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Creating for the Audience of One:
An Ethnography of a Radio Drama.

John R. Gammon

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology & Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
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ABSTRACT

Creating for the Audience of One:
An Ethnography of a Radio Drama.

John R. Gammon

This thesis is an ethnographic study of the production of Canadian radio drama. Radio drama production is first situated within the historical context of Canadian governmental regulation of broadcasting and its use as an agent of socialisation for the promotion of a unified national identity. The analysis of radio itself is focused directly on the cultural process rather than on the finished cultural product, something not usually done in cultural studies. This is done from the perspective that cultural products can be represented by a diamond model whose interacting points, in this case, represent (1) the drama production team, (2) the CBC context, (3) the broadcast radio drama, and (4) the audience. Furthermore, the members of the production team were treated as a community and examined through social network analysis. Findings indicate that radio drama in Canada is produced in a highly co-operative atmosphere that, through the producer, involves the audience in an "anticipated" role; the audience is part of the production. Also, the creative process was defined as a decision making process where choices are made in order to achieve creative goals and to compensate for constraints (i.e., equipment malfunctions, studio-time scheduling, regulations, etc.).

Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.

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This is the house where all must sleep
and dream their dreams of sorrow
Where chain and rope prevent all hope
from lasting till the morrow.

When ends the night and comes the light,
in prison you'll remain:
Your cage of human flesh and skin
forged in this House of Pain.

The Sayer of The Law
The Island of Dr. Moreau

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1 General

Most everyone has grown up with exposure to radio. Radios enter our rooms to wake us up in the morning and accompany us while we walk or drive. Radio programming includes the latest musical trends, news and weather, local traffic conditions, sexual advice, or simple background noise. Dramatic production is absent from Canadian private radio and has decreased considerably on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) over the years. Before television's popularity, people were likely to devote time each day to gathering around the radio for a variety of shows, including drama. Today, the CBC broadcasts about four hours of regularly scheduled drama per week with other productions appearing irregularly.[1]

So why bother studying radio drama production now? The study of radio drama is important because it was the mainstay of radio programming during a time when everyone listened to the radio, the same period in Canadian history when

---

[1]According to *Radio Guide* (Core Group, 1995), scheduling for the week of 3-10 December 1995 included 2-¼ hours of drama on CBC Radio (AM) and 1-½ hours on CBC Stereo (FM). An hour of CBC Stereo's drama repeated one hour of CBC Radio's; therefore, of the 3-¾ hours scheduled, only 2-¾ were original. The week's entire schedule can be found in the **Appendix**.

Non-scheduled, irregular dramas are also broadcast on the CBC. They are often included as part of Peter Gzowski's **Morningside** (CBC Radio, Monday-Friday, 9:05 AM to 12 PM). Gzowski's show often features rebroadcasts of the previous Saturday's offering from **The Mystery Project** or broadcasts of original series like **Midnight Cab**. The subject of this ethnography was aired in four quarter-hour instalments on **Morningside** and then rebroadcast in hour-long format on **Monday Night Playhouse**, a feature of CBC Stereo's **The Arts Tonight**.

production became centralised and the CBC was mandated to create a Canadian identity. This will become clearer after the following discussion of Canada's radio history. While much of the information in the following section could be taken as a historical aside superfluous to the actual intent of this thesis, it is not. Outlining the history of radio in Canada establishes the importance of radio drama to the country's cultural development and demonstrates that radio drama production is key to understanding how the government used the CBC as an institution of socialisation. The reason for outlining Canadian radio history is to identify the common context within which Canadian radio dramas were produced and to provide part of the justification for the adoption of a case study method. Once the historical importance of radio drama is established, the researcher will make a case for focusing on the actual creative process by which dramas are produced, a process usually neglected in the study of broadcasting. The researcher will also support the use of qualitative research to serve this end, a method frequently neglected in sociological studies of culture.

2 Historical Introduction

Technically, the development of radio was similar in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. There were, however, important differences. In Britain and Canada, as well as several states in Western Europe, an emphasis was placed on the development of *public* radio. In contrast, radio was left to the *private* sector in the United States. In Canada, as elsewhere, early technological advances and early

broadcasts were made in the private sector. However, while commercial radio stations were allowed to develop in the private sector, government agencies developed their own national network. When radio's potential surpassed that of a tool for wireless site-to-site communication and became a medium for general broadcasting, demand for radio receivers and for broadcast programmes increased. During the 1921-22 winter season, the news of wireless broadcasting spread to the general public and everyone became interested in radio. Vipond (1992:17) explains: ". . . across Canada, over the winter of 1921-22, radio became more and more widely known to the general public and the 'radio craze' began." The government made use of the craze to promote nationalism by creating its own radio network that broadcast to the entire country. By 1932, the federal government defined radio as an instrument to create a national image.

The Golden Age for Canada's public radio was unique because of the aforementioned legislative mandate, a mandate designed to develop a national consciousness. This mandate had to be fulfilled while competing for an audience with commercial broadcasters so the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation (CRBC) was formed and radio started to develop as an agent of socialisation. It was controlled by the government to provide Canadians with a uniform view of the country. For this reason, the study of radio production provides insight into Canadian nationalism. (Fink, 1983 & 1981; Fink & Jackson, 1984)

The above discussion justifies studying radio, but what about the focus on radio drama? This is slightly more difficult to justify since drama took a while to

become a prominent part of radio programming (Vipond, 1992:95) and since television is currently more predominant than radio. As radio drama producer Andrew Allan states ". . . in his own words, 'Television ha[s] descended' (Boyle, 1974b:137)." Despite the current predominance of television, radio drama is still being produced. Its cultural importance has not been completely undermined, as confirmed by the amount of literature published on the subject (Fink, 1990, 1983, & 1981; Fink & Jackson, 1987 & 1984; Fink et al., 1981; Forsythe, 1978; Grey, 1981; Lewis, 1981; Nielsen, 1994; Page, 1978; Raban, 1981; Tydeman, 1981; & Wade, 1981). Aside from the fact that it is still being produced today, the cultural importance of radio drama in Canada's past is undeniable.

Even though drama was slow to arrive on radio, it was well established by the time of the CRBC's formation through the Broadcasting Act of 1932 which was ratified by Parliament 25 April 1933. Radio began as a commercial tool for wireless ship-to-shore telegraphy and navigation and became a household appliance demonstrated in theatre and cinemas. According to Vipond (1992:6), radio was developed to ease communications between ". . . stations on ships and coastal shores for navigational and commercial purposes." Eventually, radio became the main topic of many newspaper reports: in 1922 ". . . no regular newspaper reader could fail to be aware of the new scientific wonder (Vipond, 1992:18)."

As more and more people started to buy radios, the broadcasters were devising ways to keep people's attention. By the late 1920s, radio broadcasters began to replace music with drama. Weir (1965:51) states that they wanted ". . . to

develop something else besides the musical programs . . ." that were currently on the air. The Canadian National Railroad's (CNR) **The Romance of Canada** series was one such production (Grigg, 1989). This drama series was so important that one of England's top producers was secured: Tyrone Guthrie. The CNR facilities and **The Romance of Canada** series were acquired by the CRBC with its formation. Weir itemises the acquisitions as ". . . the three stations CNRO [Ottawa], CNRA [Moncton], and CNRV [Vancouver], together with the studio facilities at Montreal and Halifax (Weir, 1965:139)." For Andrew Allan, one of the most important radio drama producers of Canadian radio's Golden Age, the ideal was to create a product worthy of the attention: "Those early days in radio, however filled with youthful enterprise they may seem in retrospect, resolved themselves in fact into a constant struggle to get something worth doing, occasionally, on the air (Allan, 1974:73)." The importance of radio drama is supported today by media theorists and historians. Vipond (1992:95) states that they ". . . have argued in recent years that radio's essence is dramatic, that it has made best use of all its material when it has given it in dramatic form." Drama production was radio's definitive product and was the main component of programming. As Frick (1985:1) explains, drama was ". . . always an integral ingredient of radio programming."

Radio was the major form of mass communication from the 1930s to the 1950s. Control of radio broadcasting through government agencies made radio a stage for promoting Canadian nationalism. Total state control over broadcasting commenced in 1932 when the CRBC was formed and was granted monopoly over

all Canadian broadcasting through regulatory status: the CRBC gained ". . . monopoly over Canadian network broadcasting, a monopoly the government reinforced by making the CRBC the national regulatory and license-granting body for commercial radio as well (Fink, 1981:228)." The CBC, successor to the CRBC, was created in 1936 and immediately expanded government control over radio broadcasting. Nearly the entire population was exposed to the CBC by the mid-forties. "By 1944 the CBC had established itself as an effective national network serving the majority of Canadian residents (Frick, 1985:1)." At this point in time, they were broadcasting in excess of 250 plays a year over their Trans-Canada and Dominion networks (Frick, 1987:28).

With the CBC's formation by the Broadcasting Act of 1936, broadcasting and regulative functions were separated between an Operations Manager and a Board of Governors; the CRBC's awkward administrative system had contained both elements (Fink et al., 1981). These elements were previously controlled by an administration that consisted of only three ". . . commissioners, none of whom had practical experience in broadcasting (Weir, 1965:199)." This inexperience went unchecked as the proposed provincial advisory councils were forgotten and were never formed (Weir 1965:199). Poor design doomed the CRBC and so did scandals like the one linked to the notorious **Mr. Sage** series. That series lead part way to the dismantling of the CRBC.

Mr. Sage promoted the views of the Conservative Party which formed the government at the time and thus controlled the CRBC. When it was discovered that

the series broke regulations, the Commission's fate was sealed. "From that moment on it lived on borrowed time (Weir, 1965:203)." A Parliamentary Committee was appointed by the newly formed Liberal government in late 1935 to investigate the administration of the Act of 1932 for political abuse of broadcast privileges. The committee returned to the original document that helped form the CRBC: The Aird Report of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting, originally appointed 6 December 1928. Essentially, the CBC was created by revamping the first draught of the Aird Report (Weir, 1965:204).

The committee decided that the CRBC had been designed improperly and that ". . . there had been a lack of co-ordination and loose administration of the Commission's affairs (Weir, 1965:204)." After all, there were only three commissioners running the CRBC. The Committee concluded that a General Manager was necessary.

> The direction of broadcasting should be placed in the hands of a Corporation with an honorary board of nine governors, so selected as to give representation to all parts of Canada, and its operations should be carried on through a General Manager and an Assistant General Manager. The Corporation should have full control over the character of all programs, political or otherwise, and advertising content, for all Canadian stations or networks (Weir, 1965:204).

Their recommendations formed the basis of the Broadcasting Act of 1936.

After its formation, the CBC extended its group of affiliates to create a cross country network. Its national scope and new bureaucratic structure were used to control national radio output centrally. The CBC's mandate of central control resulted in ignoring individual regions. This is evidenced by the consolidation of

CBC drama production in Toronto, a process that took place between 1939 and 1941 (Fink & Jackson, 1984:4). Further events document the centralisation of control over dramatic broadcasting:

> In 1943 Andrew Allan, Vancouver drama head, was moved to Toronto as National Supervisor. Two years earlier Alice Frick, a University of Alberta drama graduate, had moved to Toronto as National Script Editor. Andrew Allan drew around him several writers and actors from Western Canada . . . Others were brought in from Halifax and Winnipeg. By 1947 the two major drama series, **Stage** and **Wednesday Night**, went out nationally from Toronto. Regional centres were limited financially and in network exposure. Script selection and editing were also consolidated in Toronto (Fink & Jackson, 1984:4-5).

Centralisation of the CBC tapped locally based circles of writers, performers, and directors for talent which, as Fink and Jackson (1984:5) explain, had the effect of ". . . severing the link with local repertory theatre." Despite the lost link, centralisation did bring some benefits to the Canadian cultural scene. Before **Stage**,

> . . . radio drama owed more to the traditional theatre than anything, and in Canada the only excitement tended to revolve around the appearance of foreign theatrical stars. Then suddenly one Sunday night in 1944 the "Stage" series went on air, and the Canadian cultural scene had changed forever (Boyle, 1974a:2).

Centralisation, then, was a double-edged sword. One edge alienated local theatre and local radio production. The other edge brought an end to the time when Canadian radio broadcasting was performed by American personages. Boyle (1974a:1)states that radio ". . . was noted for commentaries, an emerging news service, regional farm service, and propaganda-oriented documentaries or variety shows selling War Savings Bonds - using American headliners."

As presented in the above summary of Canadian radio broadcasting history, radio's development follows a double theme. One theme depicts the centralisation of the locus of control over radio production. The other depicts the development of radio's role as an agent of socialisation. Centralisation aides socialisation by making it easier to provide one message to the whole country. Centralisation provided the background for radio's developing role. From this perspective, therefore, the most important aspect becomes the use of the CBC as an agent of socialisation.

Since Canadian public radio has been designed to be an agent of socialisation promoting a unified national identity, the CBC is an important subject for Canadian sociological and historical study. The CBC's original broadcasting mainstay was radio drama; therefore, to understand "CBC the Promoter of Canadian National Identity," and to understand the performance of this role, requires investigating CBC radio drama. Radio drama's place in Canadian history has been studied. Radio drama's sociological role has also been studied. However, from the sociological perspective, the actual process of radio drama creation has remained unscrutinised. It is not enough to note the contribution of radio drama to Canadian culture. Radio drama must be examined culturally because radio is popular culture. As Fiske (1990b:47) explains, ". . . [e]veryday life is constituted by the practices of popular culture." Performance of the ethnography described here was designed to add to the body of radio studies by filling this void through the

investigation of the creative process of culture rather than by the analysis of the product as a completed object.

3 Radio Drama Production

Production of radio drama, as with other media products, is a collective effort involving writers, producers, performers, and technicians. In effect, the production team is a micro-system related to the corporation on one side and theatrical institutions on the other. For example, Tydeman's (1981) work describes the various aspects of the radio drama producer's role. A producer is responsible for co-ordinating all aspects of the play. As well as producing, radio drama producers direct the actors, select the cast, and edit the script. Performance of these distinct roles involves relating to the actors (casting and directing), the technicians (directing), and the writer (script editing). Finally, the producer relates to the administration as the producer is ultimately responsible to the corporation.

The constraints placed on a radio drama producer are unique to the medium. Three distinctive characteristics deserve note: (1) in radio, the producer is the equivalent of a television or film producer and director; (2) Since physical space is not used for staging the story, the producer must direct actors and sound engineers to convey information about the characters and their settings in such a way that audience members may understand them through sound alone; and, (3) once a drama is scripted, approved, and cast, actual production takes place in a matter of

days instead of weeks; therefore, relationships among the members of the production team must be established quickly. As a result, a producer often tries to work with some of the same people for each new project. Producers maintain personal networks.

Relationships maintained in personal networks as described above are actually personal communities when considered from the social network theoretical perspective of community studies. This perspective studies such communities using a methodology known as network analysis (Wellman, 1980). Network analysis studies such communities by identifying interpersonal ties and the exchange of resources along those ties. Wellman and Berkowitz (1988:125) base the concept of community ". . . on social ties and systems of informal resource exchange rather than on people living in neighbourhoods and villages." Network analysis concerns itself with social ties which are often specialised such as the functional ties existing within the framework of the drama production team. Since network analysis is designed to study such maintained relationships, it is used in this thesis to analyse the radio drama production team.

The benefit of network analysis lies in its usefulness as a device for observing and understanding how people co-relate; it focuses directly on the relationships between the various people in a network and isolates their worth to those involved. This will become evident in the following chapter where the theoretical perspective and methodology for this ethnography are established. For

the purpose of this introductory chapter, it is worth noting that network analysis is a worthwhile method for providing insight into radio drama, the goal of this work.

Borrowing methods from community studies is acceptable since the production team members do form a community. For some, the community exists simply within the framework of the given play. For others, the play is another result of their maintained community's work. Team members form a cohesive group in which most are unlikely to be alienated from the product. For example, according to producer and author Tydeman, radio production is unusual due to the nature of the relationship between the producer and writer. This is an important difference from television and film where the writer is alienated from production. In radio, the script writer is usually present throughout the production and is asked for input regularly (Tydeman, 1981:16). By witnessing production, the writer hears his/her own ideas being enacted: the original setting continues to exist in the writer's mind, heightened by real voices and sounds (Tydeman, 1981:15).[2]

The notion of the production team as suitable for network analysis due to the membership's formation of a social network community was supported by the work

---

[2]In interview, the writer involved in the production team observed for this ethnography referred to radio drama as a collaborative medium. The writer has a large creative role expanding beyond the writing stage. The producer and casting director consulted him before casting for suggestions of actors names. They were used as references for the type of actor/delivery the writer wanted. None of these actors made the cast, "... but the sensation that [the writer] tried to impart with [his] suggestions were intact (Demchuk, 1994)." At the read-through, where the writer provides background information to the actors, many of the writer's desires for the final product are well on the way to being met. Ultimate decisions belong to the producer, but consultation is a constant part of the process. Aside from consultations for rewriting dialogue, the writer is present in the studio to talk directly with actors to help them arrive at the desired characterisation and to provide any explanations for actions actors may not consider to be in character. More interview material will surface in the description of the drama-creating process found in **Chapter 4**.

done for this thesis.[3] That being established, what is the use of studying the production of a single radio drama? There are enough similarities among productions to conclude that learning about one will establish knowledge of radio drama production as a whole. Tydeman (1981:19) describes the similarities among productions with a list of five common production steps: (1) the radio corporation asks the producer to do a play; (2) the producer meets the writer to discuss and formalise the script; (3) the play is transformed into workable form by the producer in consultation with the writer; (4) actors are brought together for a read-through; and, (5) the actors give their opinions on the dialogue as the producer mediates between them and the writer. In studio, technicians are added to the team to handle the recording, editing, and mixing equipment and to create sound-effects when necessary.

Each radio drama production at the CBC has the same components listed above. People forming production teams fill the same roles each time and it is their work and their interaction that result in a radio drama. This thesis project was designed to document this system: (1) the relation among its various parts, roles and statuses; (2) the contradictions built into these relations; and, (3) the relation of the system as a whole to the corporation as an agency of the state. Ethnographic documentation of said system should establish a method for the study of radio

---

[3]The casting director supports this in interview (Griersen, 1994). Although her task was completed before any recording was done, the casting director continued to visit the studio to view the performances of the selected actors. These visits were welcomed by the producer who even inquired as to her satisfaction with the actors' work and the overall sound of the play. Despite not being required in studio, the casting director (like the writer mentioned in the previous paragraph) was welcome. The reason for this is that the end result belongs to the whole production team.

programmes, specifically radio drama. The development of a proper methodology for studying radio drama is the principle objective of this research and it is assumed that research strategies resulting from the carefully designed ethnography described here will apply more generally to the study of the creation of cultural products. By investigating a radio drama production team to achieve this goal, the author hopes to provide for radio drama what Miller (1987:4) intended to provide for television drama: an analysis for those ". . . who want to recover a sense of their heritage."

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL OUTLOOK

1 Radio Drama as Cultural Process

The system described in the previous chapter refers to radio drama production as a cultural practice; that is, the emphasis is diachronic as opposed to synchronic. Where a simple picture of a single production unit working on a single play would be synchronic, this ethnography places radio drama production in its historical perspective. Such a strategy is diasynchronic as ". . . it involves coming to grips with both socio-cultural relationships in time (*diachronic*) and space (*synchronic*) (Carstens, 1991:xvi)." Since no such study ". . . is complete if viewed as a closed system, regardless of how far back local history is explored (Carstens, 1991:xvii)," the production is described in the context of the external social relationships by which it is influenced (e.g., Actor's Guild, Technicians' Union, CBC bureaucracy, etc.). This latter aspect requires social network analysis and will be explained within the pages of this chapter. For now, treating the work of the radio drama team as a cultural practice requires further explanation.

The diasynchronic approach is not new to the social sciences. However, its use in this ethnography is original in its focus. In cultural studies, emphasis is more often than not placed on the *product* of cultural practices. Analysis is focused on the text, consequently neglecting the actual cultural process implicated in its very creation. Although the cultural product is recognised as an artifact of a process, the

process, if referred to at all, is treated merely as context. In broadcasting studies, emphasis is placed either on the product or the bureaucratic structures within which the product was created. In either case, the actual creative process would be neglected.

Before the methods used for this project are explained, they must be situated within the theoretical perspective from which the research was done. A good place to start would be to define what is meant by cultural process. To delimit the term process, we turn to the work of Griswold. Griswold (1994) studies culture in terms of the cultural objects from which culture is formed. As one would learn about a specific ecosystem by analysing the soil, water, climate, flora, and fauna individually, Griswold learns about a specific culture by analysing its individual cultural objects: "Specifying a cultural object is a way of grasping some part of a broader system we refer to as culture and holding that part for analysis. One might compare this to how we would go about studying a marsh (Rogers, 1991:12)." In this ethnography, Canadian culture is being studied, in part, by identifying and understanding the cultural object known as a radio drama.

Since radio drama, as produced by the CBC, is a Canadian cultural object, and since, according to Griswold (1994:14), cultural ". . . objects are made by human beings . . . ," radio dramas should be understood by studying their creation. The conditions under which human beings undertake creation is what this author refers to when stating that radio drama production is a cultural process. Also, the cultural object is created for a purpose: to be experienced or to be received. This

whole process does not occur without external influences. The creators of cultural objects exist within the context of their social world along with the objects themselves. Griswold (1994:14-5) specifies that both ". . . cultural objects and the people who create and receive them are not floating freely, but are anchored in a particular context. We can call this the social world." The creator, the receiver, the social world, and the object itself interact in what Griswold refers to as the Cultural Diamond as illustrated in **Figure 1**. According to this model, cultural objects are created and received within the context of the social world.

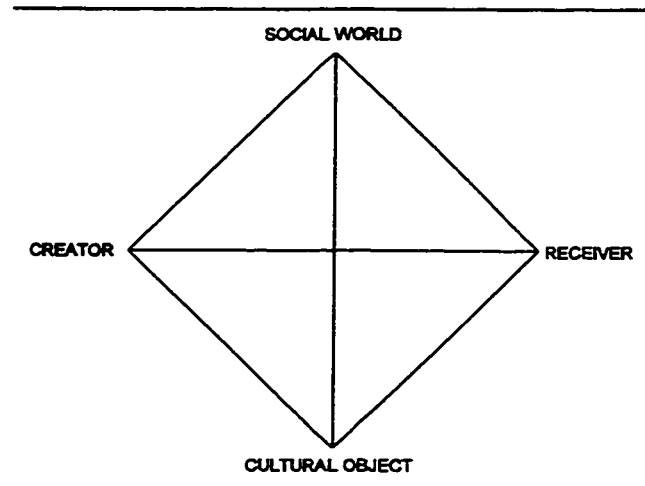

Figure 1
The Cultural Diamond (Griswold, 1994:15).

Rogers (1991), in describing Griswold's earlier work, delineates cultural processes in terms of the cultural object, its creator, its audience, and its social context. **Figure 2** applies Rogers' terminology to Griswold's diamond model. The altered terminology suits radio drama since radio listeners are actually receivers in

the *form* of an audience. Replacing Social World with Social Context implies a narrowing of focus on a more accessible portion of the social world: the actual social context within which the drama's creative process occurs.

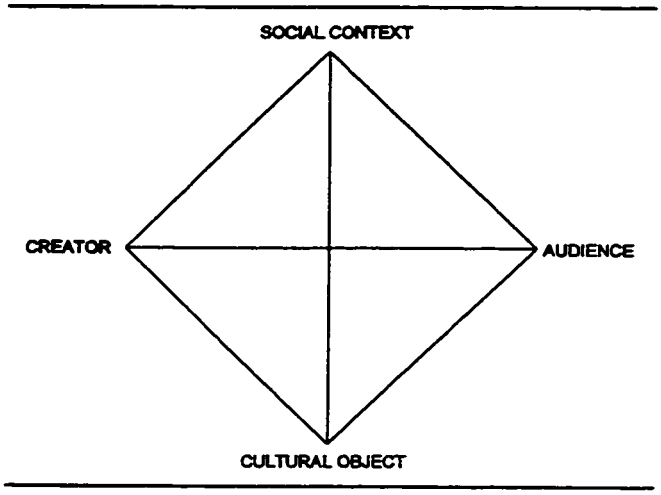

Figure 2
Cultural Diamond - Rogers Adaptation.

While the above terminology may be better suited to the needs of this paper, further refinement is required. Rogers is actually discussing process in terms of four empirical points of reference: the creative formations, the broadcast, ownership and control of the medium, and the audience. This new terminology, presented by Jackson (1995:51), is more representative of the reality of the creation of cultural products as it applies to radio drama production at the CBC. Jackson (1995:53) explains: ". . . the world of CBC radio drama [is] a relatively autonomous socio-cultural world in which social and cultural systems are superimposed, each

penetrating the other." Superimposing Jackson's terminology on Griswold's Diamond results in **Figure 3** less the arrows. The addition of the arrows acknowledges that Jackson's work establishes that the elements of the diamond are not separate entities. The points, as complexes of cultural elements, are part of an interacting system.

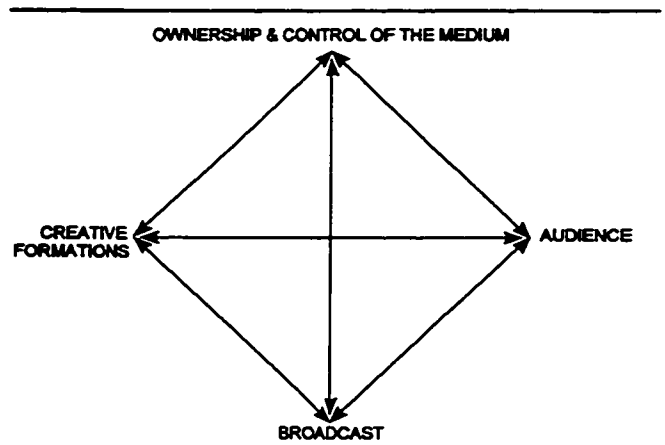

Figure 3
Cultural Diamond - Jackson Adaptation.

The work described in this thesis deals with that part of the creative process where bureaucracy, writer, producer, actor, and technician come together: the studio production of a play. **Figure 4** integrates these entities as they are involved in the creation of radio drama within the current version of the diamond model. Note that although the audience is represented in the diamond models, the opening statement of this paragraph, which was part of the original research design, neglects the presence of the audience in the studio. Although the design included

discussion of the audience's place as an aspect of the cultural object called radio drama, the original focus did not include the audience's role inside the studio. Why the omission? The researcher did not expect the audience to be present in the recording studio beyond as a conception in someone's mind.[4]

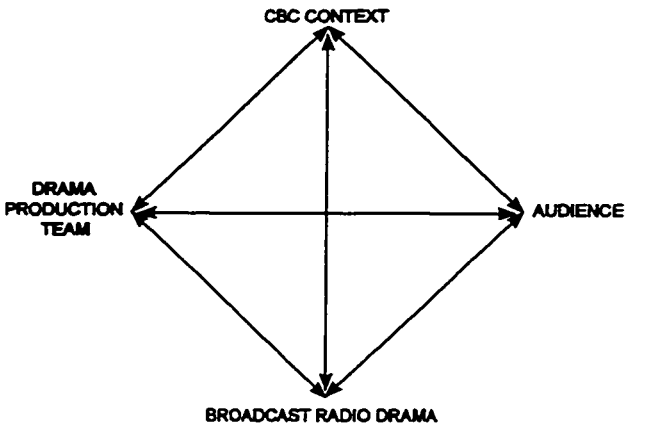

Figure 4
Cultural Diamond as Applied to Radio Drama Production.

Despite the original assumption that the audience would remain unobserved, the audience was represented during the production. The producer of the observed production routinely asked others' opinions about the sound of the play. In this sense, the mass audience is represented by individuals present at the CBC studios. These representatives become a tool by which the producer can assess the work

[4]In order to avoid confusion, it must be explained that the decision to use the term audience in the title precedes the notion that the audience would ever become a point of discussion in the thesis. The title *Creating for the Audience of One* does not imply that the author considers the audience as a single entity "of one mind." The *Audience of One* in the title refers to the recording studio microphone.

and expected reactions. The audience is present as an "anticipated" audience. It is anticipated through the producer's assumptions about those who will listen to the finished product. These assumptions are tested whenever possible.[5]

That the production team has an indirect relationship with the audience through the broadcast radio drama appeals to common sense. The direct relationship becomes obvious upon its revelation. If the producer is concerned with the audience, then there is direct interaction with the audience. Does the audience exercise agency in the process of creation then? Yes, according to Fiske (1990a & 1990b), because audience members impose their own meanings on the cultural product. The production team may create its own meanings, but Fiske's audience members impose their own by listening and interpreting the play for themselves. For Fiske (1990a:2) then, culture is understood in terms of a ". . . struggle to make social meanings that are in the interest of the subordinate and that are not those of the dominant ideology." Cultural objects are presented to the masses as a commodity but not accepted without first being changed. The audience interprets the broadcast drama and thus participates in the creative process. This aspect of the creative process was beyond the scope of observations performed by the ethnographer. However, the anticipated audience's influence on the creation of this

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[5]The producer observed for this thesis even stopped to ask the researcher's opinion. Team members interviewed verified that it was routine for the producer of a play to ask for opinions on the sound of the play. The producer explained that during recording, the production-assistant and the recording engineer listen with the producer to make sure direction is followed (Sinclair, 1994). However, they, and any other person who is listening, also represent the audience. This was supported by another interviewed producer (Roy ,1994).

radio drama was observed fully because the researcher was a representative of that audience to the producer.

2 The Production Team as a Social Network

The audience, although not completely or officially present, is drawn into the process and is part of the creative formation known as the drama production team. The members of this team, as suggested in the first chapter, form a social network. They also come from other networks, including their own maintained personal networks. All of these networks, or communities, influence studio work. External influences make their way into the studio and affect the creative process. This whole interactive structure is easily observed and can be examined by applying social network analysis to members of the team. To fully understand this dynamic, and to understand the application of social network analysis, we examine its application by Wellman (1980).

Wellman's social network analysis is the result of work within the branch of sociology known as community studies. Defining the term community is not as simple as one would think. Poplin (1979:3) states that like culture, community is a ". . . word of many uses." Sociologists themselves have yet to come to a consensus on the concept's use. Bell and Newby (1971) comment that they have identified over ninety definitions of community. Based on the works of Talcott Parsons and Gideon Sjoberg, Bell and Newby concede that community is a collectivity of actors and community studies should, therefore, focus on people and

their interaction. Bell and Newby (1971:32) contend that those performing community studies should therefore ". . . be concerned with persons acting in relation to other persons in respect to the territorial location of both person parties." This view, as so many other views of community, focuses on two aspects: personal interaction and territory. Communities ". . . can be understood as on-going systems of interaction within a locality (Bell & Newby, 1971:52)."

Unfortunately, on first observance, places or localities that one would expect to find a thriving community are bereft of any traditional community activity. For instance, in their study of the Toronto suburb of East York, Wellman and Berkowitz (1988) describe how that town is void of the traditional signs of community. However, they have their own approach to community studies which examines community activity on the personal level. Community, then, consists of personal networks of interpersonal ties. At a time when many theorists were describing community as lost in modern-day society, Wellman and Berkowitz have designed a working model of community which transcends the necessity of what Poplin (1979:23) calls "a firm territorial base." In reality, thanks to mitigating factors like technology, people are able to maintain their own personal communities. One no longer has to limit one's interaction to those in one's physical surroundings or neighbourhood. Relationships no longer require proximity; community is liberated from the constraints of geographic location and no longer requires being limited to definitions that view it as a local kinship-like group (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988:134).

In their approach to studying community, Wellman and Berkowitz analyse personal systems of exchange and follow personal ties to define community instead of limiting their focus to a locality. In their words, Wellman and Berkowitz (1988:125) ". . . focus on social ties and systems of informal resource exchange rather than on people living in neighbourhoods and villages." Although the radio drama production team does come together to work in the studio (a locale), a studio is not a neighbourhood. Also, the team exists to create one play and then it disassembles. Regardless, while it exists it is very much an active network of interpersonal ties. Such ties are suited to network analysis, even if one is not prepared to accept the team as a community. Wellman and Berkowitz believe that community has taken on the form of a network and have designed their analysis for investigating this network: networks of personal ties.

Interpersonal ties can be intimate or routine and occur between people who are identified as friends, neighbours, co-workers, *et cetera*. These labels come with role expectations about others' behaviour and expectations about the contents of the social ties shared with the other person (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988:142). Wellman and Berkowitz categorise the ties between community members into six types: immediate kin, extended kin, neighbour, friend, co-worker, and organisational ties. Personal communities are then studied in order to establish the roles of which they consist and which roles can be found in the more intimate ties. As would be expected, in a study of residents of a Toronto suburb, people tend to have intimate ties with those whom they consider friends and routine ties with co-workers. These

routine ties form less than a third of a person's community and most of the intimate ties are maintained within the household or by telephone. (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988)

One's personal network is free to extend anywhere one wishes: "Networks are not local residential groups (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988:148)." Although people can easily drive to meet with or telephone network members, access to members of one's network is affected by distance and frequency of contact. With all its variables, including the expectations one has for the different people based on their roles in the network, structures are formed to establish which persons are available for interaction and what resources are able to flow to network members (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988: 153). For example, the routine interaction expected between a producer and an actor would involve an exchange of direction for performance, not a loan of a personal object or money.

Individual networks are joined as people in one person's network are linked by ties in various other networks. Such structural imbeddedness, as Wellman and Berkowitz call this phenomenon, has an integrative force: ". . . overlapping membership facilitate[s] the coordination of activity between groups (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988:155)." In a radio drama production team, the actors are under contract with the CBC. This contract is a bureaucratic element of the job and the actors themselves are not part of the bureaucracy. Part of the production-assistant's role involves representing the bureaucracy by following the actors around to make sure all their paper work is in order. Part of the production-assistant's membership

in both the bureaucracy and the production team serves the purpose of co-ordinating activities between the two groups or networks. Activity is not the only thing co-ordinated through network ties, resources are distributed as well.

Within a personal community network, people exchange companionship and aid which can be in the form of services or emotional support. While companionship can benefit both parties, the flow of aid and services can be one-sided. Reciprocity becomes important at this point. Wellman and Berkowitz describe three forms of reciprocity: specific exchange, generalised reciprocity, and network balancing. Specific exchange refers to a situation in which emotional aid and small services seem to go both ways along an individual tie. Generalised reciprocity is when the flow of resources is compared along ties. This is done to see whether or not each person receives the same amount of services from the others. Network balancing is an overall examination of the extent to which a network is balanced in terms of its strands of aid. The extent to which people's networks are giving and receiving compared to other networks is scrutinised.

Applying these forms of reciprocity to radio drama production is complicated by the nature of the audience's participation. Limiting scrutiny to the formal members of the production team performing their respective tasks, their network is characterised by specific exchange; they are a group of people performing certain tasks for which they are paid by contract. However, at various times some members provide the producer with a representation of the audience. At other times, strangers like this researcher also represent the audience. Also, remembering

Fiske, the audience perform aspects of the creative role upon listening to the broadcast. When the audience and its creative role are added to the equation, the characteristic form of reciprocity is not so obvious. In this case, reciprocity would have to be examined based on whether individual members receive value from the product based on what they put into interpreting the broadcast. Individuals on the team would have to be investigated to see if the extra help they receive from other members compensates for the help they offer the producer in helping to anticipate the audience: network balancing applies.

Networks usually tend to balance. Wellman and Berkowitz's findings indicated that those requiring more resources tend to provide more than those not requiring many.

> Through its ties, the network distributes resources. People provide and receive companionship and aid within the network. In the East York study, aid was emotional or in the form of small services. Some resources are costly and are not always asked for. However, resources - like companionship - benefit both persons. Also, people who trade resources on various levels take part in more of each other's lives. They are said to have multi-stranded ties (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988:155).

As long as the CBC creates radio drama and as long as the audience continues to listen, the network must represent a balanced community.

3 Creation as a Decision Making Process

Those entering the creative process form what could be defined, in social network analysis, as a community. This paper will go no further in defining the production team as a community. However, since the above discussion demonstrated that the team could be viewed as one, the team can be studied using methods borrowed from community studies; therefore, network analysis provides an excellent perspective from which to understand the creative process. What drives this process? The creative process, once initiated, is characterised by relationships between social elements and decision making. Every step in the creative process requires making decisions. Choosing a script, casting the actors, selecting the sound-effects, composing the musical score, and mixing all of these elements together so that they convey the emotions and sensations that the writer and producer are hoping for all require making decisions.

When the writer scripts the play, the writer has personal ideas and goals for the play. The producer is ultimately in charge of the team and sets goals for the production as well. Usually, the producer respects the writer's aspirations. This ethnography identified incidences where the writer was telephoned to ask his opinion about a line shortened by the producer. The producer included the writer in the producer's own decisions. These decisions, since they are part of the creative process, are what the author refers to as creative decisions. Each time a member of the team considers how to perform that member's expected role, that member is

making a creative decision. These decisions form the foundation upon which the entire broadcast drama rests.

Sometimes, an overall goal set for the project cannot be met fully or it cannot be met at all. This happens when time or money becomes an issue. It also happens when an earlier mistake or oversight is discovered and the person required to solve the problem is already gone. For example, all the recording of actors' parts is done, the play is in the editing stage, and an exchange between two characters was never recorded. Another example is when studio time is running out and the producer has to decide between recording another take, something that would be done automatically if there were more time, or moving on to the next scene. These decisions are made to serve the goals of the overall project as well as physically possible and must accomodate new constraints as they arise, even though they were not part of the initial plan. Such decisions are compensatory creative decisions.

As described in this chapter, the radio drama production team is a creative formation gathered within the social context of the CBC and Canadian radio to create a radio drama for broadcast. The team, which includes representatives of the anticipated audience, forms a social network which creates by performing roles and by making creative decisions. It would appear that the most efficient way to analyse a micro-system of such elements would be to use direct observation methods and indirect observation through intensive interviewing of participants. As this project

observed one micro-system in the production of one play, a three to five week process, it is a case study.

This case study will focus on specific aspects of radio drama production, the radio drama production team, and the creative process itself. Radio drama is viewed as a cultural process. As a cultural process, it is investigated in terms of the adaptation of Griswold's Cultural Diamond as outlined earlier. The radio drama production team is treated as a network and that network and its ties are explored using network analysis. Finally, the creative process is analysed through the understanding that creation is a succession of decisions. The resulting data are to be collected and treated as described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

1 The Case Study

In the case study described here, knowledge of the work of one radio drama production team is meant to contribute to the understanding of the general process of radio drama creation. Unfortunately, the use of such studies in the social sciences is not always granted the validity it deserves. In broadcasting studies, the case study has not been required to study the final product, or text; therefore, its usefulness has yet to be established. Discussions in this chapter should illustrate the depth of knowledge available about the actual creation of the final product, an integral part of the product's true identity and existence.

Case studies avoid some of the loss of detail inherent in quantitative research by being grounded in the social setting of the actual group under investigation. Quantitative methods are contrived outside the natural setting and tend to be artificial representations of life; often, ". . . the flesh and bones of the everyday lifeworld is removed from the substance of the research itself, thereby diminishing the usefulness of the research for subsequent investigations (Orum et al., 1991:7)." Case studies are not to be discounted as they avoid this problematic tendency. Those performing case studies need to understand the object of study from the inside. According to Schwartzman (1993:3-4), they should ". . . go into the field to learn about a culture from the inside out."

Despite the varying natures of individual plays, Tydeman demonstrates that all radio drama productions have certain similarities. All productions involve the common roles of writer, script editor, producer, actor, sound-recording engineer, and sound-effects engineer. The producer oversees and directs the production and reports to various levels of management. Since individual interaction is primarily role-specific, each production brings forth micro-systems of groups of people combined in similar sets of roles following similar patterns of behaviour. These micro-systems exist and operate within a large organisation: the CBC.

Much is already known about the formal positions and roles held by members of the production team. From the sociological perspective, one should also be concerned about the informal aspects of the relationship. Knowing that the producer is in charge and that the actors act is not enough. Understanding the nature of the interaction between each of the roles requires first-hand knowledge that goes beyond the technical. Full description requires observation and investigation of the informal social relationships that form within the actual setting.

Sociology, anthropology, and social psychology have demonstrated that people's informal social relations must be understood before one can make any conclusions about their behaviour in any group which they form or in which they participate. According to Lipset (1956:xii), studying individuals' ". . . informal social relations is a prerequisite to any clear or adequate understanding of their behavior in any of the formal organizations to which they belong or in which they are employed." Case studies provide details about the small primary-group that are of

crucial importance for exploring the cultural processes within the aforementioned organisations. Lipset (1956:xii) stipulates that case studies provide the information that is necessary ". . . to an understanding of the actual processes that go on within the formal organizations." Lipset recognised the importance of using case studies to the understanding of trade unions. Lipset's work illustrates the necessity for focusing on the people in action, the people living their roles.

While the case study is useful for understanding a specific group, it is also capable of providing general knowledge about recurring activity as in the case of radio drama. Each CBC drama is created by a production team working within the same centrally controlled corporation with the same nationalistic mandate. Where such similarities are present, Orum *et alia* (1991:1) contend that the ". . . study of the single case . . . remains indispensable to the progress of the social sciences." As an investigative method, the case study provides insight at relatively small cost when compared to the vast effort needed for random sampling.

Formally, the case study is defined as ". . . an in-depth, multifaceted investigation, using qualitative research methods of a single phenomenon (Orum et al., 1991:2)." Qualitative methods, such as the case study, bring the abstraction of theory to the level of the real world, permitting researchers to understand a social phenomenon in great depth and detail. In the real world setting, a researcher can observe people's actions and words directly; therefore, the researcher is able to understand the way these activities form and reform the structures within which the observed people live. For Schwartzman (1993:4), this means that qualitative

researchers are in a position to observe ". . .both what people say and what people do, it is possible to understand the way that everyday routines constitute and reconstitute organizational and societal structures."

The ethnography, the type of case study reported in this paper, is listed as one of the qualitative research methods most often linked to the case study. Dobbert (1982:7) endows it with the ability to convey ". . . a well-rounded view from the inside." By design, the ethnography allows the activities and motivations of a group to be examined from within the group. As Orum *et alia* (1991:4) explain, the ethnographic method ". . . represents a detailed study of the activities of a group of people. It typically relies on firsthand observations of their ways of acting, believing, and feeling." Ethnographic research is the standard case study method because it is tailored for studying micro-systems by observing the interactions, the actions, and the statements of individuals directly (Dobbert, 1983:9). Spradley (1980:30-1) explains how this direct observation is usually performed

> . . . with a single general problem in mind: to discover the cultural knowledge people are using to organize their behaviour and interpret their experience. Such a general goal encourages the ethnographer to study whatever informants feel is important in a particular cultural scene.

A natural setting is not the only advantage to the case study. Case studies are capable of providing a complete investigation of complex social networks and their inherent complexes of social actions and meanings (Orum et al., 1991:6). This is possible because case studies obtain information from various sources over an extended time-span. The resulting addition of the historical dimension enables a

researcher to examine changes in the patterns of daily life over time. Orum *et alia* (1991:12) refer to this as observing ". . . the ebb and flow of social life over time and to display[ing] the patterns of everyday life as they change." Finally, according to Orum *et alia*, qualitative methods such as the case study are more likely to promote theory generation.

Quantitative research concentrates on the verification of inherited theory and is characterised by a strict adherence to natural science methods. This convention creates a dependence on statistical generalisation that results in minor generalisations and simple verification of inherited theory (Orum et al., 1991:14). Although a worthwhile practice, the verification of inherited theory is emphasised at the expense of theory generation, expansion of inherited theory is minimal. For example, anthropologists use an ethnography as a data base of knowledge about those observed. Encyclopaedic in nature, the data base provides information. However, as conclusions may be drawn from existing knowledge, ethnographers are able to cull new information based on new premises with their collected data. "Such devices can draw conclusions from existing knowledge that have never before been made and thus create information that *de facto* was not in the data base before (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987:23)." As Werner and Schoepfle describe ethnographic research, it has proven to be quite useful.

Before moving from this general discussion of ethnography to the description of the particular ethnography outlined in this thesis, it is important to make the point that ethnographic research is not a panacea. The point is not that qualitative

methods are better than quantitative methods. The point is that one should use the methods best suited to one's objectives and to the nature of that which is being studied. The fervent tone of the description of ethnographic research stems from the fact that much of the sociological literature supporting qualitative methods was written from a defensive stand-point. Early proponents of the case study had to break through a bias for methods based primarily on the so-called "pure" sciences. As a result, sociological texts about qualitative methods have defensive titles like *The Case for the Case Study* (Feagin et al., 1991) and, similarly, *What's Wrong with Ethnography* (Hammersley, 1992)?

In the case of the latter title, Hammersley's tone is misleading. As much as it would seem to indicate that the author is adding voice to the chorus of ethnographic method supporters, Hammersley is indicating that some things are wrong with ethnography. According to Hammersley (1992:3),

> . . . on the one hand, in many fields it has achieved recognition so that the question what is wrong with it may be interpreted rhetorically as implying its acceptance as one legitimate approach to social research amongst others. On the other hand, the emergence of some fundamental criticisms of ethnographic method suggests that the question ought to be interpreted in a more literal way.

One of the main problems is that those who support qualitative methods have spent so much time arguing against quantitative methods that they have limited the definition of ethnographic research as an anti-quantitative method. Support for ethnographic methods stemmed from what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:1) call a ". . . disillusionment with quantitative methods that for long held the dominant

position in most of the social sciences." Effectively, after years of defending itself to positivism, ethnography has acquired a certain positivistic bias. In trying to prove that qualitative research can achieve the results that quantitative researchers were after, qualitative researchers have maintained positivistic goals. Such a perspective for social research neglects its fundamentally reflexive nature and ignores the researcher's membership in the social world under scrutiny. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:21) specify ". . . that we are part of the social world we study, and there is no escape from reliance on common-sense knowledge and methods of investigation. All human research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation ."

In illustrating the point that ethnography has developed its own positivistic bias, Hammersley demonstrates the resulting criticisms of the methodology. By participating in the observed group, ethnographers' actions affect the data. The data are not a simple representation but a combination of observation and the observer's own thought processes. Ethnographers enter the field to describe independent social realities but ". . . the data which ethnographers use is [sic] a product of their participation in the field rather than a mere reflection of the phenomenon studied, and/or is [sic] constructed in and through process of analysis and the writing of ethnographic accounts (Hammersley, 1992:2)." Another problem with attempting to understand and to provide ethnographic descriptions of a social reality in its own terms is that this presumes the existence of one possible objective description for each phenomenon. This is not the case: according to Hammersley

(1992:28), ". . . there are multiple, non-contradictory, true descriptions of any phenomenon ." The ethnography performed for this thesis was designed with this fact in mind. The researcher avoided the first problem by keeping participation to a minimum and by asking as many questions about any assumptions or conclusions made through observation.[6] All observation-based conclusions were corroborated. The second problem, the assumption that only possible objective description exists, was also avoided through the testimonies of those involved in the actual production work.

Hammersley (1992:3) points out another failing: ". . . the distinctive capacity of ethnography to contribute to practice has often been emphasised . . ." yet this potential is not being exploited. While the goal of this work is not expected to affect the CBC or to change Canadian policy, it is designed to increase knowledge of the actual creative process and cultural practice of those who make reference to the end product of that process. Those participating in cultural studies and broadcasting studies should stop taking the cultural practice of creation for granted. A lofty goal it may be, but it is timely and worthwhile because ethnographic research has come of age and it is time for it to start contributing to the progress of social research.

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[6]The author concedes his participation. This participation will be described fully in **Chapter 4**. At this point, however, it should be noted that the participation was not that of an official member of the formal radio drama production team, but that of a bystander who could represent the anticipated audience for the producer.

Ethnography as a method of social research is one of many. The fact that, as Hammersley (1992:1) describes it, ethnography has become ". . . widely accepted as a legitimate approach to social research," proves its usefulness. The fact that Hammersley identifies that it is time to stop the positivistic defence for the methodology and to address the method's weaknesses, proves that ethnographic research has come of age. The design of this work should be judged on its merits as what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:ix) refer to as ". . . a reflexive approach to ethnographic work . . ." within the context of the study of small communities such as the radio drama production team. "What is required is that the relevance and the factual and value assumptions that underlie ethnographic descriptions and explanations are made explicit and justified where necessary (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:28)." In other words, the assumptions made in researching the creation of radio drama must be explained and supported. In order to investigate the design of this ethnography, we must examine the way that the data are treated.

2 Data Collection & Analysis

This section of the thesis explains the actual process by which the researcher observed the radio drama production and collected data. It also depicts the way in which these data were analysed. However, before data can be analysed, it must be established that the method by which they are collected assures that they are in fact reliable. To ensure reliability, Sjoberg and Nett (1968:162) stipulate that ". . . direct observation must be supplemented by indirect observation, even within

a small group setting." Together, direct and indirect observation provide knowledge about both the objective and subjective components of a social situation. Direct observation provides researchers with an understanding of the observed and their roles while indirect methods of observation analyse the participants' perceptions of their roles. The suggested method of indirect observation is interviewing, a method used in this ethnography to support observations.

Observation for the purposes of this study occurred during the autumn season of 1994 in the CBC's Toronto recording studios. Observations took place in studio during rehearsal, recording, editing, and mixing of **The Island of Dr. Moreau** over the period of one-month. The in-studio production team included the producer, a production-assistant, a recording engineer, a sound-effects engineer, and actors. The score for this particular play was composed by an employee of an independent recording studio instead of by one of the CBC's in-house composers. The composer's recording team was observed, directly and indirectly, in the independent studio. To establish how scores are recorded in-house, a CBC composer was observed while working on the musical score of a second radio drama called **A Basket Full of Cats**. Most of the people listed above were interviewed as key informants throughout the production process. These interviews helped to corroborate conclusions made by the researcher during observation. Also interviewed were the casting director, the writer, the recording engineer in charge of the Radio Performance Suite, a producer responsible for producing a series, and a musician often hired to play cello for music scores.

The preparation of every radio drama commences when the producer meets with the play's script-writer. Together, they discuss and formalise the script. This meeting was not observed, but both were interviewed about the meeting. After the script is transformed into workable form, the actors are called in for a read-through and asked for their opinions on the dialogue. At this time, the producer performs the role of mediator between actors and writer. The producer, writer, and actors were questioned about this mediating role and their own role and purpose in the production. Later, the engineers join the team to record, create the effects, and provide for the studio's smooth running. Their interviews were structured to understand their positions within the production team. For example, they were asked what they do; with which members of the team they relate and in what way; whether they consider themselves as creative or not; how they view the creative output of other team members; who they consult for help with their work; and where the CBC and the audience fit within their perceptions of their work.

During the course of data collection, all formal personal interviews were taped for later transcription and the answers to random questions were recorded in field-notes. A daily journal was also kept during on-site observations. To facilitate analysis of interview and observation records, a computer software package called NUDIST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theory-building) was used. Proper records are essential for organising a large volume of notes. These field-notes were reviewed and analysed daily to help focus future observations and to develop interview topics. Using notes for regular analysis in

this fashion is central to ethnographic research. Notes allow for the cycle of revising notes to modify the focus for future observation. In ethnographic research, ". . . the major tasks follow a cyclical pattern (Spradley, 1980:28);" research questions influence observation and the observed influences future research questions.

The cycle described by Spradley begins with the researcher's original ideas and questions about a topic. Those for the project presented here have already been outlined in the previous chapters. Tydeman's article, written from the radio drama producer's perspective, provides insight into the basic routine of radio production. A conscientiously devised ethnography of CBC radio drama production should provide useful knowledge about the cultural aspects of radio production, cultural aspects important to sociology for understanding culture. Studying the cultural aspects of radio production is important to broadcasting studies as well. It should provide understanding of the creative process as it adapts to its structural context while providing the text. Why simply study the product from without by examining the text when it can be understood from within through investigating the process of creation?

Having established the usefulness of the case study and ethnographic research, we can examine how radio dramas are produced and created. Information about all except the earliest stages are based on both direct observation and by interviewing (indirect observation). Due to timing constraints, information about the initial meetings between the producer and writer and the actual casting process was obtained during interviews only. It is important to note that the term interview as

used in this paper is not restricted to formal face-to-face recorded interviews. If questions came to mind during observations, or if the researcher came to a conclusion that needed to be corroborated, the appropriate person was questioned during coffee breaks or when the producer was out of the room. Answers to these questions became part of the field-notes.

Eventually, patterns arose and as behaviourial patterns became evident, categories for analysis of the qualitative data analysis were developed. For example, it was observed during the recording of the music for **A Basket Full of Cats** that the composer of the score ran the studio as the producer had during recording of the actors. For all intents and purposes, the composer was a producer and the musician was an actor. The production-assistant and the recording engineer took direction from the composer while the play's producer supervised. In this production team, the producer was not pleased with this researcher's presence in the studio so the producer was not asked to corroborate observations. However, in the producer's absence during a coffee-break, the musician, who had worked for the CBC on several occasions, admitted that his studio work was always directed by the composer. The sound-recording engineer for **A Basket Full of Cats** and the producer of **The Island of Dr. Moreau** supported this as well. This account was included to illustrate the emergence of patterns and more details about this will be included in the following chapter.

Once the researcher identified the similarities between how the composer directed the musician and how the producer directed the actors and the sound-

effects engineer, the latter while creating live sound-effects, observation became easier and so the emphasis was modified. Up to this point, the preoccupation was with writing descriptions of everything that was happening. After this point, the focus was changed to the nature of how things were run in the studio and how events were organised. Modifying the focus resulted in the second chapter's discussion on creation as a series of decisions. The other result was a shift from verbatim accounting of every single word and action to identifying types of relationships. These categories formed the basis for the use of the NUDIST software.

NUDIST is designed to categorise notes so that one may group all the sections of the field-notes, the interview transcriptions, and literature research notes that refer to the same topic together in one file. Regardless of the word-processor used, NUDIST sections notes into units of analysis consisting of lines or paragraphs. These units can than be labelled to belong to one or several categories chosen to organise one's work. For instance, in this researcher's notes on the read-through, the recording, the editing, the interview with the producer, and the interview with the production-assistant, each line describing interaction between the two roles was assigned to the "producer → assistant" or the "assistant → producer" category depending upon who initiated the interaction. Then, regardless from which document they came, these lines could be compiled for reading or printing together in one file. Unfortunately, this researcher's computer could not handle the strain on its memory. After several system failures, NUDIST was abandoned. This was not

due to a problem with the software, but due to an inability to procure more random-access memory.

Before leaving the discussion of NUDIST, the author would like to note that the software was impressive. Working with it did result in turning to social network analysis. NUDIST depicts the categories as a decision tree with nodes. From each node, new sub-categories are formed and these are illustrated by an arrow pointing to them from their main category. Since most of the categories for this re-organisation of the data were individuals, the illustrated tree looked very much like Wellman's diagrams of personal communities. This is not meant to imply that the decision to use network analysis would have been impossible without NUDIST. The implication here is that NUDIST organises qualitative data easily and efficiently. The practice of reading through one's notes to categorise them stimulates ideas for re-organisation and theory development. It is a shame that physical, and fiscal, restraints halted the exercise.

Further description of the process by which the data were analysed is impossible without further describing the cultural practice of radio drama as it was observed. To do so it becomes necessary to leave the general description of the treatment of the data to the specific details of the ethnography as it was performed. As a result, we now turn to the actual description of the observations and findings of the research.

CHAPTER 4

OBSERVATIONS & FINDINGS

1 Introduction

In order to perform the practical part of this work, I spent approximately one month of Autumn 1994 in a CBC studio in Toronto. I witnessed the rehearsal, the recording, the editing, and the mixing of a radio play during that period. The play was an adaptation of the H.G. Wells novella **The Island of Dr. Moreau**. In-studio, the production team included the producer, an associate producer, a recording engineer, a sound-effects engineer, and actors. An independent music composer was hired for this play. This composer's recording team was observed in a private studio at Harris Cole Wilde Productions Incorporated. This case study, therefore, provides a natural setting and includes a historical dimension. Information was collected from various sources over an extended time-span, the time-span required to create the actual play.

The observations described in this chapter are not based solely on personal observations. Indirect observation techniques were added to ensure reliability of observations and the overall validity of the project. Simple observation provides an understanding of the observed people and their roles. Indirect observation, in this case interviewing, helps to analyse the participants' perceptions of their roles. Most of the people observed were interviewed as key informants throughout the production process, including a recording engineer with the **Air Farce** and the

recording engineer in charge of co-ordinating studio time. I asked questions whenever the chance arose. Such informal interviews helped to verify conclusions made during observation; in other words, I made sure that I saw what I thought I had seen. In more formal and private settings, I interviewed the casting director, the writer, three actors, and the producer in charge of one of the CBC Radio Drama Department's series: **Monday Night Playhouse**.

Interviews were crucial to understanding aspects of radio drama that I was unable to observe. Some stages occurred simultaneously while I was in Toronto, and others happened before I had ever arrived making it impossible to view everything. For example, the preparatory meeting to discuss and formalise the script was not observed, but both writer and producer were interviewed about the meeting. The results of all of the observations and interviews are summarised in this chapter. The data are organised in sections based on the basic steps in radio

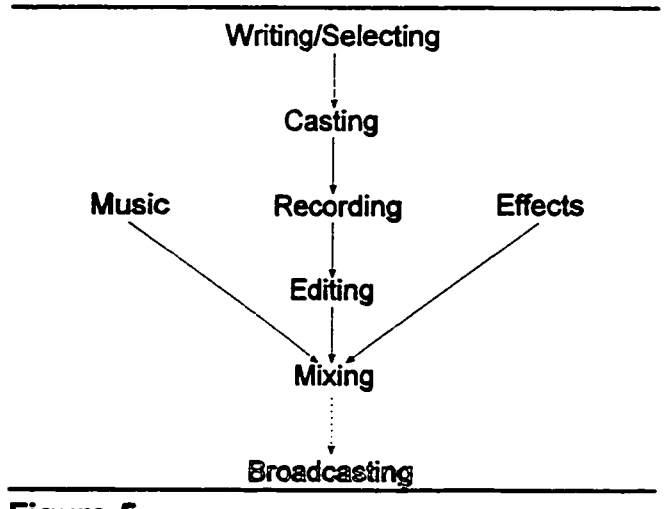

Figure 5
The Basic Steps of Production.

drama production, which are illustrated in **Figure 5**. This representation, despite its usefulness for our understanding, is not entirely accurate. The stages are not as isolated as **Figure 5** would lead one to believe. This diagram is intended as an aid to the following discussion and the steps do not always occur as consecutively as represented.

2 Starting a Production

Usually, radio drama production commences with the selection of a script. Either a writer submits a script or ideas for a script to the department or a producer may seek out a writer with a play or an idea for an adaptation. As mentioned earlier, the observed radio drama was an adaptation. This particular adaptation, according to my first telephone conversation with the producer, was the result of a discussion between the producer and the writer over which literary works they thought would make interesting radio adaptations. The result: excitement over the idea of adapting H.G. Wells' work for radio. After the conversation, the writer provided a script which the producer asked his immediate superior, the head of the Drama Department, to approve. It was approved and casting was soon underway.

Normally, radio scripts are submitted for approval and the producer is assigned the project once it has been accepted by the department. Anyone inquiring about how they could get a script produced would be told to first write one and then to submit it to the Drama Department. That would be the formal response. However, **The Island of Dr. Moreau** was the result of a discussion over drinks

between friends.[7] This fact was established at the very beginning of the ethnographic research during the very first telephone conversation with the producer. From the onset, details obtained by this case study justify the use of ethnographic methods. A dry, documentary recounting of radio drama production may not have identified this real detail about the world of radio production.

The important thing to note about radio drama production with respect to the script is that the writer is consulted when changes are made. Changes are often the result of simple necessity as when the play is too long. In this case, the writer is consulted to verify that dialogue cuts do not destroy what the writer was trying to convey. There is a respect for the writer's conception when the script is altered. Some changes are the result of the producer hearing the actors and realising that what is written may not translate well over the air. These changes are referred to the writer who re-works the script for the producer.

Here is a good example of a change made to the observed play involving the re-writing of an entire character named The Sayer of the Law who was portrayed by a well-known Canadian actor with a long history in radio drama. The actor interpreted the character in a regal manner suggesting that the Sayer should, perhaps, be a lion. Actors add a dimension to their character, and this time the addition was brought one step further by an appreciative producer. The producer

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[7]The producer referred to the script as the result of a conversation over drinks. In an interview, the script-writer informed me that the script was an idea he had for theatre. After bumping into the producer at the CBC, the writer told him about his idea and the producer suggested it would make a good radio drama. Despite the apparent contradiction, the point is that the radio script itself was the result of a chance discussion.

asked the writer to rewrite the part's major speeches to include a regal manner. The writer was more than happy to comply because making the character into a lion added to the character by having it suit the actor's portrayal. It is also noteworthy that this revision was only possible because it was made early on in studio time and the character's narration was not scheduled to be recorded for two more days. Many smaller and similar changes were made in consultation with the writer during the lunch hour or after work.

Later on in the production, it became evident that the play was too long. Parts of the play were cut so that each of the four episodes did not surpass fifteen minutes. During my observation period, the play was edited into four episodes which were to be aired the week of Hallowe'en. When a play is aired in parts, regardless of the total playing time, any episode that exceeds fifteen minutes affects how the actors are paid because the actors are payed in fifteen-minute increments (e.g., 10 min = 15 min or 16 min = 30 min). The union rules are strict and the production's budget did not allow for the added expense of a longer episode. Many of the cuts that were made were done in the final stages of mixing. Some of these occurred during weekend and evening sessions and so the writer was not consulted every time with the valid reason that there was no time to wait for the next day.

This play ran into delays which caused much of the final work to be done during overtime. The delays were caused by the new studio facilities that the CBC had just acquired. The equipment and the studio are the most advanced in the world and completely computerised. Being new, the software designed to control

everything was prone to random failures. The software was purchased from a computer software design company based in California. Before the play was completed, many long distance calls were made to have the errors fixed by experts who designed the software and were convinced that CBC sound engineers were at fault for not reading the instructions. Eventually, the odd problem got fixed and the others were put on a list of improvements to be made for the next version of the software. By the time I arrived at the CBC, the software company had stopped accepting telephone calls and insisted that the CBC await the software upgrade.

The problems with the technology caused delays which in turn caused the later stages of production to be rushed. Members of the team had been working in this atmosphere for most of the year. According to the producer, the sound-recording engineers could not listen to how the actor was placed in scene but had to watch the computer to make sure the information was actually making it to the hard-drive (Sinclair, 1994). In radio drama, the recording engineers are not usually mere technicians. They are active participators in the creative process. Normally, their job includes ". . . the additional level of creating sound that assists in the development of the telling of a story (Sinclair, 1994)." This creative input was impeded by the current situation, a situation that some technicians blame on the bureaucracy for not purchasing the equipment they would have preferred.

The time delays were compounded because of the special nature of this project. Since the play was intended for Hallowe'en, the budget was approved to take advantage of some of the more time-consuming effects possible with the new

equipment. When problems arose, they cost even more time. This became most evident when the studio had to be turned over to the next project that was scheduled for the facility. At this point, whenever the observed crew could get additional studio time, everything was set up for other projects. **The Island of Dr. Moreau** crew had to reset the studio each time it re-entered.

When problems result in having some members of the team work outside of normal hours, the writer has no choice but to trust the producer: reciprocity is the key. As much as the producer respects the writer's intentions, the writer must respect the producer's studio experience. The producer admitted that writers who resist all changes are usually avoided. They are excluded from the producer's sustained network. Producers tend to favour certain writers and often work with the same production-assistant. They also favour certain actors. This topic will be addressed further in the **Casting** section of this chapter.

The observed civility and mutual respect between the producer and writer may be the result of their having started this project together. However, the positive relationship survived last-minute changes made to the play, even those made in haste without consultation. In the producer's words, most of the changes in this play became simply ". . . a minor dollars-and-cents thing or maybe just even a matter of rhythm and reading (Sinclair, 1994)." Eventually, through asking questions, I began to realise that healthy co-operation is required for any radio drama production to be successful. Production time is organised to limit costs so there is no time for feuding. According to the producer, he tries to work with writers who accept that he

is responsible for turning their written work into sound and that is the producer's expertise.

> The idea as producer is that you are serving the script and its intentions but not necessarily the writer and his intentions. So if you are imbued with the right spirit, it becomes possible to make those kinds of changes without seriously harming the script (Sinclair, 1994).

The previous statement seems to anthropomorphise the script and lessen the importance of the writer. Nevertheless, serving the script is a concept that sits well with the writer. During a formal interview, the writer indicated that he is ". . . as much in service to the script as anybody else is (Demchuk, 1994)."

From the writer's perspective, this project had been in his mind for quite a while as a theatre piece. The nature of theatre, according to him, would have forced him to make many compromises of his vision for the script. Moreau's island would have required an elaborate set; the beasts would have required complicated costumes; and the cast would have required many extra actors would never have spoken. In radio, it was easier to get what he wanted. There was no compromise because through co-operative working of the script ". . . both people [the producer and the writer] get things without having to give up things (Demchuk, 1994)." The writer admits that things are not always this ideal, but he was lucky to have the luxury of working with a producer who knows him and his work. "At the end of the day, I will have a drama that is very true to my vision. If I was afraid that I wouldn't, I would be sitting right next to you [he referred to me because he knew I observed the editing] in the editing suite (Demchuk, 1994)." Also, the broadcast play will offer

proof that his ideas work dramatically, and this could be useful in finding support for a theatre production.

The trust aspect identified in the producer/writer relationship illustrates a point in favour of maintaining a network of people with whom to collaborate on a regular basis. The producer knows that whenever he receives a script from this particular script-writer, he can relax knowing that he will not have to fight the writer for every cut and every change. The writer knows that when this particular producer is producing one of his scripts, he can rest assured that the final version will live up to expectations. Producers are also apt to remember actors with whom they have worked before. If an actor is talented at playing certain types of characters or easy to direct when time is tight, a producer is likely to want to work with that actor again. Personal networks affect casting.

3 Casting

Once a producer has the approval and a budget, actors are required. Often, the producer chooses the primary actors based on past experience and leaves the secondary roles for the casting director. The producer prefers to discuss all the roles with the casting director because the casting director should be part of the creative process. Together, they can cover more ground because the producer knows that ". . . she has a much broader sense of who is out there and who has done what recently (Sinclair, 1994)." He is likely to accept her judgement when she suggests different actors because she casts all the Drama Department projects and

attends local theatre to learn what roles the actors are capable of performing. She is the expert on the local talent and maintains contact with the actors through their agents.

The casting director bases all her selections for the play on her knowledge of the actors. She also reads the entire script, forms her own ideas about the play, and receives instructions and suggestions from both producer and writer. Often, the writer has strong feelings about the type of actor that should play each character. "I [the writer] suggested names more to give a sense of the kind of person that I wanted. In the end, there is not one person I suggested who is in our final cast . . . but the sensation that I tried to impart with my suggestions is intact (Demchuk, 1994)." The casting director cannot always match the type; however, the writers are rarely displeased with casting choices. The writer confirmed this: "The casting for this is unimpeachable (Demchuk, 1994)." Writers do not always know how things will sound on radio. It is also rare that the casting director and producer disagree about a play's characterisation. After reading the script, the casting director usually has the same ideas for the characters as the producer does.

The producers and the casting directors keep track of local actors by going to theatre productions. The casting director also telephones agents to keep track of their actors' most recent work. Sometimes, she finds an actor has done something she never would have envisioned herself. She updates her files and her views on that actor. This means that the network of people involved in the production of radio drama at the CBC expands beyond the walls of the CBC studios

and into the acting and theatre communities. The casting director's approach is even more unique because she has an advertised open audition night every Monday. Anyone is free to enter the CBC and read from various scripts for up to fifteen minutes. This allows for exposure to actors who may not yet have agents or much experience. As a part of a public radio network, the CBC Radio Drama Department tries to include as many people as possible. If the producer has an actor in mind, and the casting director thinks someone might be better, the producer will listen to a recording of that actor and decide. The producer does this with confidence because of the lengths to which the casting director is willing to go in order to be well-informed. The casting director's competency earns respect and influence. The casting director mentioned that she has even changed the gender of a part by suggesting a female actor for a character written as a male. Radio drama producers are willing to take advice.

As mentioned above, many actors are selected. Not all actors have to go through a formal audition. The play that I observed had only one part that was nearly filled through a traditional audition. Auditions were unnecessary because ". . . the characters were really specific and we really did a lot of thinking about who is best (Griersen, 1994)." Only one actor was unknown to the producer and the casting director suggested an audition. The producer waived the audition and had the actor booked solely on the casting director's intuition. The other actors were asked for by name because the producer had fixed notions as to how the characters in the play were meant to be played and about who could act the parts properly.

The characters were strongly defined and it was easy to choose actors that were already good at these types of roles. Time was saved; there is a definite advantage to being aware of the talent already available.

The process as depicted above resembles type-casting. Type-casting is a phenomenon causing some actors to be accepted in only certain types of roles. This can be upsetting and limiting for some actors. However, the impact is lessened in radio because actors may not be type-cast in the same manner as they are in viewed productions. "Type-casting is inevitable but actors like radio drama because, although, type-casting exists, it is not limited to looks and size, physicality, as in the theatre (Sinclair, 1994)." Radio offers a wider range of opportunities because what little type-casting occurs is liberated from appearance.

Working for CBC Radio becomes something to eagerly anticipate because it frees the actors from limitations imposed by their physical appearances. Also, thanks to the casting director, the CBC seeks out the actor. The casting director is always looking for new talent, not only searching for actors but searching for ways to include all of the actors. If the casting director likes an actor who auditions for one producer without getting a part, she will suggest the actor another time or to another producer. While being interviewed in her office, the casting director mentioned the example of a certain actor's placement in the chorus of creatures with strange voices. The producer had established a list of actors for the chorus and this extra actor was added because of the casting director. Not only did she find work for one more actor, she provided him with a chance to prove himself and

expose his talents to the producer. The producer accepted the actor in complete confidence. Later, the actor was given one of the individual speaking parts that were intended for only a few of the chorus actors. Actually, in studio, during a visit to observe her selections at work, the casting director giggled throughout the fortunate actor's scene; partially because of the great voice he created for a half-wolf/half-human creature and partially because she was happy her choice worked out so well. CBC Radio offers some job satisfaction: the writer gets a script produced without having to compromise his vision, the actors are freed from stereotyping due to physical attributes, and the casting director has the pleasure of helping actors find work.

Like the relationship between the writer and the producer, the relationship between the producer and casting director is characterised by mutual respect. The casting director's opinions and choices that counter those of the producer's are considered seriously and often accepted with excellent results. The casting director will never make a final decision without verifying with the producer, he is in charge of the entire production after all. Also, the casting director has genuine concern for all actors and an interest in each radio drama. It is not unusual, for example, to have the casting director present when all the actors get together for the first time to read through the play. Also, the casting director will walk into the recording studio to see and hear them at work. Finally, the casting director listens to tape-recordings of the plays.

The dedication observed in the casting director is very strong. It is also present in most members of the production team. Aside from bureaucratic tension inherent in any organisation like the CBC, radio drama production occurs within a healthy work atmosphere. Each member of the team is allowed to voice an opinion and the producer is perfectly willing to adapt without compromising authority. This has already been demonstrated with respect to the writer and casting director. The following description of work within the studio will identify that this open work ethic applies to all.

4 Recording

12.00pm - in control room with prod, prod-ast, and sound rec. eng.
actors in studio or in "green room"

watching three actors recording a scene. The prod had them read a little in the dead room as he was present and re-arranged them around the microphone. An actor was able to make suggestions about his character and debate a direction from the prod.

a little run-through is done with prod in control room to check some levels and then a recording is done. The sound tech is able to give suggestions (directorial ones) and when she asked for another take, prod told actors to do another stating he needed it.

before recording take two, the producer gives direction as to how loud to speak and from how far from the microphone - Hudson actor experienced (Bionic Man TV-movie, Spenser for Hire, theatre) but not in radio so inexperienced with using mic

12.20pm the scene is recorded successfully and now a scene is being prepared with some actors in different separate locations because voices being treated differently

12.30pm casting director joins the control room asking for an actor who wishes for an advance - prod. irately suggests that we are busy recording.

an actor is getting an inaccurate depiction of his own treated voice in headphones so the tech goes out to listen to his "cans" for herself. He gets happy.

meanwhile, the producer goes to another actor to discuss her character who need to know some background about her character as the script is complicated.

doing a run-through to check out levels and verify the affected voice

the tech is concerned that the woman with the affected voice sounds male but producer says the voice will be adjusted later before final recorded.

again, the tech gives what I would consider to be a directorial suggestion, prod agrees and passes the order on to actor

12.45 another scene done and a third being set up with three actors in centre room

prod, asst-prod, & sound-engineer co-ord and prepare as prod goes out to mic to give directions to actors

Figure 6
Excerpt from Field Notes: Recording Day One.

While the play was being cast, the producer set to work on planning the rest of the work with the production-assistant. This assistant handles negotiations with

agents and the paper work for the actors, their agents, and the actors' union. The agents and the unions are external influences on the creative process and they represent the external links in the network of people that form a production team. The agents are linked through the casting director, the production-assistant, and the actors. The unions are linked through the actors and the sound engineers. Union rules affecting actors' salaries and affecting breaks and overtime payment for the engineers all have a bearing on how the play is created. Often, decisions about cutting scenes or recording extra takes revolve around cost. This will be explained properly later but is mentioned now to illustrate how crucial timing is and how important this aspect of the production-assistant's work is.

The production-assistant is the real organiser. In studio, the production-assistant keeps track of all the scenes as they are recorded and how long they are while making sure the schedule is respected. The actors are scheduled to make efficient use of studio time and to make sure that those with small parts are not kept around longer than required. This work will be described further as required. Before making it to the studio, the production-assistant and the producer have to organise studio use and book studio time with the recording engineer in charge of scheduling studio time. **Figure 7** provides an example of a recording schedule. Note that since the timing includes the period when the actors are involved, the read-through is included.

The read-through of **The Island of Dr. Moreau** occurred the morning of the first day of recording in a conference room attached to the Green Room, a waiting

room with couches for actors not required in a scene while it is being recorded. This room has a window into the recording studio and a speaker over which the next scene to be recorded is announced. In the green room, actors socialise, rest, eat, call their agents, prepare for their next scene, or prepare for another project. It was an interesting place. With prodding, one of the main actors spoke about Robert Urich and Lee Majors; another spoke about playing Edith Piaf in theatre; and one reminisced about visiting CIA headquarters for a movie and his *Star Trek* "Klingon" character while drinking "cough syrup" from a Buxley's expectorant bottle.

"THE ISLAND OF DR. MOREAU"

CAST	ROLE	DATES OCT. 3	OCT. 4	OCT.5
John Colicos	Sayer & Dr. Moreau	9:30 AM - 4:30 PM	10 AM - 5 PM	10 AM -1 PM
Hardee Lineham	Montgomery	9:30 AM - 4:00 PM		
Geordie Johnson	Hudson	9:30 AM - 4:30 PM		
Stephen Sutcliffe	Edgar	9:30 AM - 12:30 PM		
Alison Sealy-Smith	Leopard-Woman	9:30 AM - 4:30 PM		
Louise Pitre	Marie	9:30 AM - 4:00 PM		
Welcome Ngozi	Beast-Chorus/Voice	9:30 AM - 11:30 PM 2 PM - 4 PM		
Nigel Williams				
Toni Elwand				
Alex Bulmer				

Figure 7
Recording Schedule Posted in Green Room.

During the read-through of the script the actors play their parts together for the first time. The script is followed from start to finish even though it may not be recorded in sequence. Although the actors are seated at a large conference table, and although the play is for radio, they gesticulate and look to whomever they are supposed to be speaking. Along with the actors and the producer, the writer, the casting director, and the production-assistant are present. As the play is read, the assistant times the read-through and records how much time has passed during each of the scenes to provide an estimate of the final playing time. The total time is established when the budget is made because it affects the cost of studio time, engineer time, and the actors' salaries. The costs of these elements are calculated according to how long they are required. In addition, the actors' salaries are linked to the length of the final version of the play.

Actually, the regulations governing actors' salaries are further complicated when the play is broadcast in episodic form. As explained earlier, regardless of the total running time, the size of the individual instalments affects what actors are paid because actors are paid in fifteen-minute increments; thus, an hour long play aired in four episodes where two are exactly fifteen minutes long, one is twenty, and another is ten is calculated to be an hour-and-fifteen minute play even though the total running time is sixty minutes. Since the minimum period is fifteen minutes, the ten-minute instalment is paid as fifteen and the twenty-minute part is paid as thirty. This is a prime example of how seemingly external bureaucratic elements, such as

the actors' union, affect the creative process, a theme revisited throughout this chapter.

Sometimes an actor will interrupt the read-through with a question about a character and this is acceptable. Either the producer or the writer answers the query and when everyone is ready, the read-through continues. Such interruptions are expected; they are part of the process of understanding aspects of the story and of establishing characterisation. The read-through also provides everyone with a sample of the finished product. The producer and production-assistant get an idea of the play's length; the producer sizes up the performances; the writer hears his work come to life; the casting director evaluates the actors chosen; and the actors get a sense of their places within the play. Meanwhile, the recording engineer assigned to the play sets up the control room and the recording studio. Each scene requires different acoustics and is recorded with various numbers of actors on various microphones. When recording commences, the writer and casting director are no longer required and they may leave. However, they are free to return to studio to observe whenever they want.

Recording sessions are extremely interesting and well orchestrated events. The recording engineer sits in the control room at a vast console which controls all the microphones in the recording studio, the computers used to monitor and record, and assorted equipment that can affect the sounds as they are recorded and as they are heard in the actors' headphones. Behind the recording engineer is a long table where the producer and production-assistant sit. The producer communicates

with the actors through an intercom system. The intercom is useful for between-take instructions, but between scenes, the producer will join the actors at their places in order to offer direction. The intercom, although a simple tool, has an effect on the actor's perceptions of how a play is made because it keeps them from hearing anyone else's creative input.

All of the actors that were asked stated that they related to the production-assistant in matters of paper work only. The three who were interviewed formally referred to the production-assistant's role as purely functional. For example, one said that his ". . . relationship with the production-assistant is a lot more professional/business-oriented rather than [related to] the work that is being created (Williams, 1994)." Another actor stated that "[t]he production-assistant's job is to try to get you to sign your contract, to make sure that everybody's on time, and to make sure everybody goes into the room and does their stuff (Elwand, 1994)." This actor did admit that the production-assistant had other tasks of which she was unaware. However, when pressed for examples she offered functional, not creative, tasks such as dealing with the agents. The third actor referred to the production-assistant as a person dealing with the way that the play is being taped and the timing of the production. Her main purpose was limited to fixing time conflicts with the actors' work schedules. "Her [the production-assistant's] job really is a very much more

facilitating-the-technical part of the deal leaving the decision-making-in-terms-of-drama part of it to the director (Lineham, 1994)."[8]

The actors also failed to notice the creative role played by the sound-recording engineer. The engineer was viewed by the actors as the person who worked only with the equipment. The interviewees mentioned that the sound-recording engineer's role is purely technical. One actor mentioned that the engineer would only ever talk to him about his performance in relation to technical matters: "She [the sound-recording engineer] stays away from the interpretation of the script and she stays with the electrical/technical area (Williams, 1994)." While one actor did indicate that the sound-recording engineer plays a creative role, it was only because sound technical advice supports the producer's ability to be creative. The actor stated that the producer's ". . . artistic choices, then, are enhanced by her [the production-assistant's] technical knowledge (Lineham, 1994)." What the actors do not know is that, often, when the producer wanted another take for a scene, it was because the production-assistant or the recording engineer pointed out a flaw. Some of the scenes had many actors in many different parts of the sound studio. Sometimes, when another take was required to improve certain actors' parts, the producer would focus on them and miss another actor's error. These errors were usually caught and the producer was told. The producer would either point the error

[8]The person referred to as director in this quotation is the same person the researcher refers to as producer. As explained earlier, in a radio drama production team, the producer is also the director.

out to the actor without any doubts or listen to the recording of the take to see how drastic the problem was.

The actors perceive creation as their role as it is shared with the producer who directs them and the writer who wrote the script. The other people in the studio are there for technical support and for facilitating paper work. While both consider their roles as part of the creative process, neither the production-assistant nor the sound-recording engineer were surprised that the actors were unaware of the creative roles. The actors are completely unaware of the creative role played by the other members of the team aside from the producer and writer. However, I observed the production-assistant and the sound-recording engineer identify problems that the producer had missed and he admitted to missing them, listened to the recorded take, and then told the actors to do the scene over again with new directives. The producer explained:

> I listen because things are going fast and there are many things to concentrate on and it is impossible for me to concentrate on everything. So I rely on their judgement because they [represent] the only opportunity [for me] to anticipate what the audience is going to hear. They are, in a sense, an on-site foreman for an audience. They are in fact an audience. If you do not pay attention to what they are saying, it is quite likely that you're moving in one tangent and a whole big chunk of your audience, the ultimate audience is going to, maybe, miss important lines or not quite get a clear sense of what a character is doing in the scene, all of which is very important where radio drama is concerned because we're dealing with a true illusion not modified by visual information (Sinclair, 1994).

This description of work in the studio control booth illustrates how important the production-assistant and the sound-recording engineer are to the creative

process. Their creative input is welcomed and respected. Another producer interviewed for this study explained that while the final decision belongs to the producer, others are always allowed to input: "[Producers] work by soliciting other people's creative ideas and then picking the best one (Roy, 1994)." This is because others represent extra ears to listen and observe the actors and the overall sound of the play. This is a specific aspect of radio because of the timing of a production. "It [an error] goes by, it goes by, and the later it is you catch a problem, the harder it is to fix and the more time consuming. If you never catch it, it goes to air (Roy, 1994)." The other members of the production team are consulted by the producer in this manner because they represent the audience. Actually, anyone passing by the studio who only stops to gaze into the control booth or editing suite may be asked how they think the play sounds. Eventually, my opinion was asked. Not solely out of politeness because I was around, but because I was the audience. Once, upon returning to studio after interviewing someone, the producer turned to me and said, "Your ears are fresh, how does this sound?" During the mixing stage of the production, I was asked about how scenes sounded quite often. Most of the time I was impressed, but a few times, when I mentioned things that bothered me, the producer responded that he noticed also or that he noticed and hoped no one else would.

The way this was explained to me, it signalled the importance of the audience. The play's producer identified the production-assistant and the sound-recording engineer as the audience. In interview, the other radio drama producer

who produces a weekly series which includes dramas, assured me that concern for other's opinions is not an idiosyncracy unique to this particular play. Such concern is a tool for making good creative decisions (Roy, 1994). The production-assistant explained that their input is beneficial to the producer and offers an opportunity to tap into possible audience reaction. "It's to [the producer's] advantage to listen to another opinion. I may not have all the creative expertise as they have, but I am a listener. I feel I come from an area that they would probably want to explore in terms of audience. (Este, 1994)." Listening to other members of the production team is a matter of efficiency and when the producer has provided direction for the play, everyone on the team has an idea of how it is expected to sound. As a result, the sound-recording engineer and the production-assistant can edit without the producer being present and the sound-effects engineer can work on designing and mixing some of the sound-effects on his or her own. At this later point in production, when all the direction is established, the producer becomes a guide. Time is used most efficiently: "[Producers] don't have time to be niggly about absolutely, there are twenty-four tracks, every track, for one. The other [reason engineers work alone] is, the more creative and brilliant the engineer, the less the producer will have to guide [the engineer] (Roy, 1994)." the engineer. The key word in the previous statement is guide. The series producer explained further about the situation when engineers work alone. He explained that ". . . guide is probably a better way of describing rather than direct. I would, in that situation, be guiding the mix rather than directing (Roy, 1994)." Ultimate creative control rests in the hands

of the producer but at the stage in the production when the producer leaves people to work on their own, enough work is in place that the others could not make significant changes while remaining professional.

The actors, as mentioned earlier, from their perspective, do not interact creatively with anyone other than the producer. They do not even consider the audience because it is not present. In the recording studio, they perform for the producer. This is a positive attribute because of how quickly the recording is done. Unlike theatre, there is no rehearsal, just one read-through. From an actors viewpoint, performing for radio is much more expedient and so the actors need to prepare in advance so that in studio, they may focus purely on their parts. One of the interviewed actors made it quite clear: "There's no rehearsal time and you have to do a lot of homework before you come in (Williams, 1994)." The actors were not aware of the others outside of the areas which dealt directly with their performance or business concerns. This does not indicate a problem; acting requires a lot of effort to create a character that pleases the producer and that is believable. This has to be done relatively quickly too: in all the time that went into creating this play, actors were present for only three or four days. Actors arrive, they do their job quickly, and then they are gone just as quickly. When performing, they worry only about the producer, they never think about the audience, and they rarely ever listen to the finished product. Actors are incredibly task-oriented and it is this researcher's opinion that this is probably for the best. Their energy is required for the performance.

They do interact with the audience, indirectly, through the producer who uses everyone to anticipate the audience's reactions. The producer is working to create something this anticipated audience will enjoy and understand. This tendency for the actors is probably due to their training experience. Most of the actors were trained in theatre where the audience is present and they interact. The audience for a radio drama does not form until the broadcast and has to be anticipated in the studio where the interactive audience is replaced, and represented, by the producer.[9]

Another element of the audience's role is related directly to the broadcast. Earlier, in **Figure 5**, I included broadcasting as a step in the production of a radio play. Many may be tempted to consider the play as a completed product before broadcast. I disagree; such a viewpoint negates the participation of the audience in creating the play. The audience does not hear everything the producer wants it to hear. They do not understand or notice every point the writer intended. They may hear or understand things that were never imagined by any member of the production team. In that sense, the audience members create the play as they hear it. Their imagination adds to and alters the radio drama. Radio drama is presented to the audience but not heard without first being developed further. Audience members interpret the broadcast radio drama and create their own personal product. Since the producer tries to anticipate this audience, they have indirect

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[9]Maybe, in this instance, the producer is *The Audience of One*.

influence over the whole production and a direct influence over the final version as they interpret what is broadcast (Fiske, 1990a & 1990b).

The audience interacts with the actors through the producer. Nonetheless, the actors' main working relationship is with the producer. The actors ask for advice and give advice about their characters and performances. The actors brought their skill and experience to their respective parts, but they created the character in conjunction with the producer. Unlike the actors, though, the producer is well aware of the creative aspects of each of the other members of the production team, as evidenced by the producer's willingness to listen to others. The producer is willing to listen to any actor who wishes to interrupt with a question about the character or about his direction. Asking a question may interrupt but in the end it saves the time and the effort of performing another take. Interrupting saves on mistakes, it is ". . . better to interrupt than screw up (Williams, 1994)."

The play's producer agrees that listening to the actors is important. Regardless of the size of the part or the importance of the individual's character to the plot, the producer accepts input and answers questions from any of the actors. This is part of the process of doing a radio play where there is little time to do what is necessary to do (Sinclair, 1994). According to the producer, the actors ". . . have to create performances so quickly, they have to find out from me what exactly it is that I'm thinking (Sinclair, 1994)." This allows the actors to decide where they stand in relation to the whole picture. The producer is the one responsible for the final

product and, therefore, has to co-operate with the actors in creating their characters.

The actors themselves know that the producer is there to help them. The actors also know that the producer is the proper person to ask and should have all the answers. For this reason, the actors, who spend considerable time together, do not discuss their roles with each other. Between takes and when waiting in the Green Room until they are required for a scene, the actors rest, rehearse to themselves, call their agents, or compare stories about other projects. The reason they do not discuss the drama with each other is because, according to one actor, one must ". . . seek the director, not other actors (Lineham, 1994)." Even when the writer is available, actors speak about their characters to the producer because the producer has discussed the script with the writer and planned everything. "[The producer] should have all the answers (Elwand, 1994)."

Earlier discussions of interviews with the play's producer and with the series producer have established that anyone present at any given time is a representative of the audience. The casting director and the production-assistant were also asked whether they noticed producers actively seeking others' opinions and listening to unsolicited opinions carefully: they both had. No one considered it out of the ordinary that a sociology student sitting in the corner of the studio taking notes was asked how things sounded. The production-assistant also considers the others' opinions useful in the creative process. As a matter of fact, the production-assistant asked my opinion during editing. This will be discussed in the next section.

In the recording studio so far, we have investigated the way the producer relates to the others and how the actors are focused on the job at hand. What about the sound-recording engineer and the production-assistant? Despite the varying nature of their jobs, these two must co-operate in order to maintain proper record of everything done in studio. As each take is done, it is recorded on computer and requires a file-name. The engineer enters the names into the computer and the assistant takes note. The production-assistant must also note which take the producer prefers. Later, when a specific scene is being edited, the assistant will have to be able to tell the producer and the engineer the name of the appropriate file. This brings us to dialogue editing.

9.45am - listening to yesterday's beast work to tidy it up little
-part of the tracks are muted somehow so some animal chants are missing
-later in play, the Sayer is leading the beasts in chanting the laws as two characters have a conversation. The s-e suggests tightening some timing and the prod agrees.

9.55am - gaps will tighten only over one track a time so no short cuts. It gives p-a a chance to get coffee. Another such possibility for a shift comes along but the sound was okay and not worth the difficulty. The s-e asks to change it anyway and the prod says not to worry. Not worth taking time because won't be heard over rest of action.

10.00am - get to the point where system recorded sound from Colicos' headphones.
-this scene has wildtracks to add in of Hudson and Maria redoing a conversation they recorded separately; some Sayer stuff; and Moreau showing up to whip the beasts.
-they listen until they hear the leakage and cut it out, but they leave his breathing because it creates a presence emphasising that Moreau is actually there
-editing this scene is complicated slightly by the presence of a guide track that was used for individual wildtrack recorders to respond to. The guide tracks were not necessarily taken from takes that were chosen in editing. The different deliveries cause a sync prob that the s-e. The screen looks complicated.

10.15am - fire alarm, lovely. It's being ignored. All clear 3 minutes later.
- prod directions come from the s-e sometimes before the prod says them. At these occasions he agrees - there's no upset in the voice or no sense of loss of control.
-remove the guide track, now confusion is lessened and leakage is more obvious
-p-a notes that every cue in this play represents quite a bit of editing work, s-e agrees

10.25 - the term savages is being edited out remembering what corporation is airing the play and the politically correct nature of the city of Toronto
-prod is doing some great Shatner impressions

10.40 - prod leaves for meeting after calculating timing to be left blank for whip effect
-sometimes it seems that prod just confirms s-e, others the prod gives all the orders. It is prob because when her vision corresponds to his he lets her go

-sometimes the s-e is more sound-oriented than drama-oriented, she pointed out that one person is cutting another off, but the scene is left that way because, as the p-a pointed out, the cutting off makes dramatic sense because the first is saying something the second doesn't want said
- the specialisation shows, but together they are correct

Figure 8
Excerpt from Field-notes: Voice-Editing Day One.

Dialogue from the play is edited in an editing suite and the time in these suites is scheduled carefully and cannot be wasted. Efficiency depends on the

production-assistant's notes since scenes are put together with the appropriate takes from the studio recording. However, some of these recordings have to be super-imposed and synchronised with others. Very often, interacting characters are recorded in separate computer files. This is achieved by having them stationed at different isolated microphones where actors are able to listen to each other with headphones and so they can react on cue. Reasons for recording interacting characters separately vary. In some cases, the recording schedule has different actors present for recording at different times. Sometimes, a single actor re-records some lines that replace that actor's dialogue from a scene or scenes that include other actors. In the case of **The Island of Dr. Moreau**, regardless of scheduling, voices had to be recorded through different microphones because they were being treated individually. Many of the characters in this play were half-human and half-beast. Each of the beast-people were slowly reverting to their animal states at various rates and their voices were treated accordingly. So, their dialogue was stored separately so that the sound-effects engineer could treat each voice individually.

The significance this has in the editing suite is that individual files have to be placed together like an intricate puzzle. For example, a three-person conversation is recorded in three stages. Since it is rather long, it is broken into two sections. During each section, the voices are saved in separate computer files. The result is six computer files. Some have to be placed after others, but some have to be placed over the others so that the appropriate characters are silent when other voices are

speaking. This is not horribly difficult for the engineer, but it requires a great deal of concentration and is much easier when the right computer files are readily available. The computer, when working, was impressive. Each track was represented in a rectangular section on the screen by a wavy line. The lines were representations of sound waves. Seeing individual words and sentences like this allowed the sound-recording engineer to cut and paste them the same way a sentence or paragraph is moved with a word-processor.

The producer of this play does not enjoy dialogue editing. Often, the production-assistant was left to direct the recording engineer. The producer used this time to catch up on paper work, to discuss sound-effects with the sound-effects engineer, and to call or meet with the independent composer hired to write the play's musical score. During this time, the production-assistant would ask me if I had the same interpretation of the producer's wishes for some of the scenes. The production-assistant, like the producer, is open to suggestion. The producer was not the only one with paper work, the production-assistant also had work waiting on her desk. To allow for more efficient use of the editing suite and the assistant's time, the engineer would leave aspects of the editing that did not require anyone else's presence to accumulate. When an hour's worth was accumulated, the production-assistant would be free to tend to paper work. If I could not get an interview elsewhere, I remained in the editing suite and asked questions about editing and other aspects of the production from the recording engineer's perspective.

During dialogue editing, as well as sound recording, other recording engineers would come around during breaks to investigate. They would ask about the technical particularities of the play and about how they were solved indicating the sense of community between the engineers and denoting a friendly camaraderie. This proved to be more than merely pleasant; a personal and familiar awareness of each other's work is conducive to productivity. When the recording engineer missed a day of work, her replacement did not require much time to get oriented within the project. Similarly, when the sound-effects engineer was absent on the second of two days of sound-effect creation, the replacement adapted easily.

When the producer was present in the editing suite, the more complex scenes were done. Although the production-assistant's notes allowed her to know which of the takes were meant to be placed in each of the scenes, certain things required the producer's direct attention. The editing is labour intensive for the engineer, but not as hurried or rushed as the recording was with so many people involved at once. Despite a flaw in the main computer memory that filled one of this play's scenes with the recording of a tour guide demonstrating the new studio for an open house, editing went rather smoothly. The momentum developed during the easier times saw a sense of humour emerge from the producer. I witnessed a William Shatner imitation and learnt that the theme from Gilligan's Island can be sung to Gordon Lightfoot's *Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald.*

The computer-memory flaw was devastating and cost an entire scene. Since all of the recording was done, it could not be redone. As a result, the digital-audio-

tape (DAT) back-up had to be used to replace the one lost from the computer hard-drive. This caused enormous problems because the DAT recordings did not come directly from actors' microphones like the scenes stored in the computer. The DAT back-up was recorded from the feed to the actors' headphones. Unfortunately, the headphones were fed treated sound to allow the actors to hear each other as beasts so that they could interpret their characters more effectively. While all of the other scenes were created by adding different effects to normal voices, the newly recuperated scene had a pre-existing effect which merely approximated the final, desired effect. This pesented the team with more problems because while they are easily added, effects cannot be removed.[10] Modifying this scene to match the rest of the play caused more delays, all of which accumulated and were felt most during the mixing.

Some of the other engineers who stopped to investigate what the sound-recording engineer was doing in the editing suite commiserated. Many of them were having difficulties. The problem with the recorded tour guide affected another play as well. Later, when similar problems plagued the sound-effects engineer, I found out that the CBC's current system was not the one favoured by the workers. Unlike the present configuration, another system considered by the CBC did not used a centralised computer memory room: each studio would have had its own memory

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[10]Technical aside: Most of the voices that were to be treated were recorded without any "room" on the microphone. They were recorded in rooms where echoes are deadened so that there is no ambience in the sound. The treatment applied had to affect the voice only. As a result, any sensations imparted as to whether the characters were inside small or large rooms, or outside altogether had to be added using specialised equipment. Otherwise, this could have been done with natural echo.

system with removable drives so that engineers could take their plays with them to wherever they worked. This system was also less expensive and according to the effects engineer, the savings could have been spent on a centralised compact-disc (CD) player for the pre-recorded effects. Despite having the most technologically advanced studio in the world, the CBC's sound-effects personnel have to watch each other to see who has which sound-effect. This discussion sensitised my ears to side-discussions and comments made under breath about similar issues throughout the rest of my visit. The "powers that be" and those who "actually do the work" do not always agree on which tools to buy.

Regardless of the equipment woes, work relations are very civil. As in the recording booth, the editing suite was extremely co-operative. The production-assistant and the recording engineer worked together to approximate the producer. Of the scenes that were edited in the producer's absence, the more complex ones were replayed for the producer to assess. The less complicated scenes to edit were not since he trusted the production-assistant's and the sound-recording engineer's combined judgement. The producer rarely asked to hear any specific scenes, he trusted them to know which ones required his final word. When all three were present, the producer was in charge but took comments from the other two. This is when I started to notice the difference between what an engineer hears and what a producer hears. The medium is sound but the sound-recording engineer is more sound oriented while the producer is more drama oriented.

After doing a scene involving a conversation, the producer was ready to continue with the next scene. The recording engineer pointed out that the way the different voices were placed left an overlap and one interrupted the other. This was not in the script. While both the producer and the sound-recording engineer work with sound, the producer focuses on making the sound dramatic. The engineer is focused on making everything sound correct in keeping with the script and with the producer's direction. The script did not show an overlap in lines so the sound-recording engineer pointed out that the scene was incorrect. Once the producer explained that the interruption was good drama because the first speaker is making a comment that the second speaker does not want to hear, the engineer understood. As the producer explained, sound engineers ". . . are not just thinking, 'He wants this sound, I'll give him this sound.' They're thinking, 'This sound fits into the story this way and is aiding the actor to bring this across so I'll do it (Sinclair, 1994).'" In this case, before the sound-engineer was ready to leave the interruption in the play, she needed to understand why it was desirable to do so.

6 Effects

Live Effects

Walking in Leaves: the s-e-e tries his sound once. Then, as they play the voice, he makes his effect. He is holding unravelled recording tape and crumpling it to make the sound of the Moreau and Montgomery's feet on dead leaves as they find Hudson.
- He rustles them as he understands the scene and then prod tells him to do it again a little busier at one point. They will worry about creating effect of distance from mic during mixing. The s-e-e takes direction like an actor about how his sound should come out.

technical point from s-e-e: we do not make noises, we make sounds
- noise is something unwanted.

Twig snap with tongue depressor: In first take, the twig is too early before "who's there" but they will move it by computer editing instead of doing another take - saves time.

Gun: a gun is supposed to crack after "who's there . . . I have a gun." they use a real gun but it sounds plastic so they will use a good gun sound off of a CD.

Clothes removed and dropped: done live for timing's sake. Take one gets wind noise on the mic and noise when shirt hits s-e-e's script. Prod decides they need two articles: one for jacket, one for shirt. They only have a shirt so the prod takes my jacket from back of chair and throws it into the studio. After successful attempt the s-e-e signals control room to keep rolling and attempts the belt removal and one whipping (belt on sandbag on piano bench). Ouch! He hit the mic with buckle - what a noise.

Pre-recorded Effects

s-e-e loads needed effects from CD's to hard drive. From there, they are moved into place onto edl's freed for his access by s-e after editing. Timing is verified later by prod. Essentially, the process is very much like voice editing.

- the s-e-e has had cd animal noises loaded into synthesiser. With its sampling capabilities the animal noises can be manipulated easily. For example, a camel noise pitched up an octave becomes a bit human sounding. That suits our play because the beasts are part human. Also, a bear noise can be pitched up or down a whole tone so that each yell sounds different from the one before. These sounds are played onto the drive and then placed.

Prod came in and was pleased with animal noises.

Figure 9
Excerpts from Field-notes: Live and Pre-recorded Sound-Effects.

While the producer, production-assistant, and sound-recording engineer were editing dialogue, a sound-effects engineer was starting to work on the play's

effects. There are two basic types of sound-effects: live and pre-recorded. Pre-recorded, or sampled, effects come from various sources like CDs or synthesizer programmes. The live effects are made in the studio by the sound-effects engineer and a microphone and require the producer and sound-recording engineer. The pre-recorded sounds were selected by the sound-effects engineer and loaded into computer memory for later placement into the appropriate scenes. Placement is left for later so that the CDs are freed as soon as possible. As episodes of the play were edited, the sound-recording engineer would grant access to the computer-file to the special-effects studio. At this point, the effects could be edited into place by the sound-effects engineer.

The sound-effects engineer was left to work independently on the prepared effects. Occasionally, the producer would go to the sound-effects studio to verify progress, but the engineer was relied upon to place most everything alone. Some of the sounds for which the producer had specific demands, were played for the producer before they were placed. The two worked together on these. Unfortunately, the sound-effects engineer's skill and patience were tested when the computer system went down. As mentioned above, the CBC's studios share centralised memory systems for their computer recording and editing systems. This allows both the editing suite and the sound-effects studio to work on the same file. Somehow, the space where all the CD sound-effects were played to was overwritten by somebody else's recordings.

This problem, which had affected some of the dialogue that was yet to be edited, cost the sound-effects engineer three days of work. It had already taken the recording engineer away from editing to spend a day recreating the lost dialogue from a DAT duplicate recorded for such occasions.[11] These delays caused stress for everyone including the producer who was forced to delay live sound-effect work to a time when he was supposed to be with the composer at the private sound studio. Despite the rushed tempo and overtime hours required by the computer problems, stress relief was limited mostly to loud sighs. When work was being done, everyone remained professional albeit curt. While difficulties with the computers were killing the enjoyment of working on this project, team members took greater pleasure in the aspects that were working and managed to maintain morale. This is a good example of how a team that works well together can beat a challenge. The computers are also a good example, as mentioned in the **Editing** section, of some of the problems endemic to bureaucracy. Still more about this topic will surface when the final mixing of the play is discussed.

Before moving on to music, I will describe the live sound-effects recording. These are sound-effects that are made in the recording studio and often recorded directly into the edited version of the play. The sounds are made by the sound-effects engineer on cue. For example, the engineer might walk in some sand a specific amount of steps at various speeds as directed by the producer. Live effects

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[11]This is the point when I finally forgave myself for losing an hour's worth of observation notes when I copied my floppy-disk backup over the most recent copy of notes on my rented lap-top computer's hard-drive instead of *vice-versa*.

are required when pre-recorded sounds are unavailable or are available but unsuitable. During an interview, the sound-effects engineer played the sound of a whip. The script called for a whip and the engineer asked me why this recording could not be used. I could not say. It turns out that the script placed the whip in an outdoor scene. Event though the whip effect had been recorded outside, the engineer could tell that it was done next to a building based on its echo. Since there were no buildings in the scene, the sound could not be used and had to be created. Ironically, the sound was eventually created inside the studio.

A sound can be treated. An echo can be added but something treated cannot be made plain. Therefore, certain sounds have to be studio made. When a sound-effects engineer can decide which sounds must be made and which do not, the producer has less to worry about. This producer is only required to give direction to the engineer during the live sound-effect recordings. In this instance, the recording engineer reprises the role played during dialogue recording, the producer remains the producer, and the sound-effects engineer becomes an actor. The engineer-as-actor, in this case, creates the appropriate noise as directed by the producer. The production-assistant is not required because it is unnecessary to document how the takes are stored as they are recorded directly into their scenes and edited into place almost immediately.

7 Music

John McCarthy has arranged for me to observe music recording for "A Basket Full of Cats." A composer has written and recorded synthesizer music and a real cellist is being added now.

6.20 - cellist has arrived and the comp and s-e are discussing technical aspects of keeping track of the time index cues.

6.30 - as the cellist positions himself within the studio, the producer looks inside to make sure everything is okay and then comes back in booth to talk with s-e. Prod gave a suggestion to s-e from the head-tech for something that the s-e did not think was necessary. It was mentioned that this may be a way around software problems so s-e wants to check for himself -leaves.

-the composer chats with cellist as the producer paces

7.10 - the prod-asst is getting information from the s-e and the composer about how to mark the tracks.

7.15 - do a track before a break. The caf closes at 8.30. S-e brought this up and prod moved on it.

7.20 - cellist asks for less tracks in his headphones, lower level on tracks but same level on his own
-composer likes what the s-e was doing with mixing levels and wants another take - the composer is directing, not the producer.

-the composer gives cello musical direction and another take is recorded
-this one good but is redone as composer wants two good takes

7.30 - composer suggests another related part, prod says to do it but not to start another segment before the break

7.45 - group goes on break but the composer and cellist stuck around so we talked
-the cellist has done many commercials and radio drama scores and my observations were correct. He does not get performance direction from prod but from composer. He is distanced from the creative process because the composer has already decided how he wants the mood because he wrote the music
-later the s-e entered and I asked him if this is the norm in his experience and he said yes.
=> So, the composer is to the musicians what the producer is to the actors.

Figure 10
Excerpt from Field-notes: Music Recording.

Live sound-effect recording is not the only example of role changing. Usually, when music is being recorded for a play, the composer is in charge of the studio

and the musician performs for the composer. Since **The Island of Dr. Moreau** used an independent composer and studio, the studio time co-ordinator made arrangements for me to observe some in-house music recording. Ironically, the producer was an independent. It did not take much observation to conclude that interaction during music recording mimics that of dialogue recording: in the music studio, the producer is an overseer, the composer is the producer, and the musician is, in effect, an actor.

The producer can direct actors, but is not a music conductor; therefore, the producer must rely on the composer to get the appropriate performance out of the musician. After all, it is the composer who wrote the music and it is the composer who should know how it is supposed sound. Trust is important between the producer and the composer; the producer explains what emotions the music is expected to achieve and the overall style required, and the composer is left to deliver. Interviewing the composer verified this.

The musician was also interviewed. Despite being interested in radio drama, the musician was concerned with earning a living more than with the creation of the drama. Although the musician recognised the creative dimension music can add to any drama, the musician was not aware of where the music fit into the play for which he was hired. The musician was performing for the composer. As long as the music suits the composer, the music is fit for the play. This would tempt one to conclude that the musician is more of an extension of the composer than a fully interactive member of the team because the musician does not read the script and

has no idea about the play or its characters. However, the musician plays the music by interpreting the score and following the composer's instructions. This is very much like the process the actors go through: they play their parts by interpreting the script and following the producer's instructions. The actors may interact with each other but that is social and they rarely discuss aspects of the play. They may interact with the production-assistant, but so does the musician who also has paperwork to sign. The musician is a fully interacting member of the production team.

The above observations come from a separate play. As mentioned previously, the play for **The Island of Dr. Moreau** used an independent music studio. The observation about the musician's role with respect to the production team was not tested because in this instance, the composer was the musician. However, this supports the fact that the composer is important. It is the composer who has to write the music to serve the producer's purposes and who must be able to get a musician who can play the music accordingly. The producer relies on the composer a fair amount because much of the composing and recording go on while the producer is at the CBC involved with other stages of production.

While the composer writes the music, the music is written based on the mood set by the writer. It is also composed with specific instructions as to how grand or discrete the producer expects it to be. The producer did indicate that using an independent studio has its benefits because their sound-recording engineers are music specialists. The CBC's engineers are extremely competent but are not as

specialised. While independent studios are used often enough, they add some expense to the final cost of production and so their use must be justified to the corporation when budgeting for a production. When all the scenes, sound-effects, and music are edited together, everything must be mixed for volume levels. Each sound must be adjusted to the correct level with respect to the others.

3.40 - with the music in place, prod decides to shorten Maria's singing and s-e asks if they can do that now. Prod says he'll do it on his own so that all of her overtime (this is a Saturday) can be spent on actual mixing - something he can't do alone.
3.45 - s-e-e returns, places script on stand next to console, says that the buckle sound is done, and leaves again for no apparent reason

3.50 - prod asks s-e to prepare for sound check of episode 3 and leaves to get s-e-e.
- s-e sets up the music so that it sounds poorly recorded (Moreau has a cylinder-playing phonograph) - she's pleased she remembers how with the new equipment
- this is mostly accomplished by playing only the left tract from the stereo recording. A little of the right track is left in order to represent reflected sound from walls

4.00 - mix started without s-e-e who is looking for a missing sound. I think this is good because when his levels are set, he is impatient if a scene must be redone for s-e's levels. He has worked overtime almost every night because of Moreau and has a horrible cold. Earlier, in washroom, he said that there was no way he would stay too late - not ruining a weekend because of one project.
- after setting the proper levels for a few sounds, the s-e-e returns and starts riding his faders.
- the room treatment (the effect that makes the noises sound like they are inside a specific room) is too much so they lower it.
- prod asks s-e-e to move some crackles over to the right (stereo sound so lower fader for left volume and increase or leave right level as is)
- shift is nice, but the crackle is too loud - catch on the next pass
- s-e suggests fading into the beginning of the scene instead of starting it at full volume. The producer says it is fine but then decides to listen to it and agrees to change it. After the change, everyone prefers it.
- now, as they add the cutlery sounds, the s-e-e misses the chains (these sounds were recorded by another effects person while he was placing pre-recorded stuff so he is finding it odd not knowing what to expect)

4.10 (a lot happens in ten minutes) - prod calls for "bigger" (louder) chains on another pass and then for a bigger treatment on Edgar's "yes doctor" so it mimics the one in episode 1. S-e says "good idea." Prod says "YOUR good idea" as she thought of the emphasis back when episode 1 was mixed. She adds "I know, I was talking to me."
- there is a sound in Edgar's voice track that the s-e does not like. Prod point out that panning the sound puts Edgar off-mic where he's supposed to be. S-e-e: "lucky accident." S-e: "I planned it that way."
-it's amazing how when things are going smoothly, how much kidding goes on

Figure 11
Excerpt from Field-notes: Mixing.

Much of the music composition, sound-effects placement, and dialogue editing were done concurrently. While finishing touches were being done to the

music, the live sound-effects were created and edited. As the music for each scene was delivered it was placed by the recording engineer with the producer giving the cues for when the music should start. At this point it was time to mix. Mixing is the most important of the steps and requires focus for those involved. The mixing process is where all the sounds are blended to be at the right levels with respect to each other.

At this stage in the production, all the elements of the final recording are in place, but they are not set at their final volume levels. Mixing requires the producer, the recording engineer, and the sound-effects engineer to join in the recording-studio in order to blend everything together. Each of the engineers is responsible for fader controls assigned to their sounds. As the scene is played, they raise or lower the levels as required. Some noises are missed and the team rewinds and starts over. This time, only the one or two fader controls have to be handled because the computer records only the changes that were made with each pass so they do not have to redo every level each time an error is made. It is easy to understand how difficult and intensive mixing is.

Ideally, mixing should occur with as little external stress as possible. Unfortunately, the computer problems that plagued editing and sound-effects put this play behind schedule. Work extended into the weekend before and into the week of the broadcast. The play was made in four parts and the first two had been broadcast before the last one was completed. This increased the tension level in the studio during mixing. It also caused the producer to make compromises such

as leaving certain unwanted noises behind. Sound-effects and music covered them up but the producer knew they were there. Repeated computer flaws, though minor, made it impossible to gain a working momentum and time over-runs forced the last scene to be mixed around the production schedule of another play. This meant time was lost time to resetting the equipment upon each re-entry into the studio.

Despite the difficulties, the producer and engineers kept their exasperation to themselves and neither of the three yelled at one another. Professionalism and respect continued as the producer listened to everyone else's opinions on how levels ought to be mixed. Also, during mixing, even when there was absolutely no time to waste, the producer often asked my opinion on the sound. I crossed the line from observer to participant quite often. Aside from the simple thrill of having the sound-effects engineer use my jacket and some other supplies that I furnished, I know that some of the dramatic decisions made during mixing were made after consulting me: I did not make the decisions, but I was consulted.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Radio drama has enjoyed a long history as a Canadian cultural product. It has been written about in biographies and autobiographies of producers and writers and it has been studied by social scientists. The social sciences tend to consider radio drama as a finished product and examine and treat it as such. This thesis was based on the assumption that one must know how a cultural object is created in order to understand it fully. Consequently, ethnographic methods that required entering the production team, examining it from the inside, and learning about the essential nature of radio drama from a sociological perspective were used. Aside from providing examples of how things are done, the thesis identified a few things about the creation of a radio drama that are quite noteworthy.

The most noteworthy items include: (1) the notion that each step of creation involves a decision; (2) some creative decisions are made simply for practical reasons; (3) members of the production team with seemingly technical roles provide creative input; (4) bureaucratic and regulative restrictions have an influence setting limits within which to create but their influence is normally predictable and controlled for; (5) a drama production team is immensely co-operative and professional; and, (6) the audience is represented in the production. The above items can be simplified in terms of issues of the creative aspect, the bureaucratic aspect, and the participatory aspect. This thesis will conclude with a discussion of

these three aspects with respect to the theoretical outlook described in **Chapter 2**. In so doing, the author will demonstrate how the ethnographic case study has proven itself effective for cultural studies and will raise possibilities for further research.

1 The Creative Aspect

The ethnography outlined in these pages places emphasis on the cultural process implicated in the creation of cultural products rather than on products as finished entities. This diasynchronic approach to cultural studies provides a wealth of knowledge about the true nature of cultural products. All cultural objects are produced or created; thus, first-hand observation of the creation of the radio drama entitled **The Island of Dr. Moreau** leads to better understanding of how people come together to perform the cultural act of creation in general.

All those involved with a cultural product are involved in creation and are creative. This may sound obvious, but in the case of the play's production team, not everyone was in accordance with this statement. Whether one decides that at a specific point in the play a given character is happy, or one places a microphone in the studio, one plays a role in creating the radio play. In the more artistic sense of the word creative, not everyone involved in the radio drama production team noticed how creative a role the others played. For example, the actors never saw how artistically creative the sound-recording engineer and the production-assistant were.

It is important to note at this time that the author is using creative in two very separate ways. Globally, this thesis is concerned with how cultural products come into existence within the social world by creators. In this sense, each person involved with the product is a creator. In understanding and observing this practice, this ethnography observes a radio drama production where script-writing, characterisation, and acting are involved. These actions are deemed creative in an entirely different way. In this sense, the person making characterisation decisions is being creative and the person setting a microphone up is being instrumental. Powering-up the equipment is necessary to the recording but it does nothing to change the dramatic aspects of the play. This difference being stated and defined, this section of the thesis will focus on the sociological nature of creation.

Keeping the terms separate, this thesis was not required to define all members of the production team, the creators according Griswold's Cultural Diamond, as sociological creators of a cultural product. However, important discoveries were made about how this creation was performed. The most striking and elegantly simple example is the notion that all creative activity is based in decision making. Cultural practices involve decisions and their products are a sum of those decisions. Exactly who has agency in the artistic aspects of these decisions will be left for a later section of this chapter.

Specifically, every step in the production of the radio drama involved a decision. The writer must decide how to design the characters, how to make them behave, and how to convey what the writer hopes everyone will hear. The producer

has to decide on directions to give the actors, guidelines for the types of actors for the casting director, and how to make the play sound right. Actors have to decide when and where it is appropriate to interrupt recording with their questions and comments and how to play their characters. These examples form an incomplete list but they illustrate the point that production is a series of decisions. Other similar decisions have to be made by all of the cultural creators. Different types of decisions must be made as well; not all of the decisions that have to be made are purely the result of making a radio drama. External forces play a part in all cultural practices because cultural practices are affected by the social context within which they are performed. The effects, however seemingly alien they may be to the actual creative aspect, are part of the process nonetheless. For example, in an ideal world, once a radio drama production is started, it would be worked on until it were finished to the satisfaction of all those involved. This is not the case, alas, for the realities of the bureaucratic world enter into the equation.

2 The Bureaucratic Aspect

It is the bureaucratic structure of the CBC that formed the context within which the radio drama was produced. The producer had to get the performances that the producer needed from the actors within a given time period and had to fit the recorded acts into a set time period based on money allocated to the play by the corporation. When the bureaucratic aspect of the creative process comes to bear, the decision shifts from "What would be the best way to do this?" to "How can this

be done in the best possible way given the limitations?" The limitations could stem from regulations (CBC, sound engineers' union, actors' unions), budget, or equipment. Strictly speaking, the abilities or limitations of the equipment may not be bureaucratic, but the equipment used at the CBC was purchased through a bureaucratic process.

Furthermore, with respect to the equipment used in recording radio plays, technology has a notable effect on how radio plays are made. For instance, in the early days of radio, the play went out live and the actors stood or sat around one microphone reading their lines from the script. Eventually, recordings were made and multiple takes could be ordered to repair mistakes. As a result, editing was required and technicians would have to splice tape. The implication was more work for sound-recording engineers and an increase in the number of decisions to be made by the producer. The play remained incomplete after all the parts were recorded because the producer was left with a puzzle that required piecing. With the facilities at the CBC today, everything is recorded digitally and stored on a computer hard-drive. Now the sound-recording engineer can actually cut and paste sections of recorded diaologue with a computer-mouse as easily as this paragraph could be moved onto another page through word-processing software.

Aside from making it possible to repair mistakes and allowing the producer to choose from several versions of individual scenes, technology has added to the complexity. The production of the 1994 radio adaptation of **The Island of Dr. Moreau** could not have been created during radio's Golden Years. The parts were

recorded in separate rooms with separate microphones in each room. Voices were altered as if they were at various stages of transformation between human and beast. Several of the actors who formed a chorus of beasts were recorded chanting the same lines several times so that they could be superimposed to sound greater in number. Later in the editing suite, the producer decided there were insufficient voices and had the recording doubled with the second version delayed slightly so that listeners would hear even more beasts. This kind of attention to detail would have been impossible in the past. Some of the procedures would have required more time without the computer technology. Conversely, according to some of the technicians, certain procedures would have been easier with different equipment. Although the CBC boasts the most advanced recording studio in the world, some of the recording engineers mentioned that they would have preferred other equipment. The bureaucratic process by which equipment is acquired affects the creative process both negatively and positively.

The regulations that play a role in radio drama come from several sources including some that are external to the CBC. An example of this was witnessed by the author when the final mixing was being performed. The producer was concerned because the play was airing in four parts and one of the parts was seventeen minutes long. According to union guidelines, actors are paid according to a formula that involves the amount of time that they are in the recording studio and the length of the play rounded up to the nearest fifteen-minute increment. This has interesting implications when the play is cut into parts because each part is calculated

separately. If the play is broadcast in four parts and three are ten minutes each and the fourth is seventeen, the actors are paid as if the play were an hour and fifteen minutes ([3x15 min] + 30 min = 75 min). The reason for the producer's concern was that he considered the longer part to be perfect as it was but did not have the authorisation to pay the actors for the extra length.

In such cases where regulations, money, or equipment limitations enter into the production, the producer is no longer deciding on what would be the best for the production. The producer must then compensate for restrictions by compromising on what would be best considering what can be done within the restrictions applying to the given situation. In the example cited in the above paragraph, the producer was not free to leave the play the way the producer thought was best. Part of a scene had to cut out in order to keep the play in four fifteen minute parts. In another case involving equipment, a computer memory fault caused an entire scene to be lost after it had been edited. This scene had to be replaced with a backup recording and then had to be re-edited. The time lost on this and similar incidents resulted in limiting the time left for recording live sound-effects and the time left for final mixing. Being pressed for time resulted in several utterances of "Good enough" during both of these stages of the production. The decisions made during editing shifted from "Can I make this sound better?" to "Do I have the time to make this sound better?" The producer was left in the undesirable position of having to leave what the producer perceived as blatant imperfections for the sake of mixing the entire play so there would be something to air at broadcast time, a necessary compromise.

Similar compromises stem from the CBC's mandate to promote a national identity. The mandate was discussed in the introductory chapter but was intended primarily as background information. It was never the researcher's intent to demonstrate a direct link between the content of **The Island of Dr. Moreau** and the CBC's mandate. Nonetheless, one may point to the linkage between the mandate and this particular production via the context within which the CBC provides venue for Canadian creativity otherwise not available in private radio, except for the minimal contribution made by news broadcasters, disc-jockeys, and talk-show hosts. Coincidentally, centralisation's effects were also in evidence.

Though a thorough content analysis of the play itself was never an intention of the research, one could speculate possible linkages between content and the mandate of the CBC insofar as certain values are depicted which favour pluralistic attitudes toward sexuality and multicultural sensitivity, attitudes which may be more locally based in southern Ontario than in Canada as a whole. With respect to sexuality, there were references within the play which may be interpreted as non-judgemental references to homosexuality.[12] With respect to peoples, a line including the terms savages and primitives was shortened to exclude the former. When the line was shortened in the editing suite, someone present pointed out that while the term fits the story, it would not be wise to offend the sensibilities of "politically-

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[12]When asking the character named Hudson whether he fancies another named Marie, Dr. Moreau refers to himself as "a man of the world" stating that he would understand if Hudson did not care for women. Moreau then describes how his assistant, Montgomery, keeps company with Edgar and that they look after each other's needs. Edgar is one of Moreau's creatures who is part dog leading one to wonder whether the author was making a pun about "man's best friend."

correct" Torontonians.[13] Even though people used these terms in H. G. Wells' time and in the time of the novel's historical setting, the producer recognised the fact that this term is considered derrogatory by present standards and limited the line to conveying the character's thoughts without that particular perjorative.

The compromises and compensatory decisions described above are all part of the process. Ideally, one might expect that the producer would only have to be concerned with making the play without having to worry about the money or the equipment failing to do what it is meant to do. Detailed examination of cultural practices identifies the realities of daily activity and expands knowledge beyond the documentary understanding of the ideal situation. Another interesting aspect of cultural practice identified by this case study involves participation.

3 The Participatory Aspect

The discussion of the participatory aspect of the creation of cultural products can be divided into two parts. The first part pertains to the roles of the members of the creative formation and the second part centres around the people who receive the cultural product. With respect to the creative formation, by definition, all members are creators. They get together and perform their roles and a cultural product is created. In the case of the radio drama production team, the various

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[13]Interesting that the play is created at the CBC studios for broadcast nationwide and some of the production team members think solely of Toronto's population. This is an effect of centralisation resulting from the fact that those doing most of the creating for the entire nation live and work in only one of the nation's cities.

members did not always notice the creative aspect of other members' roles. In the sense that the main purpose is to create a play for broadcast, as necessary as the engineers and the assistant are to the production, they are relegated to a more functional status. Artistically speaking, they are less creative.

Despite what the actors may think, everyone is creatively involved. Observations of the action in the control room proved this and the producer agreed to the fact in interview. This misconception on the part of the actors did nothing to ruin the quality of the radio drama. What was important was that the creative input was understood and considered by the producer. The producer is the person in charge of the team. There is a formal structure at work and each person plays a role within that structure. This much was already established at the onset of this project. Reason dictates that each role has its own set of perspectives, biases, and responsibilities but simply stating that such things are so is not enough. This case study was not designed to identify and itemise these things specifically, but to observe them and to understand how they co-relate and how they affect cultural practice.

It is striking that a whole team of people can work together to create drama without realising the impact of everyone else's participation. Yet, once this is observed to be the case, it seems perfectly reasonable considering that people are usually focused on what they do. Actors act and speak only to the producer, so why should they have to know that some of the producer's ideas came from listening to the sound-recording engineer? Generally, this must be true in other forms of

cultural practices. Members of cultural formations do not have to be fully aware of each aspect of their formation. However, must they have awareness of those who receive their cultural product?

The actors involved in the play were not thinking of the audience. Those interviewed responded that they think of the audience in the theatre because it is there, but in the studio, they perform for the producer. The producer is aware of the audience. Throughout the stages of production, the producer would listen to make sure that everything would make sense. Sometimes the producer would muse that it only made sense because he alone knew what he was trying to do and heard what he wanted. In those cases, he would ask anyone who was listening. Team members and bystanders alike formed a representation of the audience for the producer. In this sense, the audience participates in the production of a radio play, even more deeply than Fiske would expect.

The receiver's participation in the creation of cultural products is a point of contention in sociology. In the study of popular culture, the sense that things are created and then received passively by the audience with all of the meanings and ideas intended by the creator has been dismissed by theorists like Fiske. Fiske believes that the final product is created by the interpretation of those who receive the product. This way, it becomes theirs. This ethnography discovered that in the case of radio drama, the audience has a hand in the formal creation of the product. Not only is the producer trying to put across ideas, the producer is thinking about the audience and how best to get the ideas across to its members. The audience

not only participates in the creation of meaning by listening to the play and interpreting the sounds, the audience makes decisions about what those sounds will be in advance through representation in the recording-studio.

4 Closing

The three aspects discussed in this chapter are all related to creation. Obviously, this is due to the fact that the cultural practice of the radio drama production team is creative in essence. As illustrated by this research, creation is based on decisions. These decisions are made by those with a creative hand in the production and affected by elements external to the creative process itself. The latter include equipment failures/limitations and bureaucratic limits. In general terms, since all cultural practices are performed by cultural beings operating with a certain knowledge about their culture, all cultural practices involve decisions. Are all cultural practices, in effect, creative? The researcher concludes that they are but a definite answer to that question is beyond the scope of this thesis. A statement that can be made based on the field-work is that creative cultural practices cannot be fully understood by simply examining their products. Ethnographic research is the instrument that fulfills the function of understanding the nature of the product by illustrating its creation. Cultural products are created; therefore, their creation must be examined before they can be fully understood.

Also worth noting is how well a social network approach, borrowed from community studies, lent itself to understanding the relationships inherent in creative

formations. Social network theory finds the existence of community within interpersonal ties like those present in creative formations; creative formations are composed of networks of people relating with each other based on their roles within the group. Any further ethnographic studies of cultural practices would also benefit from this approach.

This ethnography has other implications for further studies as well. While the principle goal of this research was to provide a method for studying radio drama production, the thesis also demonstrated, for those involved in broadcasting and cultural studies, that discussing cultural products as completed texts is not enough. The methods used in the research also provide a general guideline for studying the creation of other cultural products as well. Cultural products must be understood in terms of their creation and one of the better ways to do so is to use ethnographic research; the wealth of information about radio drama production described in **Chapter 3** supports this contention. In terms of comparative analysis, the groundwork for designing this case study was based on the similiarities between Canadian radion drama productions within the common context of the CBC. The methodology has proven sound and can now be used for the investigation of differences between individual radio productions and between different types of cultural production. Future ethnographic case studies could compare the nuances of creating a drama versus creating a documentary or a satire; single play productions versus series with a cast that works together regularly; or radio production teams versus television or movie production teams.

Finally, with respect to the sociological debate over qualitative and quantitative methods this thesis demonstrates further the usefulness of the case study. Hammersley warns that defending the case study results in a narrow definition of ethnography. Without exacerbating the problem, it must be mentioned that this thesis describes cultural practice in a way that no quantitative analysis could have. As a matter of fact, this qualitative work could provide the basis for further quantitative work. The first step in that direction was already taken when the researcher interviewed a second producer to make sure that conclusions about the role were supported. The ethnography presented here is not a step-by-step depiction or a documentary on making radio plays. This ethnography is a legitimate work of sociological research that has identified and described the interactions of agents performing their roles in an important cultural practice.

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APPENDIX

CBC Drama Schedule for 3-10 December 1995 (Core Group Inc, 1995)

Date	CBC Radio	CBC Stereo
Sunday 3	**Show:** *Sunday Showcase* (10:00-11PM) **Dramas:** "Joe the Painter" & "The Milk River Massacre"	
Monday 4	**Show:** *Gabereau* (2:05-3:52PM) **Drama:** "Rumours & Borders" (2:45-3PM)	**Show:** *The Arts Tonight*'s (6:30-10PM *Monday Night Playhouse* (9-10PM) **Dramas:** "Joe the Painter" & "The Milk River Massacre"
Wednesday 6	**Show:** *Gabereau* (2:05-3:52PM) **Drama:** "Rumours & Borders" (2:45-3PM)	
Friday 8	**Show:** *Gabereau* (2:05-3:52PM) **Drama:** "Rumours & Borders" (2:45-3PM)	**Show:** *The Arts Tonight* (6:30-10PM) **Drama** (9:30-10PM): "The Golden Ass," by Apulcio Part 9 of 10
Saturday 10	**Show:** *The Mystery Project: Golden Age Mystery Classics* (6:30-7PM) **Drama:** "The Saint" starring Vincent Price (ep. The Fighter Contract)	

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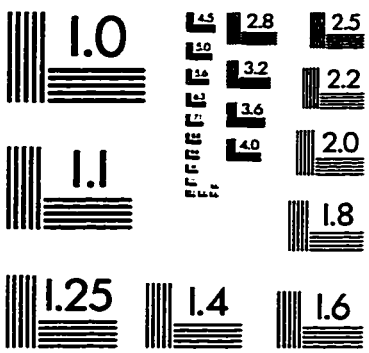

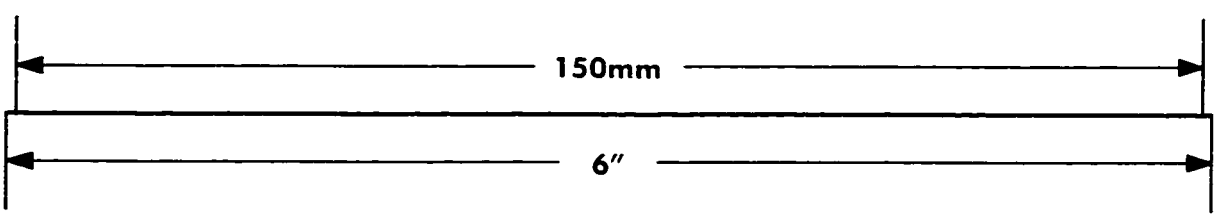

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