (Radio 1)
CBN-FM*	106.9	St. John's (Radio 2)

Newfoundland Capital Corporation

CHVO-AM	580	Carbonear
CFCB-AM*	570	Cornerbrook
CKXX-FM*	103.9	Cornerbrook
CKVO-AM	710	Clarenville
CKDX-AM	1010	Gander
CKGA-AM	650	Gander
CFLN-AM	1230	Goose Bay
CKXG-FM	102.3	Grand Falls
CKCM-AM	628	Grand Falls
CHCM		Marystown
CKIX-FM*	99.1	St. John's
CJYQ-AM	930	St. John's
VOCM-FM*	97.5	St. John's
VOCM-AM*	590	St. John's
CFSX-AM	870	Stephenville

Sterling Communications

CHOZ-FM*	93.9	St. John's
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Troubador Radio Society

CHUG		Stephenville (at College of North Atlantic)
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Newman and Bell

CKSJ-FM	101.1	St. John's
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Wesley United Church

VOWR-AM 800 St. John's

Memorial University of Newfoundland Radio Society

CHMR-FM 93.5 St. John's

Seventh Day Adventist Church

VOAR-AM* 1210 St. John's

Stations in this Study that Broadcast on the Web

CBC Radio 1 640AM
CHMR 93.5FM
CHOZ 94.7FM
CJYQ 930AM
CKIX 99.1FM
CKSJ 101.1FM
VOAR 1210AM
VOCM 590AM
VOCM 97.5FM
VOWR 800AM

Appendix D: Listener Questionnaire

Canadian Content and Newfoundland Music on the Radio: Local Identities and Global Implications Sara Beth Keough, Principle Investigator, University of Tennessee

Do you have at least one radio in your home, car or office? Yes No
If yes, how many (including home, car, and office)? _____

How many days a week do you usually listen to the radio?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On the average, how many hours do you have the radio on each day?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 more than 10

Do you listen to the radio while engaged in one or more of the following activities? (check all that apply)

_____ Cooking _____ Washing dishes _____ Cleaning _____ Working outdoors
_____ Working in my office (away from home) _____ Driving _____ Studying
_____ Reading _____ Eating _____ Sleeping
_____ The radio is usually on all day long. _____ Other activities done while listening
to the radio

_____ I listen to the radio during a specific radio program and do not do anything else during that time.

How many radios do you have in....

The kitchen _____ The living room _____ Your bedroom _____ The bathroom _____
In the garage _____ At your office (away from home) _____ Home Office (if applicable) _____
In your car _____ Other (please specify) _____

In which of the following places do you spend the MOST time listening to the radio? (circle only one)

Kitchen Livingroom Bathroom Bedroom
Garage Car Office (away from home) Other _____

What time of day do you typically listen to the radio?

Morning Afternoon Evening Night All Day
(6am-noon) (noon-5pm) (5pm-9pm) (9pm-6am)

Are there any specific radio programs that you typically make an effort to tune in for? Yes (please list) No

PLEASE CONTINUE ON BACK

Please circle ALL the radio stations from St. John's that you listen to in a given week.

K-Rock Hits 99.1 Coast 101.1 Radio Newfoundland CBC-Radio One
CBC Radio Two VOCM-AM OZ-FM VOAR VOWR

Which station do you listen to the most often? (circle only one or two)

K-Rock Hits 99.1 Coast 101.1 Radio Newfoundland
CBC-Radio One CBC Radio Two VOCM-AM
OZ-FM VOAR VOWR Other (specify) _____

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I listen to the radio....

For background noise	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
For entertainment	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To relieve boredom	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To hear a specific program	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To learn what is happening around NL	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To learn what is happening around Canada	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To support Canadian musicians and performers	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To support NL musicians and performers	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To connect me with other Canadians	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
To connect me with other Newfoundlanders	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
Because it reflects how I feel about NL	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A
Because it reflects how I feel about Canada	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A

PLEASE CONTINUE ON NEXT PAGE

As you may or may not know, the Canadian government sets minimum quotas for the amount of music aired on the radio that is written, composed, performed or produced by Canadians. This regulation is known as Canadian Content, or CanCon. In Newfoundland, there are no requirements for playing music written, composed, performed, or produced by residents of Newfoundland, or music that has themes relating to Newfoundland as a place and Newfoundland culture.

For each radio station that you listen to, would you say there is too much, too little, or just the right amount of Canadian Content?

K-Rock	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Hits 99.1	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Coast 101.1	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Radio Newfoundland	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
CBC-Radio One	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
CBC Radio Two	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOCM-AM	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
OZ-FM	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOAR	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOWR	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure

For each radio station that you listen to, would you say there is too much, too little, or just the right amount of specifically Newfoundland Content?

K-Rock	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Hits 99.1	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Coast 101.1	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
Radio Newfoundland	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
CBC-Radio One	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
CBC Radio Two	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOCM-AM	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
OZ-FM	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOAR	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure
VOWR	Too much	Too little	Right Amount	Not sure

PLEASE CONTINUE ON BACK

Finally, here are a few background questions to help me understand your perspective.

Year you were born _____

Gender _____

Marital Status _____

Are you a Canadian Citizen? Yes No

 If so, are you a permanent resident of Newfoundland? Yes No

 If yes, are you originally from Newfoundland? Yes No

 If so, where were you born? _____

 If no, where is your permanent residence? _____

If you are not a Canadian Citizen, with which country do you have citizenship? _____

With which religious tradition do you typically identify?

Protestant Catholic None Other (please specify) _____

Highest Level of Education Completed _____

THANK YOU!!!!!!

VITA

Sara Beth Keough was born and raised in the Adirondack Mountains in Upstate New York. She received bachelor's degrees in History and Spanish from Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL in 2000, a Master's degree in Geography from Virginia Tech in 2003, and a Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Tennessee in 2007. She is now a tenure-track professor in the Department of History and Geography at Saginaw Valley State University in Saginaw, Michigan. In addition to traveling in Canada, Sara Beth is a marathon runner, road biker, and trumpet player.