

Canadian Campus Radio and the Shaping of Sounds and Scenes

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ABSTRACT

Canadian Campus Radio and the Shaping of Sounds and Scenes

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This dissertation studies Canadian campus radio broadcasting and its relationship to the circulation of local music. I examine three campus stations in two cities and one town of varying size, population, and location. These stations include CHMA in Sackville, New Brunswick, CKUW in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and CiTR in Vancouver, British Columbia. Following extensive analysis of policy documents and station-produced texts, as well as interviews with staff members, volunteers, and local musicians, I argue that a campus radio station does not simply respond to federal broadcasting regulation by ensuring programming differs from what is available on commercial and public radio. Rather, there is self-awareness throughout the sector that is decidedly attuned to local music. In each locality, numerous cultural institutions, including campus stations, work together to support local and independent music. The histories of these three stations illustrate the various paths taken in order to acquire FM radio licenses, extending from university campuses to also serve surrounding communities. The ways in which a station represents its community falls somewhere between how community representation is defined by a station mandate, and the process by which communities are imagined by campus radio practitioners. Individuals are connected to a segment of an overall music scene through a shared taste culture for which content is produced. A tension emerges between the taste and expertise of a practitioner or programmer and the ideal goal of fully representing his or her community. Despite instances of exclusion and hierarchies of taste, however, the promotion of music that is propelled by cultural status circumvents the purely economic model ingrained in commercial radio, producing alternative values and methods for circulating music.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The contemporary relevance of North American campus radio broadcasting has been increasingly at the centre of debates and discussions initiated by policymakers, students, university administrations, and radio practitioners. Student governments and university administrations searching for ways to cut spending have turned their attention to services like student radio. Yet at the same time, campus radio stations are recognized for their longstanding commitment to community-based radio programming and their showcasing of innovative and diverse musical genres and styles, as well as spoken-word news and political programming. A weekly program grid at a Canadian campus radio station typically includes a range of shows that profile new and independent music, news and spoken-word, folk and country, jazz and blues, and content for a variety of ethnic and cultural communities within a station's broadcast range, often in a variety of languages. The music programming at a campus radio station reflects a number of musical communities and genres, and programmers tend to promote new and innovative sounds and styles. However, issues of sustainability remain, wherein the financial feasibility of campus stations is questioned.

In the United States, a number of prominent campus stations recently closed their doors and transferred their licenses to other entities. In the U.S., campus stations are more commonly referred to as "college radio" stations, likely due to the use of "college music" or "college radio" to describe a genre paralleling the "alternative music" heard on American college stations during the 1980s and 1990s, and prior to that, independent rock and folk in the 1960s and 1970s. WRVU at Vanderbilt University is one example of

a college radio station that sold its license in the summer of 2011 to a local public radio station. A *New York Times* opinion piece by Freddie O'Connell titled "The Day the Music Died" stated that this sale added Vanderbilt to "a growing list of colleges and universities...where college radio licenses are being sold off, backed by the assertion that today's well-wired students no longer tune in to the medium" (O'Connell 2011).

However, O'Connell claimed that this assertion "misses the point: college radio is not only a vital part of the communities it serves, but it is even more essential in the Internet era." He said that WRVU encouraged members from the off-campus community to get involved with the station, and it was very much tied to the rich cultural heritage of Nashville. The station would play traditional bluegrass, world music, and electronic, "to name just a few genres." WRVU was a "cornerstone of the local community," according to O'Connell, where "students learned from veterans, townies got to know Vanderbilt and Nashvillians got access to a chunk of the public commons otherwise dominated by big business: the airwaves." He added that college radio, "free from the demands of profit and playability," is a great source of music in a time when people can log on to the internet and find any song they want and "at a time when local news was disappearing, [WRVU] provided lengthy interviews with city politicians, Congressional representatives and authors."

An entry from January 2011 on the blog *SFWeekly* profiled the closing of KUSF, the college radio station at the University of San Francisco. The entry began by noting that "USF officials abruptly shut the doors to KUSF, the college's well-known indie radio station today, locking out students and DJs with no notice" (Sherbert 2011). The University had "quietly" sold the station to a "classical public radio network" which

launched a “noncommercial classical music station.” However, KUSF would live on as an online radio station, as would WRVU. University officials at USF claimed that the move to the online format “will give the station more capacity to accommodate ‘thousands’ of listeners as opposed to the 100 listeners it is now limited to, according to the university” (Sherbert 2011).

The closing of college radio stations like WRVU and KUSF was anticipated in an article from *The New York Times* in December 2010. John Vorwald wrote that many college radio stations across the country play “a broad swath of music – from undiscovered indie bands and obscure blues acts to ’60s garage rock and ’80s postpunk. It’s a mix largely absent from commercial broadcasts, and students active in radio say their stations add distinct voices to their cities’ broadcast landscape” (Vorwald 2010). He claimed that at the centre of public debate and discussion surrounding the viability of campus stations is the question of “whether students are actually tuning in to the universities’ FM signals.” And while university officials continually emphasize the feasibility of stations moving to online broadcasting, others feel that “the loss of a terrestrial signal will effectively delegitimize” these stations. Joey Yang, a student at Rice University and station manager for the university’s KTRU said that as “a 50,000-watt station that can be heard all across Houston, there’s a sense of responsibility to the community,” and when “you lose a terrestrial footprint in Houston – anyone can put out a signal that’s on the Internet – it takes away the legitimacy of what [the station is] trying to do” (Vorwald 2010).

These closings in the United States have Canadian parallels, as evidenced by the closing of CKLN at Ryerson University in Toronto, Ontario. The station ceased

broadcasting, not due to financial complications, but rather the failure to comply with federal broadcasting regulation set out by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the Canadian government's regulator of broadcasting. On January 28, 2011, the Toronto-based blog *Torontoist*, wrote, "Today the CRTC revoked the broadcasting license of radio station CKLN – an independent community-run radio station located in Ryerson University's campus...citing the station's failure to comply with federal broadcasting regulations for the past three years" (Kupferman 2011). The blog entry presented a series of points leading up to the revoked license, including internal disputes from August 2007 to March 2009 that resulted in the election of competing boards of directors, a staff lockout from March until October of 2009, the failure to submit annual returns with the CRTC, the late filing of tapes, logs, and program schedules, and a number of other confused and conflicted management and administrative decisions. On February 12, 2011, the broadcast license for CKLN was officially revoked. As of this writing, it is reported that two entities, including a Christian radio station, are applying for the license, while ex-CKLN staff and volunteers have been invited to join Radio Regent, an online radio station operated by the Regent Park Focus Youth Media Arts Centre (<http://www.radioregent.com>).

The recent noteworthiness of campus radio in North America is also due to positive recognition of the pivotal role campus stations play within their communities both on and off campus. In Canada, the Community Radio Fund of Canada (CRFC) – a fund that has a mandate to financially support community and campus stations across the country – was founded in 2007. Astral Media committed \$1.4 billion over seven years to "help community broadcasters respond to the increasing demands of their communities

for independent, local programming” (Kaestner 2008). A press release describing the fund claimed that there has been a decline in programming that reflects local communities in both commercial and public media, and that the establishment of this fund would “help community broadcasting reach its full potential as an independent, diverse, and accessible part of Canadian media” (Kaestner 2008). The creation of this fund resulted from a three year partnership (three years before the launch of this release) among Canada’s three largest community radio associations: the National Campus and Community Radio Association (NCRA/ANREC), the *Alliance des radios communautaires du Canada* (ARC du Canada), and the *Association des radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec* (ARCQ). Currently, the CRFC receives funding and benefits from a number of private broadcasters, like BCE, COGECO, and Rogers, as well as SIRIUS Satellite Radio (<http://communityradiofund.org>).

CJLO, the campus radio station at Concordia University in Montreal, Québec also won accolades, having been recognized as the best college station in North America at the annual College Music Journal (CMJ) awards in 2010. This recognition landed the station on *The Huffington Post*’s “9 Best College Radio Stations” in 2010, the only one to represent Canada (Wiener-Bronner 2010). In December 2011, Concordia students voted in favour of increasing the station’s fee levy (57% voting “Yes”), which would add nine cents to the already existing levy of twenty-five cents, applicable to all undergraduate students. CJLO’s website hosted a page informing readers about the levy campaign, noting that with this increased support the station plans to apply for a small FM frequency in Montreal’s downtown core (currently CJLO broadcasts as an AM station and online), purchase recording equipment for students, increase campus and community

outreach, and become less dependent on paid advertising to ensure space for free advertising for student clubs and groups (“CJLO Fee Levy...”).

Evidently, some North American campus stations have been facing pressure to surrender their frequencies, while others are being recognized for the dynamic and important role they play in the overall broadcasting environment. Some stations were sold to cut spending by universities and colleges, while other stations increased their student-generated funding in order to provide better services to listeners both on campus and off. In Canada, CRTC regulation outlined in a number of policy documents such as the Broadcasting Act (1991), Campus and Community Radio Policy from 2010 (Public Notice CRTC 2010-499), and the earlier Campus Radio Policy (Public Notice CRTC 2000-12), has acted as a safety net for the sector, one concerned with ensuring that a relative level of diversity and commitment to local programming is maintained in some form within the overall broadcast sector. This is not to say that Canadian universities are exempt from the pressures related to financial sustainability, which many student services like campus radio have been facing. McGill University’s CKUT, for instance, has been in dispute over online opt-outs with the university’s administration and student government for a number of years. An online opt-out allows students to cancel their financial contribution to the station with the click of a button. At the thirtieth annual National Campus and Community Radio Conference (NCRC) in 2011, hosted by CKDU FM in Halifax, Nova Scotia, a representative from Radio Laurier spoke about the University of Waterloo’s CKMS losing funding from student fee levies. He claimed that students were not aware of the station, or its location on campus, and the student union used these reasons to put forth a referendum that resulted in the loss of fees. Yet, as examples such

as the vote for CJLO at Concordia have shown, many students are willing to help fund and support campus radio. Furthermore, the CFRC signifies a level of respect for the sector, and a willingness to find ways to ensure its sustainability, as do the CRTC public hearings that are implicit in formulating campus and community radio policy.

These contemporary issues, particularly the ways that campus radio has come to command the attention of popular discourse and policy-making, have inspired a closer look into the history of the sector in Canada. Moreover, the capacity for Canadian campus radio stations to represent and reflect their campuses, as well as the communities served by their broadcast range, is an important scholarly research project at a time when localism and diversity in radio broadcasting is often bypassed in favour of more financially economical ways of organizing media and communication systems. Alternative and community media scholarship has taken on the task of evaluating the potential for various media systems and communication practices to engage citizens, as well as argue for the necessity of culture and information that is autonomous, or as autonomous as possible. Campus radio stations represent an important component of the mediascape available to people, one that is often framed as being “alternative,” “independent,” “local,” or as having a responsibility to the “community.” It is thus a pertinent site for which to explore these issues and ideas, one that has not yet sufficiently been the subject of scholarly attention.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the research gap that this dissertation responds to, and introduces some of the already existing research that focuses on related areas of scholarship, including broadcasting and radio studies, alternative and community media studies, research on music scenes, and critical policy studies. The goals of this

dissertation are to explore the development and regulation of the Canadian campus radio sector, and to situate the role of campus stations in shaping local musical activity within a music scene. I demonstrate how, within a locality, cultural institutions work together to support local and independent music, including campus stations, which, in addition to programming music, facilitate the sharing of musical knowledge and technical resources. The role of campus stations in representing and reflecting music communities within their broadcast range falls somewhere between the definition of “community representation” in station mandates and the ways that communities are imagined by campus radio practitioners and programmers. Individuals are connected to a segment of an overall music scene through a shared taste culture for which content is broadcasted. A tension emerges between individual taste and expertise, and the ideal goal of fully representing one’s community. Yet, through a distinction from purely economic models of circulating music, campus radio produces, using a variety of strategically deployed texts and practices, alternative methods and values for engaging with music.

Section 3(b) of Canada’s Broadcasting Act (1991) highlights three elements of the country’s broadcasting system, which are: public, private, and community. Campus stations fall under the “community” element of Canada’s broadcasting system. Up until 2010, campus stations were distinguished from community stations and defined by the CRTC as “not-for-profit undertakings associated with institutions of post-secondary education. Campus radio stations rely almost exclusively on volunteers from the campus, and from the community at large, for their programming and operation” (CRTC 2000a). A July 2010 policy revision now groups both campus and community stations together, noting that both sectors cater to their respective communities through Canadian

programming, the broadcasting of local information, the promotion of local culture, arts and music, and by supporting emerging local talent and local/regional content pertaining to social and community issues (CRTC 2010). Canadian campus radio stations, therefore, are considered a form of community broadcasting but are distinguished by the participation of student volunteers in programming and governance, their board member representation from students and academic administration, and their funding from the academic institution and student population.

The most recent Radio and TV Station Lists compiled by the CRTC (<https://services.crtc.gc.ca/pub/BroadListRad/Default-Defaut.aspx>) lists forty licensed community-based campus radio stations (not including instructional stations). This number increases when including closed-circuit campus stations, high school stations, campus stations that have since become community stations, like Trent University's CFFF-FM, and campus stations that currently only broadcast on the internet, such as CJUS at the University of Saskatchewan. This expanded number includes six high school stations, at least ten online campus stations, and nearly two hundred community stations. About nine of these campus stations first hit the airwaves in the 2000s, with most stations establishing themselves throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Many began broadcasting as closed-circuit or cable FM stations, serving a small geographic area located within, or just around, the university or college campus. Over the past twenty years or so, campus stations have grown considerably, increasing in wattage and becoming licensed by the CRTC as AM or FM radio stations. CFXU-FM at St. Francis Xavier University, for instance, first aired in 1981 in student residences only, after existing as "VOX" (Voice of Xavier) and broadcasting with 5 watts of power out of Bishop's Hall on campus. In the

1990s the station could be heard through cable TV, and in 1999 it was broadcast on the internet. Finally, in 2002 it acquired a license to broadcast as a developmental FM station, and was granted a campus-community license in 2006.

The policy that regulates Canadian campus and community radio stations was reviewed and revised by the CRTC in July 2010, following a public hearing that took place in Gatineau, Québec in January of the same year. Central issues within this review process included spectrum scarcity, sustainability and funding, programming requirements, new media and technology, and new approaches to defining the campus and community sector. During this review, both commercial and campus stations staked claims for a spot on the FM-band radio spectrum. While some cited the internet as an important supplement to FM broadcasting, most advocates of community and campus radio argued that it does not serve as an adequate replacement. Evidently, many of the issues covered by the journalistic pieces cited above are also playing out at the level of federal policy-making. As former Vice-Chair of Broadcasting for the CRTC, Michel Arpin recently noted, “There continues to be a strong demand for new FM radio licences, even though the FM dial in many markets has become overcrowded” (Arpin 2010). Inherent within these debates and discourses are ideas as to what role the three broadcasting systems in Canada should play within the contemporary media environment.

This dissertation is thus concerned with the relationship between campus stations and policy-making, asking how campus and campus-community radio stations are distinct in terms of their operations and governance, their relationship to their community, and their connections to political, economic, and cultural factors. I illustrate

how campus radio responds to regulation, particularly with regards to how stations negotiate federal policy through their station mandates and programming style. I further investigate whether and how federal policy is pertinent in determining the operations and the culture of campus stations, or if there is self-awareness amongst the campus sector that is decidedly attuned to local music, regardless of what policy dictates.

This local-based focus serves to juxtapose a growing body of literature and scholarship that explores the democratic potential for circulating culture digitally and online. For instance, Kembrew McLeod, in a 2005 article titled “MP3s are Killing Home Taping: The Rise of Internet Distribution and its Challenge to the Major Label Music Monopoly,” argues that music file sharing creates “an alternative means of music distribution for artists who are often marginalized by the mainstream music industry” (521). As well, changing conceptualizations of communication stemming from the rise of online media forms are prominent in recent communication and media studies literature. Henry Jenkins’ popular book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2006) presents a number of examples where access to online and digital content is necessary for completely engaging with a television show or popular film. Lisa Nakamura (2009) discusses the place of digital video within cinema studies, arguing that this transitional phase warrants study, and that a “challenge that faces cinema and media scholars today is to learn some of the new visual language that arise from popular digital moving image practices,” including online video games, YouTube, and so forth (155). While these claims and arguments advance media and communication studies considerably, in my case study sites I am interested in ascertaining whether radio, which is seen by many as a more “traditional” medium, is a vital cultural institution for

supporting and sustaining culture and music, especially that which is labelled and described as “alternative” or “independent.” Implicit within this topic are the cultural and ideological links between these institutions and the artists and bands that are active within them. Important as well are the ways in which a particular culture at a campus radio station is discursively framed and constructed through a variety of texts, strategies, and practices.

My interest in the relationship between music and Canadian campus radio extends back a decade, and is tied both to my listenership as well as my experiences as an “independent” musician. I became an avid listener of campus radio while an undergraduate student at the University of Western Ontario. Waking up to CHRW Radio-Western’s morning shows, I would hear new music and learn about upcoming album releases and show dates. I soon realized that the station played a central role in promoting new Canadian bands and artists. This relationship between artist and station became even more apparent upon moving to Montreal in August of 2006, when I joined a band the following summer. Shortly after, the band was interviewed on McGill University’s campus station, CKUT-FM. We were given ample time to explain current projects, and two full songs off our five song EP were played. As a fairly new group with no label or industry support, this interview was a valuable method for distributing our music.

Following my involvement with both stations (as a devoted listener and a moderate participant and volunteer), I grew curious about what it is that makes campus broadcasting unique; particularly in regards to the role it plays in programming music, especially “new,” “local,” and “independent” music. These questions led me to explore Canadian campus radio through my Masters’ thesis, “Campus Frequencies: The

‘Alternativeness’ of Campus Radio” (2008), where I analyzed CKUT-FM Radio McGill and one of its programs, *Underground Sounds*, to discuss the place of “local” and “independent” music on campus radio, paying particular attention to the ways “alternativeness” is projected through music-based programming. This research was particularly helpful for conducting a focused content analysis on *one* particular radio show programmed by *one* station. However, the Canadian campus radio system is much larger than this, and there are a variety of interesting differences and similarities between and throughout the numerous stations operating in Canada. Therefore this dissertation expands this research geographically, historically, comparatively, and theoretically.

Despite its status as one of the three elements comprising Canada’s broadcasting system, little research has been done on community radio broadcasting in Canada. Even less has focused on campus radio. I remedy this lack of scholarly attention on Canadian campus radio by responding to two key questions. The first asks: How is campus radio broadcasting discursively and strategically framed throughout its development in Canada, both in government policy-making and by stations and practitioners through the crafting of mandates and internal policy? I discuss discourse at the policy-making level and compare and contrast it to the ways in which campus radio stations define themselves, exploring how key terms like “alternative,” “community,” “local,” and “independent” construct a particular campus radio culture. My second question asks: How does the culture of campus radio stations extend outside of the station into the wider locality, and what connects campus radio to cultural institutions and cultural producers within music scenes and communities that are active in a station’s broadcast range? I explain how these connections, on a local scale, have the potential to respond to a changing radio landscape,

in which consolidation and convergence has reduced and limited local radio programming. Through local programming and a community-based focus, the “alternativeness” of campus radio can be assessed by considering the cultural practices and discursive strategies that are at work to produce a notion of the “alternative” and an alternative music culture at campus radio stations.

In order to reveal how the campus radio broadcasting sector in Canada fulfills its role as a locally-oriented, community-focused medium that is distinct from commercial and public radio, it is necessary to examine the cultural, political, and technological factors that contributed to its development. A goal of this research has been to locate some of the various sites at which Canadian campus radio emerged, and what key factors took these stations from university campuses to wider communities. The moments at which campus stations became licensed and regulated by the CRTC are a significant component of this work, as licensing sets the terms for how these stations operate. Highlighting the terminology and discursive strategies used in policy is essential for understanding the particular forms and structures that campus stations are to operate under. Acquiring a license ties a station to a regulatory framework defined and enforced by the federal government. I am interested in the discourses and debates implicated in this regulatory process, particularly the ways in which policy frames campus radio in comparison to commercial (and to a lesser extent, public) radio. The similarities and the differences between policy-making at the central/federal and local/institutional levels demonstrate the various commitments that campus stations have, both in regards to the official goals that stations must achieve in order to remain in operation, and in respect to the communities and mandates that stations respond to. The geographic environment that

stations are situated in and serve – both through programming and in their function as institutional centers home to technical resources, music libraries, volunteers, and members from the community – is also central in determining the operations and culture of campus stations. Through this work, I comment on the varying significance of policy and locality in terms of shaping operations and culture. Furthermore, exploring the campus radio sector in relation to federal broadcasting policy allows for a discussion and examination of “alternative” or “community” media within a State-sanctioned and regulatory framework. Can such a relationship exist, or is it fundamentally flawed given its ties to larger power structures or bureaucracy?

Despite this relationship to bureaucratic entities like federal broadcasting policy and academic institutions, when I initiated my research I envisioned that campus radio stations approach music-based programming in a way that offers an *alternative* to the music-based programming of commercial radio stations. “Alternative,” in this case, refers to programming and operational practices that are decidedly distinct in some ways from other broadcasting practices, with the ultimate goal of circulating and disseminating music that is “local,” “independent” (or somewhat independent), or rooted in social or community-based causes. Of course, what constitutes “local” and “independent” differs from station to station, but in this dissertation I elucidate what these terms mean and how they function in the programming and operation of campus radio.

Campus and community radio stations broadcast much more than music. Spoken-word, news, and sports are all integral components of a typical campus station program schedule. My focus on music-based programming is a personal decision, and stems from my experience as a musician and music fan. Canadian cultural industries are also prone to

the influence of media convergence and consolidation, as more predictably successful artists are welcomed by commercial radio stations, and often the Canadian artists that are the most accustomed to writing grants and marketing themselves become the most frequently programmed on the various music channels and programs under the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The field is increasingly difficult for new and independent artists, who are without the financial backing of an established label or the accomplishment of having already entered into the public awareness or consciousness. How campus stations work with independent artists and styles or genres of music that are not typically represented on commercial radio or public radio, and how these relationships construct our sense of a city or town's music scene, is a central mode of enquiry for this dissertation. Much is said about the potential for the internet and online relationships to aid the circulation of independent or alternative music and culture, but the institutional space of a radio station, one that is written into policy and currently sustained by a number of interested parties, has the potential to foster connectivity within a music scene, offering valuable resources to musicians, artists, and other cultural producers.

There are numerous reasons why the study of campus radio is pertinent, and it responds to research gaps that present an intriguing and inviting problematic. As noted before, there is minimal research on community radio in Canada, and even less that specifically focuses on campus radio. Much of the work I have encountered looks at community radio in the province of Québec, where the provincial government allocated community media funding as early as the late 1960s. This scholarship and literature includes work done at the graduate level (see Lisa Monk's "Beyond Polarity: Campus-

Community Radio and New Relations of Power in Radio Broadcasting in Canada” (1997) and Jean Ogilvie’s “Community Radio in Québec: Perspectives in Conflict” (1983)), government documents like Mark J. Stiles’s and Jacques Lachance’s “History and Present Status of Community Radio in Québec” (1988), a chapter on Montreal and Radio Centre-Ville in Bruce Girard’s edited collection, *A Passion for Radio* (1992), and one on community radio in the province by Evan Light in *Alternative Media in Canada* (2012). Provincial government funding allotted for community media was predominantly given to visual media organizations, such as Vidéographe, but community radio initiatives in Québec can be located throughout studies and reports that describe such developments in the province. This dissertation remedies the minimal attention campus and campus-community radio has received, responding to research gaps as outlined below.

Much has been written on Canadian radio broadcasting, with great focus placed on the public and private sectors. Marc Raboy’s *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada’s Broadcasting Policy* (1990), effectively details the development of private and public systems (in relation to policy, especially) but only briefly addresses the community and campus sector. In the book’s conclusion, Raboy hints at the potential for community broadcasting systems to offer alternatives “to both state and market conceptions of a ‘mass’ public,” although he stresses that these alternatives are limited by policymaking that is too distanced from “ordinary people” (334, 335). Community radio is only briefly mentioned in Michel Filion’s chapter on radio in the edited book, *The Cultural Industries in Canada* (1996). Filion outlines the basic, general mandate of campus and community stations, and he notes that a large distinction between commercial and community/campus stations is revenue sources. There is strong work of

this scope and nature in Canadian broadcasting scholarship, and I have pinpointed these examples because their scope encompasses the Canadian radio broadcasting system as a whole, yet community and campus radio comprises only a small fraction of these texts.

Outside of a specifically Canadian context, a body of radio scholarship covers many aspects of the medium, although campus radio is rarely at the forefront. *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio* (2001), edited by Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio, features a commendable range of topics pertaining to radio broadcasting, including commercial underground radio and low-power radio, but it is without a chapter on campus radio. Hilmes's *Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States* (2006), Susan Douglas's *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination, from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (1999), and Elena Razlogova's *The Listener's Voice: Early Radio and the American Public* (2011) are a few great examples of books on the cultural history of radio broadcasting, yet the development of campus radio broadcasting remains to be the focus of a major scholarly work.

A notable amount of contemporary scholarship examines various aspects of alternative, community, and local media, both in North America and around the world. A new collection edited by Kirsten Kozolenko, Patricia Mazepa, and David Skinner titled *Alternative Media in Canada* (2012) highlights current scholarship in Canadian alternative media by both emerging and established scholars. The book employs a general definition of alternative media as “media production that challenges, implicitly, actual concentrations of media power,” and the authors in the collection explore alternative media practices, many that “negotiate with dominant media to produce more flexible and

hybrid entities and structures, disdaining purity, whereas others deliberately create pods of resistance to all matters dominant and act collectively and consensually as micro-movements” (Kozolenko, et al. 2,9). *Islands of Resistance: Pirate Radio in Canada*, an edited collection from 2010 brings together academics and practitioners to argue that the alternativeness of radio broadcasting that is autonomous from the State. Clemencia Rodriguez uses the term “citizen’s media” (2002) to refer to communications that promote the two-way use of media through and between citizens. Jeff Land has written on Pacifica Radio (1999), the oldest public radio network in the United States that utilizes many “community” elements in the operation of its radio stations. Andy Opel’s *Micro Radio and the FCC* (2004) focuses on the discourses and debates between American micro radio activists and the Federal Communications Commission. Opel’s book “is an attempt to understand how media activists have challenged current broadcast policy and how the government and the larger commercial and noncommercial broadcasting industry have responded to these challenges” (Opel 2004, 1). Peter M. Lewis and Jerry Booth discuss British community radio (1989), and Alan O’Connor’s edited work on Bolivian community radio (2004) are other examples of research that covers a particular aspect of community or local media. Alternative and community media scholarship is evidently active, but the Canadian campus-community sector remains comparatively unaddressed.

Community and campus (or “college”) radio figure into numerous studies of music scenes, although their role is often that of peripheral institutions that are never explicitly featured in the forefront. Will Straw’s “Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change” (1991) locates the important place of cultural institutions like campus radio within music scenes, but campus radio is by no means at the forefront of the essay. Holly

Kruse's *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* (2003) examines independent music scenes in the late 1980s and 1990s, particularly their place within geographic and social space. American college radio figures into this analysis, but the book does not detail the ways in which college radio stations operate, aside from referring to the alternative and independent music that college stations play. Her 2010 essay, "Local Identity and Independent Music Scenes" also points to the importance of local cultural institutions, like campus radio stations. Kruse argues that "independent" music has been "so closely identified with specific geographical and physical spaces," thus "the way in which it was and is understood in relation to local identity is important" (2010, 628). Reciprocally, a book like Samuel J. Sauls' *The Culture of American College Radio* (2000) focuses on the radio stations, but it does not make comprehensive and detailed links between stations and cultural communities or music scenes.

A number of studies discuss the important role of cities in conceptualizing music scenes, such as Sara Cohen's analysis of alternative rock in Liverpool (1991), Ruth Finnegan's look at music-making in Milton Keynes (1989), and Geoff Stahl's 2003 dissertation on the punk and alternative music scene in Montreal. Cohen effectively details the social and cultural lifestyle within a music scene, which is implicit in musical practices. Her work responds to what she feels to be a lack of ethnographic and microsociological detail in the study of popular music scenes, particularly rock music scenes. Finnegan argues that sociability "runs through musical practice" (1991, 328). Musicians and listeners are moved not just by their love of music, but by the desire to be with friends and peers. Cultural institutions, like campus radio stations, are social spaces for people to congregate around shared interests like a particular musical genre, and these

connections form pathways within a locality and beyond. Stahl claims that there is a notable absence of discussions about the significant role played by cities in shaping the sociomusical experience. He investigates the aspects of the city that motivate music-making, using experiential, materialist, and discursive methodological frameworks, complemented by mapping analyses, diary entries, and interviews. Stahl points to the importance of institutional sites, like community radio stations, in fostering the opportunity for interaction between different “musical worlds” and allowing for local knowledge to be transferred from generation to generation (2003, 197). These works effectively situate the role of cultural institutions within their analyses, although campus radio is given limited, if any, attention. I will return to the questions, ideas, and methodologies that motivate and propel these works in the following chapter, as they are influential for the research that follows.

Lastly, there is a body of literature centred on the implications of policy-making on the structure and function of radio broadcasting. Jody Berland’s “Radio Space and Industrial Time” (1993) is an example of a work that looks at regulation and Canadian commercial FM radio. Berland argues that as radio airwaves are increasingly subject to the politics behind the privatization of media, radio becomes more popular and structured around music formats. Canadian music, and music not immediately considered economically viable, has moved to the margins, where she claims campus and community radio operate. Radio has the potential to constitute the communities that speak through the media and map local life, Berland argues, but this ability is restricted by centralization as a result of technological rationalization. Her essay illustrates the capacity for radio to sustain strong connections to local music and a listening community,

and explains that commercial radio is tied to regulation and market logic that affects music programming. However, this work also exposes an area for further inquiry – that of campus and community radio and the constitution of local culture, music, and listening.

In this dissertation I bring together cultural history – in so far as ordinary relations and processes between individuals largely determine the organization of media forms and systems – critical policy studies – in terms of the implication of policy on cultural studies and our experience of media and culture – and popular music/sound studies. In regards to popular music and sound studies, I am interested in and influenced by work that profiles the organizational structure and operations behind the circulation of music and sound, as well as that which illustrates the cultural practices of individuals and institutions in forming our ideas and experiences of music, music scenes, and the discourses and mythologies tied to certain locations where musical activity takes place. By putting these approaches in conversation with each other, this dissertation responds to the research gaps described above, and speaks to current discussions and debates taking place within Canada's broadcasting environment. I do this by highlighting the ways that Canadian campus radio has, and does, contribute strongly to Canadian culture through music programming that is more local and diverse in comparison to other stations in the same area or radio market. I contend that each one of these three approaches is necessary in order to understand the place of campus radio stations within the overall broadcasting environment in Canada, as well as the role of campus stations in circulating Canadian music and culture.

This dissertation is primarily focused on campus broadcasting once it became a relatively widespread system, after the CRTC began licensing and regulating campus

radio (roughly the mid-1970s). I find it most appropriate to focus on campus radio stations with a range and mandate to serve a larger community – for instance, a station currently operating closed-circuit is not as relevant, because this work investigates cultural communities and music scenes that are not strictly bound by the geographic confines of university or college campuses. However, it will be important to first set the stage for this corpus, and introduce earlier developments that precede CRTC involvement. Historical content analyses of available policy documents have contributed to this work, primarily serving the purpose of providing a background for which to situate my case studies. Following this, I focus my attention on three campus radio stations. This close examination has involved the consultation of policy documents, conducting interviews with station staff members, volunteers, and cultural producers, and a discourse/content analysis of documents and programs related to each chosen station.

I have accumulated a number of secondary resources that have been helpful for establishing the historical background of this topic, including Jean Ogilvie's M.A. thesis (1983), which details the early days of Canadian community radio, and mentions a few early campus stations. Marylu Walters's detailed historical overview of CKUA at the University of Alberta in *CKUA: Radio Worth Fighting For* (2002) ties the early educational station to various social and political movements in Edmonton and Alberta, and hints at the cultural hierarchies that emerged during the station's development. Arthur Eric Zimmerman looks at wireless telegraphy and early radio broadcasting in Kingston, Ontario, and Queen's University in his book, *In the Shadow of the Shield* (1991). Two government reports also contribute significantly to this historical background, including Jean McNulty's *Other Voices in Broadcasting: The Evolution of*

New Forms of Local Programming in Canada (1979), which discusses the 1960s and the technological, cultural, and political changes that inspired community media movements. The CRTC's *FM Radio in Canada: A Policy to Ensure a Varied and Comprehensive Radio Service* (1975) illustrates a moment in which policy began to consider the potential of the FM band to diversify the radio environment in Canada. This body of work introduces and situates the bulk of my primary research. This component of my methodology sets the general context for a closer study of Canadian campus radio and includes a discussion of the community and campus radio stations that were established prior to the official licensing of campus and campus-community radio stations throughout the 1970s, and some of the major factors implicated in their development.

In what follows, I pay close attention to three campus radio stations that I have chosen according to particular criteria. To facilitate a strong comparative analysis between and throughout the numerous campus stations operating in the vast geographic space that is Canada, I have chosen three stations that include one serving a large urban population, one that serves a medium-sized city, and one housed in a small town. The academic institutions home to each station also ranges in size, large, medium, and small, respectively. The origins of each chosen station are also varied. The three chosen stations were selected to be geographically representative of the country, despite the obvious difficulties in actually achieving this, given its vast size. Lastly, each chosen station demonstrates a particular characteristic that links it to local musical and cultural activity in an interesting way. For example, stations can be associated with a music festival or a cultural publication, or there may be something unique to the city or music scene that the station serves.

The goal of this framework is to establish a comparative analysis that evaluates the relationship between stations and local musical activity. This comparative analysis enables my research to draw conclusions about the varying levels of autonomy that stations might have in regards to federal regulation. For instance, I explain how different stations in different radio markets define and describe their operations, and how this shapes their music-based programming. This framework allows for certain elements to be considered in isolation from one another, helping also to compare and contrast findings generated from interviews and content analyses that have been conducted at each chosen station.

The three stations that are the focus of this dissertation are CiTR-FM, CKUW-FM, and CHMA-FM. CiTR-FM broadcasts to Vancouver and surrounding metro area (a population of over 2 million) from the University of British Columbia. The station has early roots, dating back to 1937 when the Alma Mater Society broadcasted on a local radio station. The station publishes a monthly magazine called *Discorder*, which covers local and independent arts and culture. CKUW-FM broadcasts from the University of Winnipeg, a city of just over 600,000, which I consider to be “medium” size. It began in 1963 a closed-circuit station, and makes for an interesting study as it shares the city with CJUM at the University of Manitoba. It also started the local music magazine *Stylus*, and only began broadcasting on the FM dial in 1998. CHMA-FM broadcasts from Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick. The town has a population of 5,411, and the university 2,486. It has roots in the 1970s and programs an annual music festival called the Stereophonic Independent Music Festival. It began as a pirate radio station.

These three stations were chosen from a list of twenty-two potential choices, because they fit well within the criteria outlined above (see Appendix A).

For each of the three stations, I discuss the federal and institutional (station-generated) policy documents implicated in their development, much of which has been made available through the national or CRTC archives. These documents are either available online, or have been sent to me by archivists in either email or microfilm form. Every time a station increases its signal strength, frequency, or range, it does so through the CRTC, and this process is documented. As well, each license renewal comes complete with comments generated by the station, volunteers, listeners, and any other party with a vested interest. Collecting these documents helps to contextualize the political, economic, technological, and cultural paths that campus stations have followed, situating their development within the broadcasting discourses and debates at the time of station licenses and renewals. Most stations also write and widely publicize a station mandate. Mandates are readily available and accessible now that most stations maintain an online presence. Station mandates are especially helpful, as they describe and define a station's approach to operation and programming; or, at least how a station perceives programming and operations.

In conjunction with researching archival and policy documents, I have carried out a content and discourse analysis of documents relevant to the chosen stations. Examples of these documents are station press releases, program grids, student newspapers, and cultural publications based in the city or town home to each station. For each station, I was able to accumulate station mandates and internal policies, a schedule of programming, and show descriptions. CiTR and CKUW both publish magazines that

predate each station's FM license. These publications offer commentary on each station's development and further situate the role of the station within the wider music scene.

CHMA does not have such a publication, but it has documents published on a weblog, as do the other two stations. I consulted these blogs to find copies of program schedules, concert flyers, and other writing that details the operations of the stations. I was able to find the most information on CiTR because The University of British Columbia holds archives of documents pertaining to CiTR and the Alma Mater/Radio Society that existed before the station took on its current call letters, which I found at the Alma Mater Society Archives in the Irving K. Barber Learning Centre (the main library on campus). While in Vancouver, I also came across two albums that provided me with an additional perspective on the music scene in the city and the station's presence therein. Both albums are compilations. One, a partnership between Vancouver-based record label Mint Records and CiTR, the other resulting from a performance space that existed in the city's Downtown Eastside. Particular attention is given to areas highlighting the place of the station within the local music scene, and any instance that defines or places the role and/or performance of the station. The totality of this content and discourse analysis provides an illustration of how the station is, and has been, described in policy and how the station views itself as an institution. There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis but it is also necessary to supplement this research with interviews and observations from each station and corresponding music scene, in order to present a fuller picture of how stations operate and function within the Canadian broadcasting environment. Actual radio broadcasts are not part of this analysis, simply because my focus is on the culture that produces and circulates programming, less so on

the programming itself. Of course, broadcasts provide a sense of the actual songs and artists programmed by a station, and on-air discussion provides a sense of how programmers imagine their audience, but to include broadcasts would greatly increase the scope of this project.

Interviews were conducted with station participants, volunteers, and staff members from each of the three chosen stations, as well as local musicians and cultural producers. Individuals ranging from those who have been with a station for a long period of time, to those relatively new to a station have been interviewed. For each station, I first contacted the station manager and she or he helped point me toward other individuals who were willing to help. In total, thirteen individuals were interviewed, three at CHMA, and five at both CKUW and CiTR (see Appendix B for a list of participants). Interviews cover such topics as: how and why he/she chose to get involved with a station; individual perception of the station's operation and mandate; ideas concerning both the past and future of campus radio; as well as his or her involvement with local musical activity (i.e. is she or he a musician?; does s/he frequently attend concerts and/or participate in any other cultural activities in the area?). Specific attention is also given to any consistencies or disconnections between the interviews and the information culled from the content/discourse analysis. Of course, I have conducted these interviews with relative openness, allowing for any issues or ideas of extreme interest that come from the interviews to take precedent, on a case-by-case basis. These individuals are not just interview subjects. They have largely contributed to the research process of this project, pointing me towards objects in the archives or in a collection of publications, and by putting me in touch with other individuals who were willing to be interviewed. However,

the nature of interviews is that they are partial, and potentially misleading if not combined with other resources. There are limitations to these interviews in that I have only spoken with a small section of volunteers and staff members from the stations I visited. These individuals are very dedicated to their stations, and while they were generous in detailing issues, complications, and shortcomings at their respective station, it must be noted that their willingness to participate might have produced more glowing accounts than if I had spoken with former volunteers or individuals who may have had a bad experience with a station.

Lastly, during my visit to each station, I observed and assessed the local musical activity present in the city or town. The duration of my stay in each city or town corresponded nicely to the size of the geographic locality. This assessment was constructed from my own observations, guided by a few indicators that include music coverage and discourse as reflected in local weekly publications and blogs that focus on the music scene, and the location and number of live music venues and record stores in the city or town, particularly those that feature the same musicians and bands programmed on campus radio. This portrait helped to measure the prominence of the station within the locality, and vice-versa, illustrating the role of local music in contributing to ideas of “alternativeness” in radio broadcasting. Again, I must stress the importance of the individuals who contributed to this project in terms of suggesting certain places or events for me to check out while visiting the station and its respective city or town. It was necessary for my methodological strategy to remain relatively open to change, and ready to adapt given the availability of resources and the nature of the interviews at each site. This work is the result of the paths taken to acquire the

information and resources that I have used. It is the result of the places I have visited and the people I have spoken with.

This dissertation consists of six chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. Chapter 2 describes the political economy and cultural context of Canadian radio broadcasting and the changing nature of media regulation in both Canada and the United States. This chapter primarily focuses on the current state of the Canadian mediascape, illustrating some of the issues that I respond to throughout the following chapters. The chapter draws upon literature and policy documents that outline some of the recent political, economic, and technological changes that have shaped and altered Canadian (as well as larger North American) broadcasting and media, paying particular attention to issues like localism in media and industry consolidation. This chapter also outlines literature and work on alternative and community media radio, particularly the ways in which such media systems respond to the issues mentioned above. In part, chapter 2 reviews the necessary literature that informs my research, but it also offers a framework to assess and situate the primary research that follows. Some ideas or concepts that are important in this section include localism, discursive or physical connections between a station and local musical activity, and the place of cultural hierarchies or “gatekeepers” in framing ideas or notions about “alternative” music and culture, as well as music scenes and communities. The chapter ends by arguing that we need to privilege the social processes that constitute a culture, for which to explore the ways in which campus radio culture operates and extends into the communities and music scenes within a station’s broadcast range.

Chapter 3 focuses on Canadian campus radio's historical and political background. The various books, theses and policy documents that I have mentioned earlier helps to construct this historical background. The purpose of this chapter is to describe some of the trends that influenced the development of campus radio in Canada. The chapter traces the early educational radio broadcasting that took place on a number of university campuses across the country, and ends with a description of policy that currently shapes and structures the sector. Chapter 3 describes the ways in which social and political activism in community media and cultural hierarchies in educational radio broadcasting at a number of Canadian universities came together to shape the development of the Canadian campus radio sector.

Chapter 4 elaborates the historical background of the prior chapter and includes an investigation of the respective pre-FM histories of the three chosen stations. These respective stories illustrate the various paths that campus stations have taken in order to become FM broadcasters. Each story points to a particular culture that existed at the station before CRTC licensing, and they hint at the struggles and tactics used by campus stations to increase their presence and prominence in the wider community. Chapter 4 also focuses on the programming, structure, and operations of campus radio stations, as demonstrated by my case studies. This chapter emphasizes the discursive strategies of campus radio stations in forming an identity, as well as autonomy (or levels of autonomy) from government policy and regulation.

Chapter 5 looks at the relationships between campus radio stations and local musical activity. Connections to live music venues, record stores, festivals, and the production and distribution of music are all very much a part of the culture of campus

stations. This chapter also explains the overlap of campus stations and their volunteers/staff members and other aspects of the music scene or communities that are active in a station's broadcast range. A number of cultural products that demonstrate the connections between campus stations and local musical activity are also featured in this chapter. The chapter highlights the importance of campus stations as institutions home to resources and people who are active in producing a music scene. Campus stations do not just program and broadcast music. Rather, stations are inherently connected to the individuals and various cultural institutions within their broadcast range and campus radio stations act as significant institutions that house resources and technology, such as record collections and recording equipment that helps to educate and train cultural producers – whether radio hosts, musicians, DJs, singers, writers, or producers.

Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, presents a series of arguments that include the ways in which stations negotiate centralized policy with localized mandates, the importance of institutions and spaces in the circulation of culture, the production of an alternative music culture by campus radio, taste cultures and cultural hierarchies in campus radio, issues of inclusion and exclusion, and the future of the sector. This chapter reflects on the current role of campus stations in relation to Canadian media and culture, and argues for the need to sustain this sector across the inter-related levels of policy making, listening, and participation.

Ultimately, this dissertation responds to my questions and research problematic by revealing a component of the Canadian broadcasting environment that has not been adequately studied by current scholarship. I illustrate the ways that campus stations have been defined both in policy and by stations themselves. The place of policy and

regulation, and the role of station mandates, are helpful for situating campus-community stations in their cultural communities and music scenes, particularly when thinking about music or culture that might not be adequately represented by the commercial and public sectors. Using the methodologies and the conceptual/theoretical framework that follow, I emphasize the important relationships between broadcast policy, campus stations, and musical/cultural activity in order to assess the role of campus FM stations within the cultural and musical sites they serve, as well as within the Canadian broadcasting and cultural landscape as a whole. Moreover, this work serves to highlight the significant ways that campus radio stations, through music-based programming, their operational practices, and the culture under which these structures and processes operate, produce alternative methods and values for circulating local and independent Canadian artists at a time when more ubiquitous media outlets do exactly the opposite.

Chapter 2:

Alternative Radio, Culture, and the Political Economy of Canadian Media

Canadian campus radio is in no way an isolated medium. That is, it is not entirely left to its own devices to operate and program content as it sees fits. It is structured by cultural and broadcasting policy as determined by the federal government (specifically, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission), and it is situated within a broadcasting environment susceptible to political, economic, and technological factors. This chapter explores the political economy of Canadian broadcasting in order to outline some of the changes affecting contemporary radio, namely a decline in localism and increasing concentration and conglomeration within the industry. A number of terms, concepts, and ideas come together to help assess the significance of campus radio in regards to theoretical and practical literature that are integral to a number of scholarly fields and disciplines including alternative and community media studies, sound and popular music studies, critical cultural policy, and cultural studies. This chapter will highlight aspects of these fields that are relevant to this dissertation, and reflect on the ways in which campus radio, as a medium, conceptually and practically responds to the structural effects of the contemporary political and economic influences on Canadian broadcasting. What are some of the ways that campus radio might be thought of as an “alternative” broadcasting system? Is an emphasis on local and diverse programming an effective and critical response to media consolidation and limited, repetitive playlists? I will provide an overview of literature that discusses the social practices that constitute a culture in order to hypothesize the ways in which campus radio culture is constructed in

reaction to larger power structures inherent in the business and politics of media.

Ultimately, this chapter provides a framework for assessing and analyzing the Canadian campus radio broadcasting system, which enables an exploration of the meaning, as well as the relevance or significance, of alternative radio, music, and culture within the contemporary Canadian media environment.

North American mass media and communication is often said to have been conceived under ideologies touting the freedom and exchange of information and ideas. A “free press” and the “freedom of speech” are integral to North American communication systems guaranteed by, and reflected in, such ubiquitous nation-defining policies like the First Amendment in the United States and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in Canada. As prominent political economy of media and communications scholars Robert W. McChesney and Dan Schiller (2003) point out, “conventional wisdom” suggests that as long as the government does not intervene with media and communications, “the flow of information and ideas will be safe” (2). In other words, the relationship between the State and media is tense, and distance between the two should be enforced. However, as these authors argue, the State has always been an influential factor as well as a “necessary player” in the formation of media systems (McChesney and Schiller 2003, 2). And while corporate influence on media policy and the subsequent shaping of media systems has varied between Canada and the United States, over almost one hundred years of development, both systems are largely controlled by a limited number of companies with national and global influence.

In recent years, significant political, economic, and technological changes have shaped the North American media environment, resulting in more radio and television

stations being owned by fewer and fewer companies. As well, content between localities is sounding more and more alike. Of course, the politics of both the United States and Canada differ, but similar policies crafted under neoliberal market ideology have deregulated the broadcasting industry in such a fashion to facilitate these changes. In the United States, the consolidation of media companies has exerted major changes on the structure and content of radio broadcasting. Not simply an issue of the market, government policy plays a role in determining such things as the number of radio stations a single company can own and control, as the consolidation of media companies is greatly aided by the “intimate relationship between key corporate interests and government policy-makers” (Freedman 2006, 916). Despite what in recent years might have appeared to be a fairly transparent process involving a variety of stakeholders – particularly in an increasingly connected and “accessible” civil society – lobbyists reflecting and representing corporate interests largely populate the sphere of policy-making (Freedman 2006, 916). McChesney argues that there is nothing inherent in communications technology that really requires a shift to neoliberalism, a term that implies “the relaxation or elimination of barriers to commercial exploitation of media, and concentrated media ownership” (2004, 411; 1999, 241). He argues that had society elected to enhance public service media, the technology would certainly allow for that to happen. Therefore, it is worthwhile to examine the intersection between society, government regulation, and economic interests in order to fully comprehend the ways in which media systems are shaped and structured.

The deregulation of media and communications industries in the United States slowly began with President Jimmy Carter, accelerated during the Reagan years, and

“reached what appeared to be the point of no return” under President Bill Clinton,” resulting in less restrictions on the number of television and radio stations that could be owned locally or nationally by one company or entity (Hilliard and Keith 2005, 4). During the Clinton Administration the 1996 Telecommunications Act was crafted, amending the Communications Act of 1934 and facilitating the ease of media consolidation. Before then, concentration of media ownership in North America began to rise significantly throughout the 1950s and 1960s, as industries came to realize the economic benefits of corporate synergy and economies of scale (Skinner, et al. 2007, 14-15). From the fifty or so media companies that existed in 1984, there were only ten in 1996 at the time of the Telecommunications Act (Bagdikian 1997). Examples of frequently cited acquisitions that have taken place since the Act include Viacom’s merger with CBS, America Online acquiring Time Warner, and Vivendi’s purchase of Seagram (Croteau and Hoynes 2001, 78-79). The five major transnational corporations that now make up “the current global media-entertainment complex,” are Disney, Comcast, Vivendi, Time Warner, and News Corporation (Shade and Lithgow, forthcoming 2013).

Radio broadcasting has also been shaped by media consolidation. In 1990, writes Marc Fisher, “no single company owned more than fourteen stations in the United States. A decade later, four companies controlled half of radio’s revenue and audience. Over that period, the number of stations dropped by more than a third” (2007, 279). Clear Channel Communications, for example, a company that owned “a handful of radio stations in the mid-1990s” became a “top-ten” American global media conglomerate by the early to mid-2000s, controlling over 1,200 radio stations across the nation, as well as numerous entertainment venues (Kidd, et al. 2007, 77). Cross-ownership, namely the connections

between commercial radio stations and entertainment venues, has had major implications for music and culture that does not neatly fit within Clear Channel's ideal of entertainment, and ideal that results in content comprised of mainstream music and very little local news and information. Clear Channel's monopoly, however, has not been a sustained financial success, as the company faced a loss in revenues and employee restructuring. In April 2009, Geraldine Fabrikant wrote that plunging revenues and cash flow has made it "harder to meet the payments on the billions in debt accumulated in the process of buying out its public investors" (Fabrikant 2009). She added that "the company announced it was laying off 590 employees after cutting 1,850 employees in January [2009], for an overall staff reduction of 12 percent..." Nevertheless, Clear Channel's influence on the sector continues, recently moving into American college radio as well. In March 2012, Bill Kirkpatrick wrote that Clear Channel "has now signed up more than a dozen top college stations for its iHeartRadio distribution service..." (Kirkpatrick 2012). "Clear Channel is bringing these local stations to the mobile space," adds Kirkpatrick, "competing with satellite radio's national programming..." The company is selling advertisements "against these college radio streams, and none of that revenue is going back to the students or their institutions. In other words, the great enemy of radio localism has now found a way to co-opt localism..." (Kirkpatrick 2012). These accounts point to the volatility of the overall radio landscape, yet highlight the precarious state of localism under Clear Channel's corporate strategy, whether financially consistent or not.

Alongside neoliberal media consolidation is the accelerated globalization of communications. As McChesney and Schiller highlight, before the 1980s and 1990s,

media systems were largely national, “typified by domestically owned radio, television and print media” (2003, 6). However, the role of the State is significantly lessened as globalization accelerates, and national borders “become more permeable and fluid, and identities multiply and reorder as structures of governance change” (Cameron and Stein 2002, 141). Yet it is important to note that individual States follow different paths in responding to globalization. Canada, for instance, has mediated the effects of global market forces more aggressively than the United States. Nevertheless, within a country like Canada (a “globalizing elite”), nationalism declines as a significant source of identity under an increasingly global political, economic, and technological sphere (Cameron and Stein 2002, 147-148). It is much more difficult to foster and sustain a notion of national identity through culture as the global marketplace becomes the standard. This is not to proclaim that a decline in nationalism is either negative or positive, but rather to highlight the shifting relationships between citizens and the State amid these changes to media and communications.

The deregulation of national media systems has taken place alongside regulatory movements that promote a global marketplace for which to facilitate the spread of large media conglomerates, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) (McChesney and Schiller 2003, 7). While arguments can be made emphasizing the ways in which one might benefit from global connectivity and access to transnational content, neoliberal ideology largely dominates under such a communications environment, facilitating the spread of content and popular tastes from “dominant” to “subordinate” nations. Moreover, as Darin Barney (2005) highlights, globalization can be said to limit the democratic potential of a citizenship on

two fronts. First, “neoliberal globalization enforces the protection of private economic activity in markets from constraint by localized, democratically accountable political authorities acting in the public interest” (2005, 82-83). Secondly, Barney states that under capitalist globalization comes an “absence of satisfactory, formalized mechanisms of democratic participation, representation, and accountability in the powerful institutions...that increasingly determine many of the conditions under which people live” (2005, 83). The idea of a free press or the free-flow of information under a capitalist democracy is rather complicated. Both the United States and Canada do enjoy reasonably free and accessible media and communications systems, but they are certainly not without significant flaws and limits to their full democratic potential.

Policy-making in Canada has been notably aware of the need for public reflection and representation within its media and communication systems. Barney explains that there has been a relative tradition of democracy in communication policy-making in Canada, which is primarily evident in the variety of State bodies and consultation processes (royal commissions, task forces, and so forth) that seek public debate and input on communication issues (2005, 30). The basic fact that the country has maintained a public broadcasting system since the 1930s is arguably evidence of this. As are inquiries like the 1970 Special Senate Committee on Mass Media and the 1981 Royal Commission on Newspapers, which have investigated media concentration in Canada and even illustrated how it can lead to a narrowing of viewpoints and perspectives found in the news media (Skinner and Gasher 2007, 52). However, the issues and trends outlined above are present in the country’s mediascape, and certain policies have allowed for

greater flexibility and mobility for economic interests and integration, both vertically and horizontally.

Media consolidation in Canada is apparent within broadcasting, telecommunications, publishing, and a variety of other cultural and creative industries. As Graham Longford, Marita Moll, and Leslie Regan Shade (2008) explain, Canadian telecommunications policy over the last two decades has been driven primarily by “an industrial strategy linked to technological innovation and competitiveness rather than a strategy that grows out of the national interest, the public interest, or social well-being” (4). This leaves Canadians with a very limited market oligopoly, and very limited consumer choice (Longford, et al. 2008, 5). Similar issues are apparent within the print industry. In the early 1990s the Canadian newspaper market became significantly concentrated as Conrad Black and his Hollinger Inc. acquired almost half of the country’s daily print circulation. Canada’s Convergence Policy Statement from 1996 altered the regulations that had formerly kept the newspaper, broadcasting, and telecommunications industries separate, and paved the way for cross-media consolidations. In the year 2000, a number of significant acquisitions took place, leading to major mergers between broadcasting, print, and telecommunications companies. For instance, CanWest Global bought the Southam Newspaper Group, and became the country’s primary publisher of newspapers (Skinner, et al. 2007, 17-19). Quebecor purchased cable television and internet service provider Vidéotron and French-language station TVA, and Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) bought the CTV television network and *The Globe and Mail*, becoming Bell Globemedia. In the years 2006 and 2007, other significant mergers occurred, including CTVglobemedia (formerly Bell Globemedia) acquiring CHUM

Limited (a merger that resulted in a reduced ownership for Bell Canada Enterprises, hence the name change in of January 2007), and the purchase of Alliance Atlantis by a consortium of CanWest Global and GS Capital Partners (an affiliate of Goldman Sachs). Consolidation continues unabated. The “four dominant players” as of 2012 are BCE Inc., Shaw Communications, Quebecor, and Rogers. Consider, also, the recent announcement that BCE intends to purchase Astral Media, Canada’s biggest radio network (Shade and Lithgow, forthcoming 2013).

In the Canadian radio industry, private commercial broadcasters account for sixty-one percent of the market, the largest English-language private operators being Astral, Corus, Rogers, BCE, and Newcap. The largest French-language private broadcasters are Astral, Corus, and Cogeco. (Shade and Lithgow, forthcoming 2013). An argument in favour of a few, large Canadian media corporations is that they are able to compete with the large media companies established in the United States, which enjoy benefits like “audience reach, human resources, capital, and technological resources to invest in content” (Skinner and Gasher 2007, 55). Yet these political and economic trends have implications for creativity and culture, marked by such factors as a decline in localism and diversity in both broadcasting and the musical and cultural industries connected to and often supported by broadcasting.

Commenting on the current state of terrestrial radio broadcasting in North America, academics, journalists, and writers cite the demise of localism in radio in the wake of the influential factors explained above. Nina Huntemann (2003) argues this very point. She claims that the demise of localism is a “direct result of lifted ownership caps, which paved the way for group owners to consolidate operations by cutting staff and

networking content” (78). The 1996 Telecommunications Act in the United States is a frequently cited policy document that prompted changes in music programming. A number of reactions to the Act claimed that “radio stations were ‘beginning to sound the same coast to coast’ and that disc jockeys at private radio stations ‘were given little discretion in what songs they could play’” (Hilliard and Keith 2005, 140). Short-term financial gains from concentration within the radio broadcasting industry have resulted in the lessening of local radio services to individual localities or communities. Part of the reason as to why there has been a considerable move away from local content is because of economic trends towards globalization. However, moments of economic struggle have also factored into cuts directed at local content. During the economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s, American radio station owners cut back or eliminated local staff and local news operations (Hilliard and Keith 2005, xiii, 65). In Canada, similar shifts were apparent throughout the media environment. Canadian media companies, following recent economic downturns after the turn of the century, have found their convergence strategies “to be less lucrative than originally anticipated,” and have thus cut back on jobs and content (Shade 2007, 111). Either way, strategic structuring and restructuring directed by a prioritization of economic gain has driven commercial radio broadcasting away from the localism on which it was established.

Radio’s migration away from localism has also been facilitated by the introduction and implementation of digital and satellite radio services. In December 2004, during a public hearing, the CRTC acknowledged and discussed three license applications for subscription or pay radio services that would be distributed by either satellite or terrestrial transmitters. In Public Notice CRTC 2005-61, the Commission

approved the three applications by Canadian Satellite Radio Inc. (CSR), SIRIUS Canada Inc. (Sirius Canada), and CHUM Limited (to be established by a partnership with Astral). Each application was approved by the CRTC to provide a package of channels for subscribers who would pay a monthly fee. CHUM, the one applicant which would only use terrestrial transmitters, never launched its services because it had stated “that if the Commission licensed the three services, it would not proceed” (Armstrong 2010, 167). Canadian listeners now had access to content that would be a mix of Canadian-produced and non-Canadian-produced channels. However, it is important to note that the two services that were launched have partnerships with American companies – XM Satellite Radio and SIRIUS Satellite Radio, respectively. These two American companies have since merged (in July 2008) due to financial difficulty, but this partnership involves the carrying over of a large proportion of the American channels, as well as the use of American satellites.

Satellite and digital radio had not eliminated local radio stations, or broadcasting by terrestrial transmitters, but the radio industry has certainly felt pressures resulting from these systems. In 2005, the American radio industry “launched a \$28 million advertising campaign to defend radio against competition from satellite radio, Internet radio, iPods, and file sharing” (Hilliard and Keith 2005, xiv). Moreover, as far back as the 1960s, there has been a marked shift in radio listening in Canada. Listening increasingly takes place out of the home, at either work or in an automobile (Armstrong 2010, 57). Satellite radio is now either a standard or an option in new automobiles. “Modest monthly fees” that “bring dozens of music channels without commercial interruptions” is no doubt a noticeable challenge to terrestrially transmitted radio, particularly local radio stations,

which typically rely on commercials and which do not lend themselves well to time spent in an automobile (as stations decline in clarity the farther that one drives away from its point of transmission) (Hilliard and Keith 2005, 171).

Given that there are two satellite radio carriers in Canada, both in partnership with American companies, it is fair to say that satellite radio, in its current formation, has a tendency to homogenize and centralize radio content. When searching through the channels offered by satellite radio, one may find a relative range of genres and styles represented by the service, but these options are the same throughout the nation. Content is centralized, and news, information, and music can be coming from anywhere in North America. A listener driving along highway 401 in Ontario could very well be hearing about concert or event listings specific to the Southern United States. And despite claims from the satellite radio industry that argue the ability for satellite broadcasting to fill in “many of the gaps on ordinary” radio, satellite radio suffers “some of the same ills that infect corporate radio – an overdependence on technology and a canned, detached sound” (Fisher 2007, 301).

Thomas McCain and G. Ferrell Lowe define a broadcasting locality as “a discrete but nonstandardized geographic area corresponding to a relatively unique and commonly shared collection of situationally and/or culturally determined values and interests represented by the people who live there” (qtd. in McCourt 1999, 103). Given the formations and operations inherent in the structure of satellite radio, the concept of a locality is not adequately served by such a broadcasting system – particularly at time when media concentration and convergence restricts diversity within the media that the public receives. As Leslie Regan Shade notes, the consequences of media convergence

are “particularly significant when it comes to community and regional news and viewpoints, as the autonomy of local community content vanishes” (2007, 108-109). Similar critiques have been launched against radio giant, Clear Channel. When Clear Channel becomes the dominant player in a given market, “it quickly sacks the news reporters, pares down the local deejays, and fills the airwaves with formulaic pap imported by satellite from distant cities” (Fisher 2007, 286). I do not intend to sound technologically deterministic. Quality, local radio programming can co-exist with satellite or digital radio, just as listening to music on the internet has not replaced vibrant local music exhibition/performance, but there are significant trends in the radio industry – as in the media and communications environment broadly speaking – that are making it increasingly difficult for North American radio listeners to experience radio programming specific to the locality in which they live.

These political, economic, and technological trends have broad implications for the ways in which programming and content is received by listeners, as well as on the type of content that is distributed. A major criticism of music-based radio content catered to mass audiences is that it is generally based on a limited repertoire of songs that have established themselves as “hits,” and are then repetitive and similar from station to station (Lewis and Booth 1989, 5). The similarity between stations increases as fewer entities control more stations. For Canadian radio listeners, oftentimes the mass programming they hear is generated from south of the border. Content originating in Canada is subject to regulation that mandates a certain level of Canadian content, but radio signals that migrate north from the United States “know no such constraint” (Barney 2005, 12). On top of this, since the start of the twenty-first century, the majority of cultural products

circulating throughout Canada originate from American sources (Barney 2005, 73; Skinner and Gasher 2007, 51). Currently, considering globalizing politics, economics, and the technologies that have facilitated such changes, and given the fact that it is largely an American model of media and regulation that is being exported throughout the world (McChesney 2004, 7), the distinction between Canadian and American content is easily lost on many listeners.

The cultural industries in Canada must negotiate their relationship with both government regulation and American cultural industries, all while maintaining profits in order to sustain their operations. American cultural industries are noted here particularly because of geographic proximity, namely the fact that broadcasting signals can easily migrate across the border. However, it is important to emphasize that European and Japanese media companies have been prominent on a global scale (Burnett 1996, 10). Some of the more critical assessments of the music industry, or music's function within or as a cultural industry, assert that under the laws of the political economy, music "and the musician essentially become either objects of consumption like everything else, recuperators of subversion, or meaningless noise" (Attali 1985, 8). French economist Jacques Attali claimed that, around the middle of the twentieth century, the purpose of music became fulfillment of "the economic requirements of accumulation" (1985, 88). A "degraded, censored, artificial music took centre stage," a "mass music for an anesthetized market" (1985, 105). Thus, under a system that prioritizes profits, music is less about creativity or originality, and more about appealing to basic human desires in order to efficiently be sold. Theodor Adorno, one of the most well-known critics of the cultural industries (or, culture industry in his use of the term, emphasizing the similarities

he perceived between these industries), echoed this sentiment, arguing that the mass production of music converts listeners into nothing more than “the acquiescent purchaser” (1938:1991, 32). He claimed that the “counterpart to the fetishism of music is the regression of listening,” which is “tied to production by the machinery of distribution, and particularly by advertising” (1938:1991, 46-47). In other words, the process of listening, or consuming, is determined by the economic base that produces music en masse. And music produced under these circumstances, as it goes, must have mass appeal. These points are highly debatable, especially within a more contemporary context in which the variety and diversity of cultural creation and production is much more pronounced than it was in the late 1930s when Adorno published this work. Nevertheless, these are important ideas to consider, particularly given recent structural changes to North American cultural industries and the media environment over the past few decades. The Canadian music industry, for instance, is very much tied to radio broadcasting, and the changes affecting both have certain outcomes for Canadian culture and music.

The Canadian music and radio industries have taken shape in relation to American cultural industries and broadcasting. The establishment of Canadian public broadcasting, for instance, was justified as a means for protecting and sustaining Canadian culture in the face of American cultural dominance. In the past few decades, as globalization and media concentration has greatly altered the cultural industries, the Canadian music industry has both taken advantage of, and been restrained by, large American and/or global recording and distribution companies. Will Straw, commenting on the Canadian music industry in the early 1990s, noted that there was some excitement generated throughout the likes of Canadian musicians regarding the major-label representatives who

were “combing the bars [in cities like] Halifax in search of new alternative rock groups to sign” (1996, 96). Such opportunities came in the wake of high international record sales from prominent Canadian acts like Céline Dion and the Crash Test Dummies (Straw 1996, 95). Straw said that over “the reporting year 1993 – 94, the dollar value of all sound recordings sold in Canada had grown at an annual rate of 16.5 per cent, reaching a 10-year high of \$738 million” (95-96). The situation was not so rosy for Canadian independent record labels, who complained that they could not compete with the worldwide release plans proposed by the major labels, and “their own place within the Canadian industry had become even more fragile” (Straw 1996: 96). Even the handful of “alternative” or “independent” labels in Canada that have achieved a relative level of success over the past ten years or so have had to rely on larger multinational companies. Arts & Crafts, the label behind bands like Broken Social Scene and Feist, signed with EMI Music Canada, while Last Gang (Metric, Death From Above 1979) signed with Warner (Edwardson 2009, 218). This bodes well for the artists signed to these smaller labels, potentially increasing their income and exposure, but it also raises significant questions about the business models and practices that so-called independent or small labels are to maintain under the watch of a multinational. Are there implications for the types of artists these labels can then sign and promote, and is the creative autonomy of the label subject to the parent company? There is likely a different answer for each particular case, but I believe these concerns are well-founded given the circumstances and historical trends.

The potential for growth in success and exposure in an industry moving towards reliance on international distribution does provide financial and promotional benefits for

Canadian artists, but only for those select few lucky enough to acquire representation by a major label. Top-selling artists have a tendency to end up fulfilling most of the Canadian content requirements for Canadian radio stations, leaving less-established bands and artists to fend for themselves. According to Straw, the support for local music talent in Canada by commercial radio stations has historically been “more gestural than genuine” (1996, 106). Owners of commercial radio stations have little incentive, or “economic reason to air untested domestic recordings” (Edwardson 2009, 90). And while one could argue a “survival-of-the-fittest” scenario for Canadian bands or artists, the most economically-viable does not always equal the most creative sounding, diverse, or experimental. If anything, this logic results in difficulties for experimental and innovative artists to establish themselves, should they wish to do so. More on the relationship between the Canadian music industry and broadcasting sector will be discussed in the following chapter, but for now it is important to be aware of its place within the political economy of broadcasting and the cultural industries in Canada.

I have briefly outlined and discussed the political economy of Canadian broadcasting in order to demonstrate some of the ways in which it is increasingly difficult to produce and consume local content within the Canadian radio broadcasting environment. And while an exhaustive amount of recent work has written on the democratic potential of new and digital media technologies, radio should still be thought of as a means of communication quite capable of remedying the issues discussed above. In the foreword to *The Quieted Voice*, Robert McChesney considers radio to be a particularly easy medium for which to utilize as a tool for democratic media reform, especially in its capacity to benefit local communities. McChesney has argued that radio

is “the least expensive of all our media in which to produce high-quality content....It is economically feasible to expect every community to have several commercially viable, locally based radio stations” (McChesney 2005, x). Evidently, there is something inherent in radio technology that enables it to effectively serve its locality. Take, for instance, the success of low-power FM (LPFM) in the United States to be approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), a key aspect of media reform activities that highlights the importance of micro-local programming (see Shade 2011 and Opel 2004).

Canada currently supports and sustains a community broadcasting system. In fact, community broadcasting is one of three recognized sectors of the overall broadcast system, as defined by the Broadcasting Act (1991). Community radio strives for local relevance. Content is catered to a specific locality, one that also produces the content. Campus radio falls within the community broadcasting sector, and it is arguably the most dynamic and relevant component of the Canadian community radio sector when it comes to music programming. The ideological, structural, and practical components of campus radio offer an interesting contrast to some of the political, economic, and technological issues outlined above. For instance, Canadian campus radio is regulated in a manner that insists on a local, community-based focus. Campus radio stations often construct a mandate emphasizing “alternativeness” for which to ground ideologically a community-based focus. Music and culture that embraces independence from the commercial or mainstream cultural industries is also a major characteristic of campus radio. The second half of this chapter explores the ideological, conceptual, and structural aspects of campus radio, including the ways in which campus radio assumes a role that counteracts the issues resulting from the contemporary political economy of Canadian broadcasting.

Some terms, ideas or concepts figuring into this discussion include “community,” “independent,” local, the discursive or physical connections between a station and local musical activity, and the place of cultural hierarchies or “gatekeepers” in framing “alternativeness.”

Lisa Gitelman (2008) suggests that a history of sound recording, and the technologies and practices associated with it, makes visible the ways “media emerge as local anomalies that are also deeply embedded within the ongoing discursive formations of their day, within the what, who, how, and why of public memory, public knowledge, and public life” (29). Therefore, it is imperative to explore and assess the terms and concepts that define and construct media systems. Terms like “alternative,” “independent,” and “community” have particular meanings in relation to certain moments in history, of which specific issues or concerns were at the forefront of discourse and debate. Early radio in Canada was largely focused on how Canadian broadcasting could be an *alternative* to American, commercial radio broadcasting. Simon Frith’s writing on the construction of musical genres is helpful to also consider here, because “alternative,” “independent,” and “community” have a strong presence in labeling and defining music. Frith has argued that popular music genres must be understood “within a commercial/cultural process; they are not the result of detached academic analyses or formal musicological histories” (1996, 89). Commercial and cultural processes shape the construction of genre and terms like “alternative” and “independent,” by their very essence, take a particular stand against the commercial or mainstream (in most cases, at least), and they are very much a part of the culture of campus radio.

Oppositional binaries, like “alternative” versus “mainstream,” however, are not always the most effective places to locate the use of these terms. Sarah Thornton (1996) has argued this very point, stating that binary thinking in opposition to the mainstream is a confusing and muddled space, especially in relation to the youth cultures she studied (114). One reason to be wary of strict oppositional binaries is because of the fluid nature of these concepts. “Alternative” could be used to describe one year’s radical style or slogan, only to be “neutralized into next year’s fashion” (Hall 1981, 235). Nevertheless, these terms share a special relationship to mainstream commercial culture, and they are frequently defined in opposition to it. A focus on the specific use and circulation of such terms within a given time and place is more effective than placing concepts like “alternative” within a general yet rigid binary.

Apprehension around the commercial nature of broadcasting is evident as far back as it was apparent that broadcasting technology could freely and easily reach “mass” audiences. In transitioning between his discussion of the “representation” and the “repeating” stages of music production, Jacques Attali (1985) described radio as a technology that “made representation free” and promoted, along with the phonograph record, the repetition of music (84). Theodor Adorno (1938:1991), in his cutting critique of regressive listening, argued that the radio both wears out music and over-exposes it. He criticized ham radio listeners, labeling them fetishistic and only interested in the fact that they hear and succeed in inserting themselves, with *private* equipment, into the public (1938:1991, 47, 52). These concerns are partly rooted in the fact that the radio era brought forth the idea of media reaching a large group of people at any one time. As radio developed into the 1930s, its power in record-selling and star-making “came with the

shift in the commodity status of music” (Thornton 1996, 36). At this time in the United States and elsewhere, many public intellectuals saw “America becoming a frightening mass society – homogenized and centralized with little regard for individuals. They blamed, in part, radio and the commercial mass culture it represented for that shift” (Lenthall 2002, 41). Jonathan Sterne, in *The Audible Past* (2002), recounts radio critiques from this era, adding a visual dimension by including and describing cartoons that offer a vision of radio as a pacifier – listeners alone with their radio set in living rooms (167). This idea goes hand-in-hand with the commodification of sound by sound media industries, through the presented “notion of sonic space as private property” (Sterne 2002, 95). Nevertheless, many studies of radio broadcasting position the medium, especially forms of community radio, as challenges to such issues.

Alternative media encompass a broad array of communication outlets and numerous scholars have set out to explore alternative media, attempting to define what it is exactly that makes media “alternative.” Before embarking on his exploration of some of the many efforts at defining alternative media, David Skinner puts forward a general definition in a contemporary Canadian context. He defines alternative media as those providing “a range of perspectives and modes of communication that are not readily available through the profit-driven media that dominate the Canadian mediascape” (2010, 221). The term’s ambivalent nature is highlighted by *Z Magazine* cofounder Michael Albert, who noted that there “has never been widely voiced agreement about what attributes are alternative” (Albert 1997). Nevertheless, we can think about alternative media in a variety of helpful ways. Chris Atton approaches a definition of the boundaries of alternative media arguing that they distribute content that would otherwise not be

found elsewhere, and which are “more interested in the free flow of ideas than in profit” (2002, 12). He specifies in a later work, stating that alternative media “can be understood as those media produced outside the forces of market economics and the state. They can include the media of protest groups, dissidents, ‘fringe’ political organizations, even fans and hobbyists” (Atton 2004, 3). Dorothy Kidd has argued that alternative is about how media practitioners characterize themselves and construct their identities (Kidd 1999) and John Downing has used “radical media” to “refer to media, generally small-scale and in many different forms, that express an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities, and perspectives” (2001, v). On the other hand, alternative media can also be used to describe outside-of-the-mainstream repressive media, like hate speech, racism, and violent pornography – a few of the examples given by Downing, who is also interested in the overlap and difference between democratic and repressive forms of radical media (2001, 88). Evidently, there are some key characteristics that typically turn up in alternative media scholarship, such as distance from “the commercial,” non-profit status, accessibility, and identity. But “alternativeness,” I believe, should be explored and discussed on a case-by-case basis that is specific to a given time and place.

When assessing the “alternativeness” of radio broadcasting, particularly campus radio broadcasting – which is tied to a regulatory framework determined by the federal government – I find it most helpful to reflect on, and acknowledge the various processes of the broadcasting system overall. For instance, how might we think of campus radio as providing an alternative outlet for music or culture, or how might campus radio involve media practitioners in a way that is different or distinct from other media or broadcasting systems? Therefore, it is useful to bring in the idea of an alternative or counter-

hegemony, as it helps emphasize the fluidity and adaptability of “alternative” within broadcasting debates and discourses. In Raymond Williams’s *Marxism and Literature* (1977), Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony is expanded on, and Williams introduces the concepts of “counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony” to illustrate that dominance is neither total nor exclusive. As Gramsci explained, according to Williams, hegemony “even constitutes the substance and limit of common sense for most people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience very much more clearly than any notions derived from the formula of base and superstructure” (Williams 1980:2005, 37). Like Gramsci, Williams challenges the notion that ideology fully permeates the superstructure as determined by an economic base. Rather, cultural and social processes are integral to the ways in which ideas and beliefs circulate, and these processes involve numerous contradictions and tensions. Williams argued that at all times, “forms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in society” (1977, 113). Alternatives are connected to and shaped by dominant ideologies (such as that which ties public broadcasting to the idea of nationalism in Canada, or commercial radio to capitalism), but they can be effective institutions and formations for which to create spaces for alternative cultural work. Therefore, “alternative” must be conceptualized as not simply represented in “formally identifiable institutions,” but also in “*formations*: those effective movements and tendencies, in intellectual and artistic life, which have significant and sometimes decisive influence on the active development of a culture, and which have a variable and often oblique relation to formal institutions” (Williams 1977, 117).

This idea of alternative formations is located, also, in Williams's notion of the "emergent." In "authentic historical analysis it is necessary at every point to recognize the complex interrelations between movements and tendencies both within and beyond a specific and effective dominance" (Williams 1977, 121). And while we certainly need to speak of the dominant, according to Williams, we must also speak of the residual and the emergent, "which in any real process, and at any moment in the process, are significant both in themselves and in what they reveal of the characteristics of the 'dominant'" (1977, 122). By "emergent," Williams means that "new meanings and values, new practices, [and] new relationships...are continually being created" in opposition to the dominant (1977, 123). This idea of the "alternative" as represented by emergent culture "is often seen as oppositional" by the dominant, but must also account for ways in which "alternative" is, at times, converted into the dominant/mainstream (Williams 1977, 126). Williams is concerned here with the culture and class structure of an epoch, but the processes between the dominant and the emergent must be acknowledged when exploring the "alternativeness" of a media system that is inherently linked to various cultural, political, and technological power structures.

The notion of the "alternative" can be specified and tailored for thinking about campus radio, by looking at how it circulates within Canadian broadcasting discourses. The term "alternative" appears within Canadian political debates over broadcasting as far back as the 1920s. Marc Raboy (1990) has noted that "the late 1920s was a time of strong nationalist sentiment in English Canada, and the Aird report (1929) confirmed what most thoughtful Canadians apparently felt: that the only viable alternative to American domination of the Canadian airwaves was a national public enterprise" (29). In this case,

Canadian national broadcasting is discussed, rhetorically, in opposition to the more dominant forces of American commercial radio. However, the term has also been used to strategically argue for commercial broadcasting. For instance, throughout the late 1950s and into the 1960s, a case was made for an alternative to national public broadcasting. Private broadcasters claimed that “a strong alternative service operated by the private element would only be good” (Raboy 1990, 149). A similar use of “alternative” can be found in American broadcasting discourses. Those individuals lobbying for deregulation (typically the same “as those who wish to do business with radio”) often use terms like “freedom” and “independence” in accordance with deregulation debates, maintaining “that such terms are attractive alternatives to the values of regulated, public-service broadcasting” (Wallis and Malm 1993, 158). Interestingly (as I will soon elaborate on) the use of “alternative” by the politically and economically dominant goes hand-in-hand with similar uses of the terms “independent” and “community.” However, “alternative” also figures into broadcasting debates that stake claims for community media, in other words, media which do not fit within the economic ideology of commercial broadcasting or the nationalist ideology of public broadcasting. In Canada during the late 1960s, arguments were made for broadcasting that was distinct from both commercial broadcasting and State-sponsored public broadcasting. According to Raboy, “because the idea of ‘public’ media was so ineluctably associated with the centralized, state-owned, hierarchized model, the new approaches were often labeled... ‘alternative’ or ‘community’ media” (1990, 12). A similar use of “alternative” was central in a 1979 report for the Telecommunications Research Group by Jean McNulty, which highlighted a reaction against “big” and “centralized” government and government policies of the

1960s. These reactions, according to McNulty's report, set the foundations for the development of community and campus radio in Canada (1979, 57).

This notion of "alternative" radio as a system that works to operate outside of dominant power structures puts Williams's use of counter-hegemony into practice, highlighting the applicability and adaptability of "alternative" in broadcasting debates and discourses. As James Hamilton argues, "media today are truly 'mass' in terms of consumption but are extremely limited in terms of participation in production" (2000, 358). Hamilton assesses alternative media, claiming that all too often, "the structural pressures on producers to abide by the forms and conventions of quality journalism, quality video, quality radio, and the like to secure financial support means that" alternative media take on the structure of mainstream media, in order to compete for audiences and presence in the overall media environment (2000, 360). This in turn, restricts the ability for alternative media to provide effective and viable alternatives to the mainstream. Hamilton argues that alternative media must have low barriers to participation, must strive for an everyday, spontaneous mode of organization, and "should be part of other realms of life instead of divorced from them" (2000, 371). Hamilton's ideas tie in nicely with work from other scholars that contribute to alternative media discourse and debate in broadcasting. Chris Atton and Nick Couldry (2003), for example, claim that "to judge whether a particular alternative media outlet is genuinely 'oppositional' or 'radical' makes little sense if done in isolation from a study of the actual relations of production on which that media outlet is based" (582). This quote is a nice addition to Hamilton's contribution, as it reinforces the idea that the "alternative" is oppositional if it is able to provide a structure that is considerably distinct from the

dominant system, which then ideally enables the presence of alternative discussion, formations, and discourses. According to these authors, “alternative” broadcasting should occupy a space that is independent from the dominant power systems of mainstream politics and the economy. However, as Hamilton details in *Democratic Communications* (2008), it is imperative to acknowledge any ties or relationships between so-called alternative media and mainstream media and he uses historical case studies to explore these relationship(s), exposing numerous deep-rooted ties between the two. These analyses and conceptual approaches are helpful when taken together, as it is through an awareness of political and cultural history and site-specific case studies – explored in relation to a variety of related processes – that we can draw conclusions about the role and place of campus radio within the Canadian broadcasting environment, and in the environments that stations serve.

The term “independent” shares many of the same characteristics of “alternative,” particularly its insistence on discursively distancing a medium like campus radio from mainstream or commercial broadcasting and cultural industries (Cohen 1991, 111). However, the term “independent” has also been used by political and economic elites to argue for State-based or commercial broadcasting. Like “alternative,” “independent” was used by Canadians arguing for a national broadcaster that was “independent” from the United States in the 1920s. Canadians had to decide whether Canada was “to have an independent Canadian broadcasting system worthy of Canada or to become dependent upon U.S. sources for radio service” (Raboy 1990, 30). At the time of early radio broadcasting in Canada, a national public broadcasting service was thought of as both alternative to, and independent from, American radio broadcasting. Interestingly, as years

went on, the term “independent” was appropriated by advocates for Canadian private broadcasting to define a system that was independent from the national public service. In the late 1940s, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (representatives of private broadcasters) “presented the same basic position it had held since the early 1940s, with some semantic refinements. It now described its membership as a system of ‘independently-owned community stations,’” thinking of themselves as alternatives to the national system (Raboy 1990, 84). A few short years later, private broadcasters would move from using “independent,” and take on “free enterprise broadcasting” to describe and define their role (Raboy 1990, 99). The term is still frequently used – in work that explores both the history of radio broadcasting in Canada and contemporary broadcasting debates – to describe the private broadcasters that work independently from Canada’s national public service system (Filion 1996, 125).

“Independent” also holds conceptual weight in “alternative” broadcasting practices that take issue with the notion that the deregulation of media increases broadcaster’s “independence” and listeners’ “choice” (Bennett, et al. 1993, 102). For American micro and pirate radio advocates and practitioners, the process of demonstrating independent broadcasting techniques meant broadcasting illegally, outside of sanctioned licensing by the FCC (Opel 2004, 38). Simon Frith makes a similar point about the ideology of “independence,” claiming that it means “challenging the usual rules of public provision and acquiescent consumption, and developing a do-it-yourself infrastructure of unofficial (and often illegal) sales and promotion – pirate radio, ‘blues,’ bootleg tapes, sampled records, and so on” (1993, 19). Pierre Bourdieu, in his theorizing of the artistic field, notes that it “is at all times the site of a struggle between the two

principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically...and the autonomous principle (e.g. ‘art for art’s sake),” whose advocates “tend to identify with a degree of independence from the economy” (1993, 40). Bourdieu’s ideas are applicable to broadcasting and music defined as “independent,” demonstrating how the term denotes cultural practices that are not governed strictly by economic incentives. Referencing again the concept of alternative or counter-hegemony, “independent” illustrates how a broadcasting system that strives for autonomy from dominant structures of power is a necessary component of the overall media environment. And while there is a continuum of “independence,” and levels of autonomy, between different types of radio – including pirate, which can pride itself on complete freedom from the “restrictive rules and regulations of the CRTC” (Nopper 2010, 66), and campus or community stations which are indeed regulated by the CRTC – there are dynamic processes between various levels of power and the challenges posed by different cultural forces determined by different levels of independence.

Like “alternative” and “independent,” “community” can be applied in various ways to the study of media and radio broadcasting. Many writers and scholars have contributed to the field of community media studies, a discipline comprised of a variety of approaches from around the globe. Some great examples that are a sample of this field include *Community Media: A Global Introduction* (2006), by Ellie Rennie; Clemencia Rodriguez’s widely-cited use of “citizen’s media” (2002) to refer to communications that promote the two-way uses of media through and between citizens; and, *From the Margins to the Cutting Edge: Community Media and Empowerment* (2006), a collection edited by Peter Lewis and Susan Jones. An edited collection by Janey Gordon, titled

Community Radio in the Twenty-First Century is out this year (2012), as is *Alternative Media in Canada* (2012), an edited collection that features chapters on community media. These works, along with other examples, illustrate that this field is developing across the globe, representing a variety of timely responses to neoliberal and global trends in media and communications.

“Community” is an especially relevant term, simply because it defines the overall broadcasting system that Canadian campus radio is grouped under. Moreover, it is used in numerous ways to frame and justify content that emphasizes a specific locality. In the early days of radio, broadcasting was oriented toward the idea of family “togetherness,” focusing on “the family listening together as participants in a mass culture” (Sterne 2002, 209). According to John Hartley, as early as the late 1920s, “radio was envisaged as a means for community-building, collective communication and dramatic imagination” (2000, 155). At this time, arguments were made for the two-way communication of radio and its ability to promote the development of public life (as put forth by Bertolt Brecht, for instance), but as Hartley notes, even the one-way model that developed was able to “perform the ‘public service’ that early proponents imagined for radio,” through the sense of “imagined community” (2000, 156). Hartley (2000) uses Benedict Anderson’s concept of an “imagined community,” which originally, for Anderson, referred to members of nations who will “never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1936:1991, 6). Hartley uses this concept to explain radio’s ability to connect listeners through a shared listening experience that does not require face-to-face interaction or actual knowledge of who other listeners are. Radio technology is able to constitute a

sense of community, allowing the community to speak through the medium, forming it through structures, selections, and strategies. As Jody Berland has argued, “it is for this reason that radio comprises an ideal instrument for collective self-constitution, for the enactment of a community’s oral and musical history” (1993, 107). The notion that collective listening constitutes a community is also reflected in radio listening during a shared crisis, such as the Great Depression of the 1930s. Kate Lacey (2002) asserts that during the Depression, “radio was seized upon as a tool that could bind the various constituents of the nation together, wherever they were and whatever their circumstances” (29). “Community” in this case, applies to the ways in which listeners might be constituted through radio technology. Yet the term is also used to describe a distinct broadcasting system that attempts to serve and represent, in whatever capacity, a given community. At a time when radio is increasingly organized by economic logic that centralizes and consolidates, in what ways are the imagined communities of community and campus radio listeners and practitioners connected along lines of a commitment to local culture and music, and a constructed sense of the “alternative” and “independent?”

Throughout Canadian broadcast history the term “community” has been used to justify broadcasting that is both commercial and oppositional to private industry. In the 1930s, some individual radio stations “feared ‘the community angle of broadcasting’ would suffer if private ownership were to disappear” (Raboy 1990, 41). Private broadcasting was often tied to the idea of local, community interests. Even in the late 1940s, the CBC “conceded local community interests to the private sector and equated the public interest with the national interest – or, more precisely, with the interest of the national system” (Raboy 1990, 97). However, in later years, during the 1960s and 1970s,

the term “community” became associated with a broadcasting system or a communication practice that focused on “decentralizing and deprofessionalizing media production, while increasing access and public participation” (Raboy 1990, 202). Even though community radio became a “legally viable communication form” in 1973 by the CRTC, and despite its place as one of Canada’s three broadcasting sectors, the sector remains marginal within broadcasting politics and policies (Raboy 1990, 238). Regardless, the relationship of the term “community” to accessible and decentralized broadcasting practices illustrates a specific set of values or political and social aspirations.

Gerard Delanty (2003) explores the variety of ideas associated with the term “community” and the numerous meanings it has taken on in political, cultural, and social thought. His analysis is particularly pertinent to consider in relation to community broadcasting. Delanty raises the point that “as a process dominated by state formation, modernity has allegedly destroyed community” (2003, 10-11) and therefore, “community” is now a utopian idea that expresses a desire for an alternative to the status quo. Delanty maintains that community radio can be a “significant means of enhancing community participation by offering opportunities for discursive participation that the national media cannot” (2003, 68). “Community,” then, relates to the terms “alternative” and “independent,” representing “the construction of a communicative project that is formed in the dynamics of social action” (Delanty 2003, 112). Because of the ways in which both the State and market have changed relations between people and relations between people and the media, the notion of “community” can be thought of as a reaction against forces like globalization and against the breakup of stable social institutions

(Delanty 2003, 164). Furthermore, Delanty argues that “the revival of community today is undoubtedly connected with the crisis of belonging in its relation to place” (2003, 195). As “an older, smaller technology,” Andy Opel says that American micro radio represents “a connection to the past,” bringing with it “all the nostalgia of a small town community broadcasting that never existed in the past” (2004, 108). This idea of “micro,” “small,” or “community” broadcasting as able to connect with past traditions of social relationships sits well with Delanty’s notion of community as a sense of belonging in relation to place – a contrast to the fragmented and globalized society that dominates much of the media environment.

Ideally, community broadcasting involves people in the communicative process in order to strengthen and represent a community, fostering a sense of connectivity, belonging, and participation amongst listeners. This idea of community representation can be tricky, however, as the nature of what constitutes a community is not always clear. Opel raises this very point in reference to micro radio. Micro radio activists and academics struggled over the notion of community representation when challenging the FCC. Some felt as though advertising from the local community was permitted and beneficial to the cause, whereas others felt that any commercial presence at all was a detriment to community values and ideals (Opel 2004, 46-49). Here, the ways in which “community” is linked to “alternative” and “independent,” through skepticism of the commercial mainstream, is again evident. It is also important to not think of a community as a distinct space that is isolated from global flows of information and culture, but rather a group of individuals that have varying ties and relationships to other communities both near and far. The welcomed involvement and participation of members from the

community is essential in “community” broadcasting and a key characteristic that sets it apart from commercial broadcasting. The role of media users is vital to alternative and community media processes, as participation can challenge the more dominant “purely sending mode of communication” (Downing 2003, 632). Information is a public good and a public resource and citizen participation in media is one way in which to realize and exercise this fact.

“Alternative,” “independent,” and “community” are three terms that assemble ideas about broadcasting that challenge mainstream and commercial methods of broadcasting. However, these terms and ideas can also be embedded within dominant power systems and the politically and economically powerful have utilized these terms and concepts in order to argue for deregulation and private broadcasting. Regardless, in both the past and in the present, these three terms are integral to social movements and formations tied to radio broadcasting and they are manifest in systems that seek to increase diversity, access, participation, and dialect within media. They put the emphasis on cultural *communities* instead of cultural *industries* (Raboy 1990, 305) and are often concerned with the well-being of democratic public life. I would like to emphasize this attention on a cultural community or locality as a way for campus radio to distinguish itself as an “alternative” broadcaster, given the previous discussion of the decline in localism and the standardization and centralization of radio programming. Therefore, I will now turn to a discussion of a locality – a geographic space that can include one or multiple music scenes and cultural communities, consisting of a variety of individuals with various ties and connections to both the geographic space in question and elsewhere.

Radio broadcasting constitutes space. Sound waves cover a geographic locality, dependent on such factors as frequency and wattage. Canadian communications scholar Jody Berland has written extensively on space and Canadian radio broadcasting. Berland argues that through radio, “music mediates our interactions with space and our contradictory senses of belonging – the city, the nation, the ancestral home, and the space between ears – is organized by cultural technologies of space, and each offers its imprimatur to the mix” (2009, 191). The study of cultural technologies, according to Berland, “helps to reveal how these ‘relationships among sites’ are produced,” and she claims that music “has played a special role in this process, for its dominance of the media soundscape enables listeners to find a sense of belonging in the midst of widely dispersed situations” (2009, 186). Of course, this constitution of space by communications technologies, and the ways in which listeners are connected through sounds, is dependent on the particular social, cultural, political, and historical characteristics of a given space (Berland 2009, 186). It is important to consider such site-specific factors when exploring the relationships between a radio station and its broadcast range. In Canada, where cultural and broadcast policy is very much tied up with issues of space and geography, it is necessary to acknowledge the ways that “communication technologies mediate the social relations of a particular society by setting the limits and boundaries within which power and knowledge operate” (Berland 2009, 69). How then, does campus radio co-exist alongside the larger and more dominant public and private broadcasting systems in Canada? Furthermore, within the broadcast range of a given campus radio station, what sort of connections are made between listeners and between institutional sites that are integral to a music scene or cultural community? Might these

connections and intricacies offer effective challenges or alternatives for listeners, media practitioners, and/or musicians to that of power structures within music and culture industries and the more dominant broadcasting systems in Canada? These are important questions that I will return to in the upcoming chapters.

The characteristics of a locality are determined by the social, cultural, and political milieu of a city or town, which is then reflected in how one might perceive the workings of a music scene within a locality. The work of Sara Cohen, particularly her book, *Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making* (1991), successfully outlines the connections between place and musical activity. Cohen, focusing on popular music-making in Liverpool, argues that the bands and the music scene that the bands participate in reflect “not only characteristics of the music business in general, but those of Liverpool itself” (1991, 19). In the introduction, I introduced Cohen alongside Geoff Stahl and Ruth Finnegan. These authors have approached their studies of music-making in a locality by effectively detailing the connections between individuals and cultural institutions, as well as the social and cultural lifestyle and practices within a music scene. These connections and practices constitute ideas about a particular music scene in a given time and place. In a large country like Canada it is productive to explore musical activity in relation to a specific city or town, rather than attempting to locate a certain level of “Canadian-ness” within a music scene. A focus on musical activity within a given locality must also identify global musical and cultural flows that are also embedded in the connections and practices taking place in a locality. The local is a part of the global, just as the global is involved in the local (Storey 2003, 117). However, each locality is going to negotiate the global in a different way, determined by a variety of factors including

cultural demographics and histories, and the infrastructure and support offered to local cultural and musical production and circulation.

Richard A. Peterson and Andy Bennett (2004) claim that the term “music scene” had, primarily, a journalistic and everyday use, although it has been increasingly researched by academics as a concept “to designate the contexts in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others” (1). Will Straw’s widely cited definition is less general, claiming it to be “the cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization” (1991, 373). This cultural space can be both social and geographic, as illustrated by Holly Kruse who defines independent music scenes as those which are “best understood as being constituted through the practices and relationships that are enacted within the social and geographical spaces they occupy” (2003, 1). Focus should arguably not be placed on defining a given cultural space as belonging to this or that genre, but rather on “examining the ways in which particular musical practices ‘work’ to produce a sense of community within the conditions of metropolitan music scenes” (Straw 1991, 373). Therefore, attention should be given to the connections between musical sites or institutions, the people involved with them, and the resulting “work” that produces and defines a particular notion of a music scene, which may or may not be specific to one or more genres or styles.

Central to the construction and perception of a music scene are cultural intermediaries and gatekeepers; individuals who generate and circulate discourse that

connects culture to ideas and beliefs that are commonly caught up in concepts of value and credibility. These individuals contribute to framing not only that which is heard and seen, but also the ways in which culture is heard and seen. Pierre Bourdieu has famously argued that “the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work” (1986:1993, 37). He wrote that artists and cultural producers must choose the most appropriate place to publish or display their work. This is of vital importance to an author or artist, because for each “production and product, there is a corresponding natural site in the field of production, and producers or products that are not in their right place are more or less bound to fail” (Bourdieu 1986:1993, 95). This idea is useful for thinking about terms like “alternative” and “independent,” as it foregrounds the capacity for judgments in value and taste to determine the types of music, art, and culture that might get labeled “alternative” or “independent,” as well as those cultural forms which might not fit within these definitions. It also raises questions about whose authority claims “alternativeness” or consecrates “independence,” and through what means this takes place.

Bernard Gendron (2002) locates the influence of cultural intermediaries within the “story of bebop” and he emphasizes the power of “discourses of reception,” such as the press and promoters, in constructing the meaning of the music (155). He uses the phrase “cultural accreditation” to explain the “aesthetic distinction as conferred or recognized by leading cultural authorities, which, in the case of performers, means the acquisition of the status of ‘artist’ as opposed to ‘entertainer’” (Gendron 2002, 161). We can see how

labeling and defining music as “alternative” or “independent” is very much about crediting the music with distinction from “the masses” or the “mainstream.” Sarah Thornton makes this very point in her work on U.K. youth and club cultures. She argues that clubbers measure their “cultural worth” by establishing and maintaining “discursive distance” from the mainstream (Thornton 1996, 5). These distinctions, she claims, “are never just assertions of equal difference; they usually entail some claim to authority and presume the inferiority of others” (Thornton 1996, 10). Thornton also connects distinction and value judgment to feelings of community within and throughout the musical subcultures she explored. She claims musical forms to be “authentic” when they are “rendered essential to subculture or integral to community” (Thornton 1996, 29), and argues that musical authenticity is perceived as a cure for alienation in “an age of endless representations and global mediation” (Thornton 1996, 26). Cultural gatekeepers and intermediaries, through musical discourse and the cultural and institutional sites in a music scene, construct musical cultures and the scenes in which they circulate, establishing what musical forms and styles are *in*, and which are *out*. As well, it is evident that individuals involved with the circulation of “alternative” and “independent” culture frequently frame such work in opposition to more dominant expressions of music and culture, reiterating the significance of Williams’s notion of “counter” or “alternative” hegemony.

Akin to campus and community radio broadcasting, there is an “anti-mainstream” disposition at the core of genres like alternative and independent (or indie) music. Simon Frith has argued that genres, like indie, really only make sense within this dichotomy (1996, 87). This idea extends from similar binaries in the realm of popular music, such as

“rock” versus “pop.” Whereas rock is largely perceived to be “masculine” and “authentic,” pop is considered “feminine” and “artificial” (Frith and McRobbie 1990; Coates 1997, 52). The “authentic” and the “credible” are at odds with that which is popular, mainstream, commercial, or that which is easy to digest. This is not to decidedly state that campus and community radio practitioners and programs fall within this idea that “authentic” equals “masculine” or “male,” although Sheila Nopper, who worked at CIUT in Toronto in the mid 1990s, recounts that at that time, “there were no music programs that focused on women’s music” (Nopper 2010, 56). I do not wish to generalize campus radio programming as entirely representative of this specific (and quite dated) example, although I will return to the issue of gender later on. For now, I want to introduce some of the ideas at play when exploring the reasons as to why certain musical genres and styles are typically welcome under such labels as “alternative” and “independent.” Wariness of mainstream practices and aesthetics is intrinsic to musical genres that might lend themselves more easily to a media outlet or radio station that defines itself as “alternative.” There are discursive and ideological connections between campus radio and musical genres like indie and alternative. The genre of alternative rock is very much constituted by an opposition to the mainstream. Tracing the development of punk aesthetics, Gendron gives the example of 1980s alternative rock as having an “anti-corporate” ethos that it shared with ‘zines, independent record labels, college radio stations and local nightclubs (2002, 229). Straw provides a similar articulation, adding the dimension of the valorization of diversity. Straw notes that alternative rock is allied with institutions concerned with “maintaining the accessibility of a wide range of musical practices” (1991, 376-377). Assembling a variety of musical styles and genres is,

arguably, very much a characteristic of alternative or independent music (and of most contemporary or postmodern popular music as well). The same can be said for independent record labels, as the genre of alternative rock is frequently linked to independent methods of production and distribution (Straw 1991; 1996, 96), and “independence” is often about maintaining the creative freedom to pursue diversity and experimentation in cultural work.

As I outlined earlier, the discursive strategy of using terms like “alternative,” “independent,” and “community” to justify a particular broadcasting system also functions at the level of government policy-making. A major goal of the upcoming chapters is to assess the ways a locality or a music scene is connected to a campus radio station and the ways that campus radio stations are connected to government policy. Does a particular cultural community or music scene determine the ways in which a campus radio station operates and programs music, or is this determined more by the policies in place that shape and structure this broadcasting system? How much do the individuals themselves, who are involved in running and maintaining a station, determine its operations and programming? Moreover, does broadcasting policy and station mandate contribute to a broadcasting system that allows for new, emerging, and independent or alternative music to circulate, or does it restrict or limit the capacity for stations to program such “alternatives”? In this particularly Canadian case, where cultural policy is often quite central to the ways that media systems are structured, what is the place of the State in regards to community or alternative media? These questions are invaluable for exploring the potential or effectiveness of the campus radio broadcasting system in responding to, or challenging, neoliberal and globalizing trends in the contemporary

political economy of Canadian broadcasting and cultural industries – trends that pull radio broadcasting away from local communities and towards centralized and standardized programming.

The goal of this chapter has been to introduce many of the theoretical and practical ideas behind the study of campus radio and campus radio culture. Certain terms and concepts are frequently used to describe campus radio, as well as frame community, alternative, and independent media as challenges or responses to more dominant methods of producing and circulating culture. I have also explained some of the pressing issues facing contemporary radio broadcasting from a political economic perspective. I believe, as do scholars like John Thornton Caldwell and David Hesmondhalgh, that it is worth moving beyond the “now tired antithesis between political economies...and cultural studies” (Caldwell 2008, 235). As Caldwell explains, the “sociologist David Hesmondhalgh deems such a split a ‘myth’ based ‘on a false political dichotomy’” (2008, 235). My focus in this dissertation is primarily on the cultural practices and discourses that surround Canadian campus radio broadcasting, particularly the ways in which radio stations function in relation to music-making, but these practices must be understood in relation to power dynamics at the political and economic level, as well as within the culture of campus radio itself.

Chapter 3 discusses some of the historical points of interest behind the development of Canadian campus radio and introduces the technological, cultural, economic, and political factors that helped to establish the sector. An integral part of this history is the cultural policies that have developed over the years alongside technological changes, both at the federal level, and in more local, specific instances, and the cultural

hierarchies in early educational radio and the social/political activist traditions that have been influential on the sector. Situating this broadcasting system within a historical framework that foregrounds policy will be helpful for understanding the ways in which discourses and traditions that have used concepts like “alternative,” “independent,” “community,” and “local” have been central in establishing the culture of campus radio and music scenes, including the actual operations and programming of campus radio stations.

Chapter 3:

Social Responsibility and Cultural Hierarchies in the Development of Campus

Radio

The Canadian campus radio sector spans the nation from east to west, with stations as far north as Prince George, British Columbia, and Edmonton, Alberta, and as far east as St. John's, Newfoundland. Numerous stations broadcast a wide variety of musical selections and spoken-word programs to students and members from the surrounding community from morning until night, and often around the clock. However, this has not always been the case. It was not until the mid-1970s that campus radio stations were *officially* licensed and recognized by the CRTC, despite many radio clubs and on-campus broadcasters operating for decades before this. This chapter describes some of the broad trends and traditions that influenced the development of campus radio in Canada, including the development of community media, and various radio experiments from around the country, many of which were connected to Canadian educational institutions.

Canadian radio communication began at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1901, two federal government radio installations began operation across the Strait of Belle Isle in northern Newfoundland. In that same year Guglielmo Marconi would conduct his radio experiments between Poldhu, Cornwall, and St. John's, Newfoundland (Babaian 1992, 5). In these early years debate would focus on what sort of broadcasting system Canada should develop, taking into consideration the establishment of commercial radio in the United States and public radio in Britain. By the 1920s and 1930s, a "broad consensus emerged around the view that only a public broadcasting

system could meet the national objectives of Canadian broadcasting” (Raboy 1990, 48). Extensive accounts of the early days of Canadian radio broadcasting can be found in thorough works such as Franks Peers’s *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951* (1969) and *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1952-1968* (1979), Mary Vipond’s *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting, 1922-1932* (1992), and Marc Raboy’s *Missed Opportunities* (1990). However, the Canadian community and campus radio sector is hardly a focus of these works. And while these books tell core stories about the development of broadcasting in Canada, broadly speaking, my focus here is to tease out and highlight significant historical moments that illustrate how and why Canadian campus radio has taken its current form and structure. This chapter results from surveying a variety of resources that detail a particular component of the community, campus, or educational radio sectors in Canada, including CRTC policy documents, select monographs, and graduate theses. The limited scope of the resources consulted for this chapter is attributed to the minimal scholarly attention that campus radio in Canada has received. Therefore, this chapter is by no means an exhaustive account of campus radio’s early development, but rather it points to significant trends that have influenced why and how campus radio operates the way it currently does.

The development of the contemporary campus radio sector in Canada has, in my opinion, followed two interrelated paths. The first is through early educational radio and the second through experiments with community media. In Canada, one of the ways in which community radio has developed is by community access to the CBC’s low-power radio transmitters (LPRTs), particularly in northern aboriginal communities. Growth in

the south followed development in the north, most prominently in Francophone communities in Québec and on university and college campuses across the country (Fairchild 2001, 137-138). Before the mid-1970s, when the CRTC began licensing campus stations, radio existed on a number of Canadian college and university campuses, primarily as sites of technical training for students interested in media production, or as efforts in university extension. These stations operated at a very low wattage with a very limited range, having just enough power to serve the campus community (Wilkinson 1988, 18). There are many similarities between contemporary non-campus community radio stations and campus radio stations that serve their community, although with campus-community radio, a university, a university-based corporation or a student society or government may hold the license. Campus-community stations are also better able to avoid funding complications, as they can receive money from student fees and levies, or general funding from the college or university, although in recent years debate has surfaced around this issue at many stations across the country. Currently, many campus-community stations make a strong effort to include the respective city or community in which the university or college is near, but the campus stations licensed by the CRTC in the mid-1970s catered primarily to the campus and their broadcast range was still fairly limited within campus boundaries (McNulty 1979, 116). Nevertheless, from the early to mid-1970s, “‘campus-community’ radio became the dominant form of public access radio” across Canada, and its range and prominence would quickly develop in the late 1970s and into the 1980s (Fairchild 2001, 151).

There were three types of radio licenses granted in the 1920s, private commercial, public commercial, and amateur. The amateur licenses were granted to university stations

and radio clubs for low-power broadcasting. The American universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the Latter Day Saints University in Salt Lake City, had “pioneered the concept of university-owned radio stations in 1922 – a year that ultimately saw seventy-three American educational institutions receive radio licences” (Walters 2002, 13).

Prominent university or educational stations that emerged in the 1920s in Canada include CFRC at Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario (1922), and CKUA at the University of Alberta (1927), although before the First World War, Dr. Augustin Frigon held a license for a college station on behalf of the École Polytechnique in Montreal, Québec. Each station “played an important role in the development of broadcasting....both [surviving] today, the former as a campus-community station, the latter as part of a private nonprofit network” (Fairchild 2001, 132). These early university stations would often serve rural areas without access to other radio services. As early as the 1920s, it was evident that educational broadcasting could serve communities that were not adequately reached by larger broadcast systems.

C-calls for radio licenses were first published in Canada in August of 1922. At this time, there were no college stations on the list, and licensees were mainly electric and telephone companies, radio stores, and newspapers. However, there were four experimental licenses issued to educational institutions. These included Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, which had 9AT; The University of Alberta’s Physics Department in Edmonton (9AU); Queen’s University (9BT); and Sprott-Shaw School in Vancouver (9AX) (Zimmerman 1991, 165). In 1923, two college stations were given C-calls, CFRC at Queen’s University and CFUC at the University of Montreal (which was not renewed in 1924). In 1924, the University of Toronto was granted a 9-

call, 9BZ, the University of Alberta's 9AU became CKUA in 1927, and in 1933, CKIC was granted to Acadia (Zimmerman 1991, 165). By the late 1920s, other Canadian universities either rented or were granted time on other local stations, including Dalhousie, McGill, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia (Faris 1975, 81).

CKUA at the University of Alberta started in 1927, a culmination of radio broadcasting and adult education. Marylu Walters's *CKUA: Radio Worth Fighting For* (2002) is a comprehensive history of the station, amalgamating two prior historical booklets (published on the station's fortieth and sixtieth anniversaries). Walters explains that, like "newspaper owners, educators and religious evangelists immediately grasped radio's power to reach people" (2002, 8). Following closely the development of radio technology were William Aberhart, a Calgary high school teacher and Baptist preacher, and Albert Ottewell and H. P. Brown, two members of the University of Alberta Department of Extension (Walters 2002, 8). Walters claims that "[it] didn't take long for Brown to see the superiority of radio over mules and Model Ts in the dead of winter for taking the university to the people" (2002, 12). Before the establishment of CKUA, Ottewell set up an arrangement with Edmonton's first private commercial station, CJCA, which had the extension department broadcasting Monday evening lectures as of late 1925. In 1926, the university's Division of Visual Instruction constructed a rudimentary studio and increased its radio program on CJCA to over two hours a week, with programming consisting of "songs, poetry and stories by English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, French and Ukrainian artists for homesick newcomers" (Walters 2002, 12). In early May 1927, Ottewell and Dr. Edward Annand (commonly referred to as Ned, or E. A.) Corbett, a pioneer of Canadian adult education, fronted a committee on university broadcasting

and decided that the university should build its own radio station. The station was ready for broadcast as of November 21, 1927 (Walters 2002, 14, 18). Walters highlights the station's concentration on programming for rural audiences, not only because there was a greater need for rural programming, but also because, in Ned Corbett's words, "people who live in the country are more disposed and have more time, particularly in the long winter evenings, to listen to programs of a sound educational character" (2002, 21). Evidently, early educational broadcasting, in the case of CKUA, was focused on providing content that had educational value to those listeners who resided outside of the urban area, but also to new Canadians with British or European backgrounds. By 1932, the station was running three days a week, offering informative programs and lectures, such as "What You Should Know Concerning Mouth Hygiene" (Walters 2002, 22).

Another prominent university radio station during the early years of Canadian broadcasting, and one of North America's oldest, is CFRC at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. As with CKUA, a full-length monograph details CFRC's history, dating back to the university's work with wireless telegraphy before the establishment of the radio station, Arthur Eric Zimmerman's *In the Shadow of the Shield* (1991). The book specifically focuses on the station's formative years, from 1902 until 1957. Early goals of the station included promoting Queen's, both for the university as well as for graduates and undergraduates. A professor by the name of James William L. Bain was put in charge of the station in 1924 and his vision for the station was to promote the university, as well as its sports teams, namely rugby and football (Zimmerman 1991, 355). In March of 1924, the station broadcast its first lectures on "Canadian Poetry" in conjunction with University Extension. The lectures were never used as credit courses for off-campus

students and the station's educational projects would have to compete with pressure on the station to consider commercial possibilities, an increasing sentiment through the mid-1920s until the mid-1930s (Zimmerman 1991, 359, 403).

In 1929, the Aird Commission recommended the nationalization of radio broadcasting and created the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), which was responsible for creating a cross-country network of high-power radio stations – a story effectively detailed in numerous other works (such as the ones I mention earlier in this chapter). Although many were in favour of the national system's establishment, there were some notable critiques. *The Toronto Telegram* was one newspaper that was quite skeptical of the Aird Commission's plans and it claimed that the Commission was not representative of popular opinion, arguing that “when Parliament united to pass the Act which created the Radio Broadcasting Commission, it was without regard to the considerable body of protest which came from many parts of the country” (Fortner 2005, 147). In 1936, the CRBC was replaced with the CBC. The CBC dominated Canadian broadcasting throughout the 1930s and 40s, promoting “a centralized vision of Canada” (Raboy 1990, 8), although there were small instances of community-based broadcasting in particular areas that were supported, in part, by the CBC. For instance, the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) “formed a bridge between the CBC and mass-membership organizations” in order to develop two program series; one calling itself the *Farm Forum*, which “reached an *organized* listening audience of about thirty thousand, meeting weekly in groups of ten to twenty” throughout the 1940s and 50s (Raboy 1990, 75). The CBC's involvement was not limited to the *Farm Forum*, as there was a second series, called the *Citizen's Forum*, broadcasting in 1943 that was modeled after the farm

programs. Both forums “were part of wider attempts by the CBC to build independent institutional identity that was free from political interference through strong links with other public service organizations” (Fairchild 2001, 136). The people behind the programs were attempting to foster public participation in radio broadcasting, the sort of ideology behind the practice of community and campus broadcasting today.

It was during the mid-1920s that experiments in farm radio broadcasting began. In Wingham, Ontario, 1926, Wilford Thomas ‘Doc’ Cruickshank constructed a radio transmitter in his hardware store that operated at two watts, serving the local community by broadcasting church services out of the church basement (Fairchild 2001, 128). A decade later, in 1934, CKUA was looking to extend its broadcast range in order to meet new standards imposed by the CRBC. The station collaborated with CFAC in Calgary, Alberta, and CJOC in Lethbridge, Alberta, establishing the Foothills Network. The network was used to broadcast lectures and news related to agriculture that were prepared by the Albertan government. CKUA utilized this new connection and created a citizen’s forum called the *Round Table*, which was “the first program of its type and the forerunner of the ‘Citizens’ Forum’ of the national CBC public radio network” (Walters 2002, 53). Following this, CKUA established a *Farm Radio Forum* that brought together 108 different listening groups with a combined fifteen hundred members. This “pioneering concept” predated the CBC’s farm series, which began in 1941 (Walters 2002, 54). The series was co-sponsored by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), of which Corbett was the first director for fifteen years, and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. The forum was produced by the CBC and was immediately considered, for the most part, quite successful (Faris 1975, 23, 30-31). Reflecting on these Canadian

forum broadcasts, Charles Fairchild claims they represented “the first successful attempts by any broadcasting institution in North America to pursue the ideals of two-way communication and democratic participation in media” (2001, 136). Similarly, during the 1940s, the CBC provided broadcast facilities, production costs, and air time for the creation of the *Citizens’ Forum*, which unlike the farm series, was not aimed at a particular occupational group. A variety of topics were discussed, the most common including international affairs, economic policy, religion, and education (Faris 1975, 108-109). The CAAE was central for getting both forums developed, yet over the years its role diminished. The social movements it was tied to began to wane, and the acceptance of adult education as a legitimate field of academic study weakened its “social movement characteristics” (Faris 1975, 113).

These forums are intriguing examples because they highlight the intersection of educational broadcasting and a notion of social responsibility and activism in early Canadian radio. The CAAE’s operating manifesto is evidence of this, with such points as: “efficient service to the community,” and “neither the old individualism nor the newer mass-collectivism but a relationship of voluntary co-operation, which balances rights with responsibilities, is the basic pattern of the emergent social order” (Faris 1975, 156). As well, the *Farm Radio Forum*’s operating slogan of “Read. Listen. Discuss. Act.,” illustrates the centrality of radio broadcasting in organizing and informing community members in a way that has individuals participating in the process, an ideological pillar of contemporary community radio. The forum also exemplifies the multi-media nature of early educational radio, wherein broadcasting is combined with reading, discussion, and education.

Part of the reason that early university stations adopted measures of social responsibility and community involvement is because of pressure from the CBC or other commercial radio stations that were apprehensive about competition. An educational mandate often meant reduced fees but restricted ability to generate funds through advertising. In 1927 CKUA had transferred to a private commercial license, but paid a reduced fee because of its educational purposes (Walters 2002, 63). However, toward the end of the 1930s educational programming was not all that popular and Alberta's premier, William Aberhart, offered to provide funds for the station if it operated on a semi-commercial basis and if the government took control (Walters 2002, 63-64). The station found itself with a joint board including members from the government and it increased its wattage to one thousand. The station's license was renewed in 1941, yet the CBC's Board of Governors stipulated that it was not to operate on a commercial basis at all (Walters 2002, 74). The station's "Programme Principles," dated June 24, 1943 listed such directives as "the service should be unique, not merely a duplication of service afforded by other stations in Edmonton," and "Swing music, crooning, and 'thriller' plays have no place in our programmes. These may be quite legitimate forms of entertainment but they are already available in abundance on existing stations" (Walters 2002, 85).

The tension between operating a university station with an educational mandate and pursuing a commercial radio license for increased range or funding was also an issue for CFRC in Kingston. In 1935, CFRC was essentially an experimental operation of the Electrical Engineering Department, providing a few feeds to the CRBC station and receiving a few as well. The Queen's administration was primarily interested in a "non-commercial community service broadcasting role" for the station, yet as Zimmerman

explains, the “expenses involved made this project impossible” (1991, 435). Shortly thereafter, CFRC teamed up with a local newspaper, *The Whig Standard* to “bring Kingston a daily commercial and cultural radio service” (Zimmerman 1991, 447). The station’s license was amended to authorize a private commercial broadcasting service and the station was re-modelled technically according to CRBC specifications. In 1941, however, talks about increasing reception for the area surfaced, yet “Queen’s was not in a position to sustain a competitive commercial radio operation. Besides, they might then be taxed on their profits and there might be further clashes between the needs of a commercial operation and the main purposes of a university” (Zimmerman 1991, 439, 509). In June of that year, it was reported that the CBC Board would not grant the station a license if Queen’s operated the station. It was stated that “a university should not be involved in commercial radio.” The university discontinued commercial operations and *The Whig Standard* commenced full operations of a commercial station, CKWS. The university could no longer carry any programs that originated outside of Kingston (Zimmerman 1991: 509-510).

After the Alberta Government gained control of CKUA on campus in the mid-1940s, Walter Blake, a man with experience in commercial radio, took over as manager. Blake “argued that two-thirds of the population in northern Alberta lived in the country and that CKUA intended to program ‘more for the country audience than either CFRN or CJCA have been doing.’” He also pointed out that ““there is a wealth of musical talent in Northern Alberta’ and CKUA intended to ‘develop and polish this talent and if possible originate the talent when ready, to the CBC. To provide lessons, amateur musicians must be paid’” (Walters 2002, 96). This emphasis on local music and culture was important

and it stemmed from both the university's promotion of "educational" programming, as well as the station's inability to be granted a commercial license. The benefits of this local focus would be the beginnings of an approach to musical programming that was distinct from commercial radio, and was catered to listeners from the community.

The individuals involved with CKUA throughout its development should be given some credit in terms of the way its music programming emerged. For example, Arthur Craig, a transmitter operator in 1939, did not really enjoy the music programming of the station at the time. He considered it too "high-brow," appropriate for the "suitability old." To remedy this, he brought in his own record to the station one day (Walters 2002, 62). Over time, the station would continue to develop its music programming, both in terms of programming for various cultural groups and for those who appreciated music that was not being played on the commercial stations in the same area.

In 1948, CKUA was granted an FM license to broadcast on 98.1. During the late 1940s, CKUA began to foreground "quality" music programming, which was often live and local. There were both a "live-talent policy" and an "Alberta Talent Program," which helped many young musicians in the area. The Alberta Talent Program had also been extended to Calgary and Medicine Hat, forming "a Provincial Network to widen the scope of the Alberta Talent Program" (Walters 2002, 106). Live remote broadcasts were also a feature of CKUA programming at the time. Then station manager John Langdon's future wife, Nelda Faulkner, was an accomplished musician with Canada's Young Artists Series and she "presented a weekly program of popular and classical organ solos from a downtown music store" (Walters 2002, 118). This commitment to involving the community and other local institutions in the station's programming is reflected in the

cultural and musical programming that the station focused on. In 1946, the station introduced *Continental Musicale*, a radio show that played “European music to accommodate the great influx of immigrants after the war” (Walters 2002, 120). Walters describes the show as “a mixed bag of folk, pop and classical music from [the host’s] private collection, which eventually numbered more than fifty thousand records” (2002, 120). The show’s host, Gaby Haas, had immigrated to Canada from Czechoslovakia in 1939, and again, the host’s individual role or involvement in dictating CKUA’s programming is apparent, as it was with Craig in 1939.

These early examples demonstrate the increasing presence of the university radio station within its own locality. They also help to tease out the taste hierarchies and value judgements present in both the station’s listenership and its approach to programming. Tommy Banks, a host of a teen radio show in the late 1940s explained that he first got involved with the station after realizing that it ““played really good much that other radio stations didn’t play”” (Walters 2002, 115). CKUA’s listeners were drawn to this music programming of a “higher quality” and became ““very possessive’ of the station....Because of the station’s emphasis on classical music, its listeners were different from those of other stations” (Walters 2002, 125). Alongside a discourse of distinction from the commercial stations, then, is also a discourse of elitism. While a broadcasting “alternative” effectively paid attention to communities that could benefit from the service, as exemplified by the farm and citizen forums, the music programming considered to be “alternative” was distinct from, or of a “higher quality” than the mass programming offered by the commercial stations at the time. Both strategies of

distinction would become even more apparent as the commercial radio sector increased its presence across the nation.

In Canada, between 1958 and 1963, the television and radio broadcasting environment underwent significant changes as private broadcasters established themselves as dominant content providers. These developments followed in the wake of a final report by a Royal Commission, published in March 1957. Many of the report's recommendations appeared in a new Broadcasting Act of 1958, legislated by John Diefenbaker's Conservative government. These recommendations "included the inclusion of private broadcasting networks (CTV and TVA), the establishment of an independent regulator (the Board of Broadcast Governors), and the implementation of 'Canadian content' quotas for Canadian television and radio" (Wagman 2006, 205-206). In 1963, the Liberal government replaced the Conservatives, leaving "private broadcasting to enjoy its new spoils and begun trying to recapture the political function that the Canadian broadcasting system had been designed to serve" (Raboy 1990, 137). The Fowler Report on Canadian Broadcasting (1965) highlighted both the increasing economic dominance of private broadcasting at the time, and an emphasis on reestablishing the role and prominence of public broadcasting. The report stated that "private broadcasters can, and should, achieve a greater degree of common purpose, and should participate in the national objectives of the Canadian broadcasting system to which they belong, as well as continuing to render local services to their individual communities" (Canada 1965, 12). At this time, private broadcasters argued their role as a system that catered to local communities. As private broadcasting grew over the years, a focus on local programming would deteriorate, especially following media consolidation throughout the late 1980s

and 1990s. However, in the mid-1960s, the CBC was still considered a dominant force in Canadian cultural identity and ideology. The 1965 report argued that “the simple fact – the crucial fact – which must be clearly understood is that the CBC is the *essential* element of the Canadian broadcasting system and the most important single instrument available for the development and maintenance of the unity of Canada” (Canada 1965, 12).

Following the political and economic imperatives that helped launch a dominant private broadcasting sector in Canada, numerous social, cultural, political, and technological changes began to incite community media movements throughout the country. These developments took place alongside significant initiatives in community media that primarily took place in northern Native communities and in the province of Québec. All together, these social and community-based media experiments put pressure on governing bodies like the CRTC to begin recognizing and licensing community and campus radio. Throughout these processes, the definition and distinction of campus radio – from that of community or educational broadcasting – would take shape, both in official policy and in the minds of practitioners. It is important to recognize that as the campus sector increased its prominence, developmental focal points in terms of structure and ideological practices were caught up with strategies of distinction. Mandates and programming were distinctly local and content was considered to be of a higher quality, or cultural worth, than that which was programmed for a mass audience.

In 1968, changes to television and radio broadcasting policy came in the form of the 1968 Broadcasting Act. As noted retrospectively in 1986 by the Report of the Task Force in Broadcasting Policy, the 1968 Act was generated during a period when

broadcasting was expanding, as was the country: “The large postwar influx of people into the cities from the country, together with the baby boom and heavy immigration, was transforming urban Canada, creating an environment in which mass media flourished” (Canada 1986, 14-15). The relevance of the Act, however, is questionable. As Marc Raboy argues, by “the time it was adopted in 1968, the new broadcasting policy was already insufficient to deal with the technological and political climate” (Raboy 1990, 180). Ease of access to technology and the inability for public and commercial broadcasting to cater to the vast number of voices and opinions present across Canada, required further changes in broadcast policy to allocate spectrum to smaller-scale radio operations.

A report conducted by Jean McNulty in 1979 – researched under contract from the now-defunct Federal Department of Communications – examined the political, technological, and cultural factors that contributed to the development of community radio in Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The report, titled *Other Voices in Broadcasting*, argued that “the origins and ideas for the development of new forms of local programming in Canada stem from ideas about social change and the democratization of society which were prevalent in the 1960s” (1979, viii). McNulty found that a reaction against “big” and centralized government in the 1960s was quite central in setting the foundations for the development of community radio in Canada (1979, 57).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, motivation for establishing and expanding alternative and community media within Canadian broadcast policy, particularly in urban regions of Canada, became much more pronounced. As McNulty argued, “the scale and

rapidity of development of local programming has been due to the availability of government funds and other aid over the past ten years,” although “it would be wrong to conclude...that federal government and CBC initiatives have been the key ingredient in the creation of new local programming” (1979, viii, 33). McNulty emphasized the initiatives made by individuals on a local level, and illustrated that in addition to government funding, local broadcasting and programming primarily required “a lack of service at the local level in broadcasting or in all media” and “a need for alternative media programming to counter-balance the commercial media” (1979, viii). Evidently, local broadcasting also required the support of a staff or volunteers and the necessary technical equipment. The 1960s were also a decade of proliferating notions of participatory democracy and social change, especially among young and educated Canadians. The idea of participatory democracy was central to the emergence of new community-based initiatives in the late 1960s such as the Company of Young Canadians (a group whose mandate was to develop programs for social, economic, and community development) and Opportunities for Youth (Wilkinson 1988, 7). The findings of McNulty’s report exemplify how ideas about local broadcasting developed historically and politically, and these ideas are influential on the current role of community and campus broadcasting in servicing listeners on a local level.

A variety of perspectives offer insight into the political and cultural environment surrounding Canadian broadcasting in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Research conducted by Jean Ogilvie found that “the 1970s spawned a more liberal (rather than conserving and preserving the nationalist vision alone) view of Canadian ‘diversity,’” and “it is possible that this idea of diversity is spearheaded by new government initiatives and

policy on multiculturalism” (cited in Monk 1997, 53). In 1971, the federal government’s multiculturalism policy set up various programs to aid cultural groups in preserving their heritage(s). This policy was beneficial in “planting the seeds of a national cultural identity that differed from the American concept of the melting pot,” although it still left much of Québec’s political and cultural concerns unsettled (more on that shortly) (Thomas 2006). Government multicultural policy was significant as it was less focused on catering to a single, all-encompassing nation, but rather acknowledged Canadian multiculturalism that, in turn, also helped to foster ideas about local and community radio stations across the nation

Throughout the 1960s, these cultural and political shifts were reflected in a change of direction at the provincial educational station CKUA in Edmonton. Between the years 1956 and 1972, “CKUA reinvented itself, taking on the eclecticism and intellectual playfulness that would become its trademark. In the process it began to attract announcers who saw CKUA as a home for their creative temperament rather than a gateway to greener pastures” (Walters 2002, 131). This move toward eclecticism in programming was in large part due to the individuals involved in the station, individuals immersed in the cultural “feeling” of the time. Walters states that the move away from the “popular” was directly tied to the hiring of announcers with a passion for music who were knowledgeable about what they were playing. She also mentions the “external force” of the “social, political and musical revolution that was happening at the time” (Walters 2002, 133). However, part of the equation was also an “attitude of benign neglect on the part of management from the top down, starting with the Alberta government,” which aided in creating an atmosphere of creative freedom at CKUA

(Walters 2002, 134). Although the government was less involved in determining the limits of the station's freedom, Walters highlights the important role of listeners in setting such boundaries. She mentions that listeners often appreciated the "exciting new influences in music that they wouldn't hear on commercial stations till later, if ever," but they kept things from getting too out of control, voicing concerns and providing "checks and balances" if things got too "experimental" (Walters 2002, 143-144). The role of listeners in providing the programmers and hosts with feedback is reflective of the radio station's role within the cultural and musical communities it served. In the 1960s, CKUA was central in the cultural and intellectual activity in Edmonton. Musicians visiting the city, including Stan Keaton and the Smothers Brothers, often came into the station to give interviews (Walters 2002, 150). The station's move toward eclecticism and programming reflecting the personal tastes of its programmers was also marked by an awareness of the station, as well as the university's role as a cultural and educational institution in the city.

Similar changes were apparent at the university radio station CFRC at Queen's University. Into the early 1960s, the station's service to both the university and the community, as well as its public relations value to Queen's, was becoming recognized, and broadcasting was increased to a "full 52 weeks a year" (Zimmerman 1991, 613). In 1968, Director of Radio Margaret Angus retired, and was replaced by Andrew Marshall. Marshall had joined the station as a student in 1962 and under his "regime the station began to change in direction. He introduced a new image, moving toward the kind of music he felt that students enjoy, like rock and folk-rock, plus a dinner hour show featuring high quality pops" (Zimmerman 1991, 616). This approach was significantly different from a few years back, when the station had a policy of playing fifty percent

“popular music and good quality jazz” and fifty percent “classical records” (Zimmerman 1991, 614). Although the inclusion of genres like jazz and classical certainly signified a programming approach that was distinct and “high quality,” the music that “students enjoy” was no doubt distinct in its own way.

Throughout the 1960s many university radio stations began to move away from a strict focus on educational or “enriching” programming, and started to program content that reflected the interests and expertise of the individuals running these stations, as well as the cultural and musical communities nearby. Other experiments in community media around the same time also focused on the nearby interests of community members, but with a strong focus on social and cultural activism. Attempts at using radio communications with Native groups were prominent in mid-1960s when the Indian-Eskimo Association hired a sociologist named Alex Sim, who proposed radio experiments influenced by the *Farm Radio Forum* (Ogilvie 1983, 27). Community radio experiments in Northern Canada were quite significant in legitimizing and justifying the community radio broadcasting system.

Canadian community radio has primarily Northern roots, “growing from the radio production efforts of various First Nation’s communications societies, mostly in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, but also in Northern areas of Québec, Ontario, and some Western provinces” (McNulty 1979, 112-113; see Bredin 2012). Most of the earliest community radio stations were in the Northwest Territories, and their purpose was to provide a radio service “for people out on the land from those in the villages” to keep in contact with hunters and travelers (McNulty 1979, 112-113). The creation of Northern community radio services grew alongside two policy initiatives that are unique

to Canada. The first was the attempted integration of regional differences, and the second was the goal of total cross-country coverage (Fairchild 2001, 141). In 1972 and 1973, the Canadian Department of Communications installed community radio stations in the Keewatin District in Northwest Territories and Northern Ontario. The stations were to be run by the locals who were organized into communication societies for the goal of improving communications systems in remote areas (McNulty 1979, 80). Community radio in the North included an early experiment called Radio Kenomadiwam, a project created by a group of university students in 1969 under the Company for Young Canadians, who worked with the Ojibway in the Longlac region of Ontario to teach the basics of radio production. Some of the staff would later be involved with Co-op Radio in Vancouver, starting in 1973 (McNulty 1979, 142). Another example of Northern community radio is CHRQ-FM, a fifty-watt station in Listuguj, Québec, licensed to the Gespegewag Communications Society. The mandate of the station was to develop Micmac language and educational media in the region (McNulty 1979, 144). Community broadcasting in the North has often worked closely with ideas about local cultural development and production, offering services that are not available through commercial or public broadcasting. A similar developmental ethos is present in community media projects that were established in southern Canada during the 1960s and 1970s.

Many of these community radio projects in the North generally brought together “community development techniques and the use of social animators to encourage action by people in the community” (McNulty 1979, 81). Social animators were often put in place by the CBC. In 1972, a community radio experiment in Espanola, Ontario, a small pulp-and-paper town, sought to test possibilities for local individuals to participate in

production at the local CBC station. The outcome of this collaboration was the establishment of a small studio attached to the CBC rebroadcaster transmitter, where people could produce informational programming to supplement CBC network services (McNulty 1979, 83). However, once the CBC's professional animator left, the community involvement "dwindled to nothing" (Ogilvie 1983, 23). Following these experiments, the CBC established the Office of Community Radio in order to coordinate these developments further (Ogilvie 1983, 84). There is a tension here between a large government institution like the CBC working with communities in the North, as agents of change in the community, and actual community representation by citizens, as it might play out without the added "help." It is not the purpose of this dissertation to fully engage with this issue, though it is worth keeping in mind as it is part of the larger task of assessing "alternativeness" and community representation when the State is involved.

The Office of Community Radio operated out of Toronto from 1972 until 1978 (disbanded due to budget cuts), during which it published a catalogue of community radio operations in 1977. The catalogue noted that there were forty-three stations broadcasting community programming, twelve of which were owned by the CBC. Twelve of the stations at this time were in the Northwest Territories and Northern Québec, which were unlicensed by the CRTC. Out of the remaining nineteen, two were student stations, five were urban, and the rest were in rural areas (McNulty 1979, 113). Shortly after, between 1977 and 1979, thirty-four community-based licenses were issued, most of which were granted to Native communications societies in Ontario and Manitoba. Of the remaining nine, two were student stations, one a college station, four were community access arrangements with the CBC, and two were for community organizations in small

communities (McNulty 1979, 113). In the 1970s, due to the increased cultural role of university stations and the push to increase their presence in their surrounding communities, as well as the increased social activist and development goals of community radio stations at the time, policy began to reflect these movements. Before elaborating on the increased recognition of campus radio in policy, the important role of the province of Québec in establishing community media that advocated for local interests that were not necessarily recognized or supported by a national broadcaster should be introduced. Of course, the politics of these developments are much more complicated than their representation here, but the arguments distinguishing community media from both commercial and public broadcasting are quite significant in terms of legitimizing the sector.

The political climate of Québec during the 1960s and early 1970s makes for a particularly rich and intriguing look into the development of community radio in Canada, because the idea of alternative media was closely tied to provincial political movements that were notably distinct from the federal agenda. In 1968, Marcel Pepin the president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions “denounced the commercial media for placing profit above the public interest, and called on the union movement and its supporters to create independent vehicles for ‘people’s’ or ‘popular’ information” (Raboy 1990, 200). The late 1960s in Québec were also a time of social and cultural change, with “a new middle class and new elites, a rising standard of living, widespread secularism, and higher levels of education among the French-speaking population” (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 11). Québec, because of its political and cultural context in the late

1960s, developed community media to help remedy the fact that much of the province did not feel adequately served and represented by public and/or private broadcasting.

A 1971 report titled *Toward a Québec Communications Policy*, by Jean-Paul L'Allier, the Minister of Communications for the Robert Bourassa government, outlined the political and cultural reasons for Québec's desire to control media in the province. L'Allier was careful to contextualize the document, stating that it was "not a White Paper...[the authors] felt that a Québec policy on Communications must be the result of as broad a consensus as possible" (1971, 1). The report then argued that it was "up to Québec to set up an overall communications policy....Although this policy must be coordinated with those of the other governments and consistent with the North American milieu, it must first of all be integrated to Québec's priorities" (1971, 2). Further in the report, the centrality of local programming was stressed. First, the report referenced page four of the 1969 Report of the Task Force on Federal Government Information, which said that the "lack of clear information available to all those who wish to participate in the democratic process is fast becoming one of the greatest tragedies of our time" (L'Allier 1971, 46). Secondly, the report included, as an appendix, "Québec's Policy on Community Cables" from May 1971, which claimed that it was "essential to promote local programming. It is at this level that public opinion is heard, that the daily rhythm of life is perceived and that the concerns of real life are dealt with. This is where the freedom of expression takes shape" (L'Allier 1971, Appendix, 12). Evidently, broadcasting policy that was developed for the entire nation left significant holes in coverage, which could be filled by alternative approaches that could serve the specific needs of provinces, and the smaller towns and cities located within.

The development of community media in Québec was also tied to the establishment of the *Ministère des Communications du Québec* (MCQ) (Québec Ministry of Communications) in 1969. The MCQ's mandate was to create and implement communications policies, oversee broadcasting in Québec, and establish communication services for government departments in the province (Stiles and Lachance 1988). Instrumental in "bringing community media under provincial control," it established in 1972 the *Service du développement des media*, which "made an inventory of community media projects and brought project staff together for two meetings to discuss their work" (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 12-13). As well, in 1973, Québec's Treasury Board put forth a subsidy program for community media. Its first-year budget was about \$390,000, of which half was given to Vidéographe, a group in Montreal that used video to promote social activism (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 13). Most of the projects funded by the program were television-based, as television was thought to have greater potential than radio by the MCQ. Because of the MCQ's interest in television, some of the first instances of community radio in Québec began without financial support from the province, such as CKRL-FM, "which was licensed as a non-commercial station and operated on funding from the Laval University community," and CINQ-FM, "a multilingual, community ethnic station in Montreal" that began broadcasting in 1972 in collaboration with Radio McGill (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 13-14).

CINQ-FM, also known as Radio Centre-Ville, was established after "a long and difficult struggle with the CRTC for a license" (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 51). Activists involved in the social changes that transformed Québec society throughout the 1970s were part of the station's foundation. The station was eventually licensed as an

“experiment” by the CRTC (as was CFRO-FM Co-op Radio in Vancouver, developing around the same time) (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 51). Its license was granted on February 27, 1975, and it became an official station on the FM band broadcasting with 7.2 watts of power (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 50). Once established, Radio Centre-Ville began catering its content to Montreal’s multilingual communities, contributing “to the coexistence of individuals and different cultures within Québec society” (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 49). The station was able to do what neither the national public broadcaster, or a locally oriented private broadcaster could do, which was provide information relevant to a particular segment of the city without promoting nationalist ideology from the federal government or be bound by the demands of advertisers, as were many stations in the private sector (although some sponsorship from the local community and non-profits was permitted on CINQ-FM). The licensing of Radio Centre-Ville was a significant step for Canadian community radio, as it helped set the foundations for other, similar developments in Québec and across the country.

North of Québec City, in the Saugeny region, community radio was developing in the neighbouring towns of Chicoutimi and Jonquière. Toward the end of McNulty’s report, community radio in Chicoutimi-Jonquière was discussed along with five other areas in Canada including, Vancouver, Kitchener-Waterloo, Inuvik, Saskatoon, and Halifax. McNulty wrote that in the 1960s, Chicoutimi-Jonquière was a “distinct geographic, economic and social region, physically isolated...from the main centres of population in the province” (1979, 202). The services provided by Canada’s national public broadcaster were not prominent nor relevant in the Saugeny region, as the area did not envision a strong parallel to other places of similar size and population in Canada.

Moreover, in Chicoutimi, citizens had access to only one FM station in the region, which in turn, was an important instigator toward the development of a local radio station. A group of professors and staff members from the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, along with journalists, businesspeople, and union members, took an interest in providing radio programming for the region, and began a preliminary approach to the station that would become CHUT-FM in 1973 (McNulty 1979, 207-208). The station eventually went on the air in June of 1975 after CRTC approval in the previous year. At this time, notably early in the licensing of Canadian community radio, it was required by the CRTC that the station utilize advertising revenue in order to support itself (McNulty 1979, 207). This stipulation would later contribute to the downfall of the Chicoutimi-based station, highlighting, again, the prominent tension between commercial advertising and the mandate of many local radio stations.

As the station continued to develop, it became increasingly confused as how best to serve and relate to its local community, becoming first and foremost a music station with a heavy emphasis on rock music (McNulty 1979, 209). The station had problems maintaining the “20% community programming” that it claimed it would provide, and it had difficulty keeping a full staff. Furthermore, “staff members were heard to criticize certain sponsors on the air and this, combined with the sponsor’s view of some programming as ill-organized and ill-prepared, led to a drop in sponsorship revenue” (McNulty 1979, 208, 210). Other problems and conflicts between the station’s board and staff members contributed to the station’s demise, but in August 1977, the station was informed that the MCQ would not be providing a grant for the following year and its license was soon surrendered to the CRTC (McNulty 1979, 211). While the community

media developments in Jonquière were much more successful, the Chicoutimi example highlights some of the problems faced by local media developers in the early 1970s, namely the tension between funding, advertising, and community-based programming.

These examples of community media developments in Québec are worth highlighting because they illustrate how a particular cultural and political climate sparked alternative forms of media. As well, they point to experiments and operations that brought together universities and their respective communities. Furthermore, at the same time (and even years prior in some cases) other instances of licensed and non-licensed community media were developing. Urban areas across the nation began to initiate community radio programs in the mid to late 1970s, and while the government was involved in much of these developments, “a truly national system of community access radio stations developed only gradually *into* (not *from*) a clear, well-defined policy of providing a public access alternative to the CBC and commercial media” (Fairchild 2001, 147). The developments in community media were largely due to the initiatives carried out by individuals, groups, and other organizations, and from this came the aforementioned Office of Community Radio. The government-run office “was not a programming unit, but a research and technical development unit geared towards providing information to those interested in applying” knowledge and skill toward the development of community radio (Fairchild 2001, 137). The Office of Community Radio also became “a central source of guidance for the development of the CRTC’s widely respected and imitated regulatory policy on community radio” (Fairchild 2001, 137). By the mid-1970s government policy had begun to appreciate and adapt the initiatives made by those who practiced community radio.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, educational radio stations like CKUA in Alberta continued to face developmental decisions while community and student radio stations were established elsewhere. In 1970 the Federal government decided that broadcasting licenses could not be granted to provincial governments or educational institutions, and this affected CKUA as well as stations at Queen's, Ryerson, and the University of Saskatchewan. There was apprehension around granting licenses to these entities on part of the federal government because of the political climate in both Québec and Alberta; separatism in the former, and the Social Credit party in the latter. CKUA was part of this debate, voicing the desire for provinces to have more control over broadcasting. Educational stations were an intriguing case because "while education was a provincial responsibility, Ottawa insisted broadcasting was a federal affair" (Walters 2002, 172). Shortly after the 1970 decision cited above, the federal government issued an Order in Council that made amendments allowing a license to be granted to an "independent corporation" that is not directly controlled by the provincial government, and whose programming can be defined as "educational" (Walters 2002, 180). This allowed for CKUA to remain in business, although its license would become property of AECC, the Alberta Educational Communications Corporation, which later became known as ACCESS. In years to come it became increasingly difficult for CKUA to justify its programming as "educational," although a strong case was made that the mere task of "taking music seriously" was indeed representative of this mandate. The station argued that its listeners displayed an "understanding" about music, not just a simple "liking" (Walters 2002, 190). However, by the late 1980s, a case could no longer be made that CKUA served an "educational purpose" and years of fighting to keep the station alive

would lead it to taking on various forms under different owners and ownership models until the station became a not-for-profit private broadcaster under the CKUA Radio Foundation.

In January of 1975, the CRTC published a report titled *FM Radio in Canada: A Policy to Ensure a Varied and Comprehensive Radio Service*. The report focused on the FM radio band and how it could be best utilized to diversify Canada's broadcasting system in a way that would be more in sync with the Broadcasting Act of the time. FM broadcasting was the focus of this report because, as the Commission stated, "since the opening of the FM band in the 1930s there has been a widespread expectation that FM would provide an alternate radio service of higher quality" (CRTC 1975c, 11). In the mid-1970s, the AM spectrum had become "increasingly congested and prone to interference," and with the superior sound transmission characteristics of the FM band, it was considered well-suited to developing new approaches to radio – "both by large metropolitan licenses and by broadcasters who want to exploit its potential for economical coverage of smaller areas" (CRTC 1975c, 11). The report highlighted a "fundamental problem" that remained the same, "how does each kind of broadcasting suitably and distinctively contribute to the fulfillment of the Broadcasting Act's objective of providing diverse programming using predominately Canadian resources?" (CRTC 1975c, 1). A number of applications for new FM stations had been denied in recent years, the report announced, because the applications did not outline the ways in which they would provide new or different programming opportunities to surrounding communities. However, at the same time that these commercial FM licenses were refused, and no new stations of this type were licensed until the development of a new FM policy, the

Commission had approved a number of non-commercial “community FM” stations – including one for Kitchener in 1973, Vancouver, Montreal, and Chicoutimi in 1974, and a “student FM” station in Québec City in 1972, some of these mentioned above (CRTC 1975c, 2).

The Commission claimed that these issues were in focus at the time because many people expressed dissatisfaction with what was available on private radio, and complaints had been generated about loud and strident radio, trivial and uninteresting content that was limited in scope, and radio personalities who were not involved in program development. Thus, it was argued that FM radio should be working toward offering content that lends itself to the “discovery and appreciation of a greater spectrum of music and the spoken word” (CRTC 1975c, 4, 6). The report stressed the importance of diversity and its ties to Canadian cultural heritage. It stated that diversity “is a critical factor in determining the richness of a society’s culture. In radio, the size of a record library and the usage patterns of recordings within a variety of formats are among the more important aspects of the cultural functioning of that medium” (CRTC 1975c, 6).

The report also connected diversity to the notion of “community.” It mentioned that new applicants for FM licenses would need to specify the hours during the week that they would make space for locally-produced programming, as well as the time made available for programming provided by community groups. The report did not explicitly state what the Commission claimed a “community group” to be, but it offered its definition of “community.” The report defined a community as “the entire complex constituency covered by a broadcast transmitter. It is more than a statistic for rating purposes. A community provides an almost limitless resource for program material that

can be developed into various participatory formats” (CRTC 1975c, 28). Despite the fact that the Commission considered community and student radio to be experimental at this time, it is of significance that the FM band was discussed in terms that are in line with the structure, operations, and programming of campus or community radio. Terms like “community,” “participatory,” and “diversity” were clearly significant in regards to how the Commission envisioned radio broadcasting developing in the mid-1970s, following the numerous developments and experiments in community-based media. Soon after the publishing of this report on FM radio, the CRTC would take further steps toward legitimizing campus radio in its policy and regulatory framework.

On June 27, 1975, the CRTC licensed two Canadian “student” radio stations as Special FM licenses. The decision followed the CRTC’s licensing of community stations CKWR-FM in Kitchener-Waterloo, CFRO-FM in Vancouver, and CINQ-FM in Montreal. In “remote” areas, the CRTC had licensed community stations such as CKQN-FM at Baker Lake, in what is now Nunavut, and CFTL-FM at Big Trout Lake, in Northern Ontario. CHUT-FM Chicoutimi had also been licensed, as well as CKRL-FM Québec – “a student station with some community involvement” (CRTC 1975b, 3-4). These prior decisions represent significant developments in community radio in urban and rural areas, whereas the June 1975 decision pertained specifically to development of radio at Canadian universities and colleges, referred to as “student radio” at this time.

The June 1975 decision outlined the sort of service that these stations were to provide. The first station included in the decision was a campus station based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, applied for by Jim Rogers on behalf of the Radio Operations Committee, “a non-profit corporation without share capital” (CRTC 1975b, 7). The

second application was put forth by the Carleton University Student's Association for a station in Ottawa, Ontario. Both applications were for English-language FM broadcast licenses. The CRTC decision explained that "many of the different sectors of social life cannot find a place on the national service or the private commercial outlets." It is for this reason that the Commission has developed "new models for different voices" (CRTC 1975b, 3). The decision also defined student radio stations as "broadcasting undertakings whose structure provides for membership, direction, management, operation and programming primarily by students as members of a post-secondary academic community" (CRTC 1975b, 2). It is apparent that at the time of this decision, the licensing of student radio was a new endeavor, as the CRTC was careful to include such working definitions and stipulations in its decision. These stipulations contribute to the distinctiveness or "alternativeness" of campus radio, as they outlined a mandate that was decidedly different from the role of public or commercial broadcasting.

The intended role of campus radio stations within their respective communities was also outlined in the 1975 decision. The decision noted that "an intervention to the Ottawa application asked if the Commission would be prepared to license two or more student FM stations in the same locality," to which it responded, "the public interest at this time will be best served if only one such channel is used for student broadcasting" (CRTC 1975b, 2-3). In cases where both the English and French languages were present, the CRTC refined its previous statement, and explained that where "there are both English-speaking and French-speaking post-secondary educational institutions and a sufficient number of frequencies is available in a locality, the Commission may issue two licences, one in each language, in that locality" (CRTC 1975b, 3). This section of the

decision is particularly significant because it emphasizes the ways that the government defined the particular service each station was to provide at the time, based on certain characteristics specific to a locality. It reflected the FM radio policy discussed above, in that particular care was given to ensure that different stations in a radio market were distinct from one another. Ideas about the role of FM radio broadcasting at the time went hand-in-hand with the legitimization and expanded operations of campus radio broadcasting.

Further stipulations of the 1975 decision included the need for stations to acknowledge community issues in their programming, and a requirement that allowed community groups outside of the campus to have a voice on the station (CRTC 1975b, 6). Non-campus communities were integrated into the CRTC's policy on campus radio advertising. The decision stated that "the Commission is of the opinion that truly *alternative* forms of programming can best be achieved and maintained through financing other than from the sale of air time" (CRTC 1975b, 4, emphasis added). Despite this opinion, the decision recognized the difficulty in generating funding for alternative broadcasting, and because of this, it allowed for promotional announcements limited to four minutes and six times per clock hour. Promotional announcements were to be regulated in the same way as was outlined for CINQ-FM in Montreal, allowing for the inclusion of the sponsor's name, business address, business hours, and a brief description of the product or service, but without mentioning or referencing brand names. Preferred sponsors included members of the local community and promotions could "not refer to price, quality, convenience, durability, or desirability, or contain other comparative or competitive references" (CRTC 1975b, 5). The CRTC decision of June 27, 1975 was a

significant step in the development of what has now become campus and community-based campus radio because it signified the CRTC's official recognition of student radio broadcasting, and it displayed a desire to formulate a coherent set of stipulations and requirements – a policy that would subsequently regulate community and campus-community radio stations in the following years.

The licensing of the student radio station at Carleton represented the CRTC's move toward creating space on the spectrum for university radio stations, which was essential for the development of the sector. McNulty's report distinguished the earlier educational stations from the student radio stations that were being licensed as of the mid-1970s. The licensing of educational stations in certain provinces had been "permitted under special conditions because of the jurisdiction over education by the provinces; such stations operate very much within their own guidelines and have little relationship to the licensees in the rest of the system or to their numerous programming goals" (McNulty 1979, 36). Educational stations like those at Ryerson, University of Saskatchewan, and Queen's "are those that provide an educational radio service intended to provide access to fine arts and classical music programming" (McNulty 1979, 115). Campus radio stations, McNulty noted, "are not really the same as the community radio stations although they do carry some of the same kind of programming content. The campus radio stations are sometimes referred to as university radio stations or as student radio stations" (McNulty 1979, 115). At this time, stations like CKCU at Carleton University, CKMS at the University of Waterloo, CJUM at the University of Manitoba, and CKRL at Laval University were described as student or campus radio stations. These stations were "run by students or ex-students on behalf of the student society or by an incorporated

organization partially funded by the student society” (McNulty 1979, 116). These student stations differed from the licenses that had been granted to university and college student organizations for carrier current radio stations that provided a limited signal to campus buildings. The student radio stations that were licensed by the CRTC in the mid to late 1970s served four purposes, according to the CRTC. The first was to communicate with students beyond the reach of carrier current or closed-circuit stations in operation by the academic institution. The second was to reach students not belonging to the college or university that was broadcasting. The third was to communicate the “concerns, interests and activities” of the campus to the public, and the fourth was to provide the “general public” with “innovative” and “alternative” programming that makes use of the university or college’s resources (McNulty 1979, 194). McNulty summarized the report by arguing that local programming is best understood in relation to the local society where it has developed, not just in relation to the system itself. Reflecting on the stations discussed throughout the report, three main advantages of local programming were pointed out, which included the involvement of individuals other than professionals, the dissemination of local information from alternative sources, and the opportunities for musicians and artists to reach a local audience (McNulty 1979, 237). These first moments of recognition by the government in terms of licensing student stations represent the coming together of an emphasis on local music, that was not in line with the mass programming approach of many commercial stations, as well as community-oriented content and participation that was unlike the professionalism required for “professional” (whether public or private) stations.

The CRTC's recognition of campus radio through policy-making was the result of movements initiated by numerous individuals and organizations, including aboriginal groups, local media activists, and students. Policy would continue to specify and set the terms, fundamentally, for how and why community and campus radio would operate. In 1985, the National Campus and Community Radio Association (NCRA) was formed by member stations in order to "provide a support and information sharing network," responding to the growth of the sector (Monk 1997, 3). Also in 1985, the CRTC issued a public notice reviewing community radio. This review is significant because it offered some defining characteristics of community radio, as determined by the Commission. The notice claimed that community radio was to "provide broadly-based programming and a forum for community expression" (CRTC 1985c). The definition set out in the document expanded on the requirement of stations to have community ownership and participation in programming decisions. It also made "reference to specific programming criteria designed to ensure that the programming is authentically community-oriented, that community participation exists at all levels, and that the programming is different from that of other stations within a given market" (CRTC 1985c). The CRTC summarized the essence of this report and defined a community station as:

characterized by its ownership, programming and the market it is called to serve. It is owned and controlled by a non-profit organization whose structure provides for membership, management, operation, and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Its programming should be based on community access and should reflect the interests and special needs of the listeners it is licensed to serve. (CRTC 1985c)

Community stations were grouped together with institutional (which included student) stations and educational radio under the license category of "Special FM." The

Commission explained that all subsequent Special FM licenses would need to meet the criteria set out in this public notice. Therefore, student stations must have a “community” aspect to their operations, as stipulated by policy. Another requirement of this policy was that stations “should continue to give emphasis, commensurate with their resources, to the broadcast of live shows and concerts by local artists and musicians, and to other forms of local and regional artistic expression” (CRTC 1985c).

Following this review of community radio, a public notice published in 1987 addressed educational and institutional radio. The notice stated that institutional stations were defined as any station “other than an educational station, which is owned or controlled by a non-profit organization associated with an institution of post-secondary education. This included ‘student FM stations’” (CRTC 1987). However, the Commission decided that the twenty-one student FM stations licensed at the time would not be included in this review because of their “special and reasonably well-defined mandate that is different from Educational and other Institutional stations” (CRTC 1987). The Special FM license class was outlined in this document, defined as licenses other than CBC FM licenses in which the number, duration, and type of commercial messages broadcast were restricted by a condition of license. The document distinguished between educational, institutional, and community stations, but highlighted problems with their “definitional scheme.” The first was that student FM stations were grouped under “institutional” although they already had a policy for which to operate, while other types of institutional stations did not. This “lack of precision” resulted in individuals making submissions confusing educational stations (those operated by provincial independent corporations) with institutional stations. Because of this, the Commission altered their

definitions so that the distinction between stations was clearer. The first changed “educational” to “provincial educational” for improved clarity. The second distinguished between stations associated with an institution of post-secondary education and “student” radio stations. Institutional stations were then defined as a station “other than a provincial educational station or student station, which is owned or controlled by a non-profit organization associated with an institution of post-secondary education,” and a student station became “a station which is owned or controlled by a non-profit organization and has a structure providing for membership, direction, management, operation and programming primarily by students of the institution of post-secondary education with which it is associated” (CRTC 1987). According to these two public notices, the CRTC viewed student radio stations as having a similar mandate to Canadian community stations, while at the same time they were becoming their own entity with increasing distinctiveness.

The CRTC formulated an extensive policy specifically for campus radio in 2000. This policy had its background in, and evolved out of, prior policy documents published throughout the 1990s. The policy concluded a review that was announced in Public Notice CRTC 1997-105, and it replaced Public Notice CRTC 1992-38, Policies for Community and Campus Radio, which had been in effect as the campus radio policy since 1992. It is important to note that both community and campus stations were grouped together within the goals of the 1992 community and campus radio policy. The Commission stated that “there are many similarities between the two,” and a major goal in the development of this policy, “which will apply to community and campus stations operating on both the AM and FM bands, has been to ensure that community and campus

stations have the necessary flexibility to respond to the needs of listeners in their communities while ensuring...a programming alternative” (CRTC 1992a). Both community and campus radio stations, however, were defined separately within this document and their respective roles were thoroughly outlined. This contrasting tendency to group together or to separate community and campus radio was said to “reflect the different environments in which Canadian campus and community stations operate: one essentially reflects the situation in Québec, where community radio is well developed, and the other represents...elsewhere in Canada,” where community radio was less prevalent (CRTC 1992a). Campus radio was defined following that of community radio, with the sub-definitions of “campus station,” “campus/community,” and “instructional.” At the time of this policy, a “campus station” was considered to be a station “owned or controlled by a not-for-profit organization associated with a post-secondary educational institution.” The two types of campus stations were defined separately in this document. A “campus/community station” had programming “produced by volunteers who are either students or members of the community at large,” while an “instructional” station had “the training of professional broadcasters as its primary objective” (CRTC 1992a).

The next significant policy document that followed the 1992 policy is Public Notice CRTC 1997-105, *An Agenda for Reviewing the Commission’s Policies for Radio*. Its relevance is evident in the introductory paragraphs of Campus Radio Policy, where it was noted that the 2000 policy was initiated by the Commission’s “plans to review all of its policies for radio in light of the evolving communications environment,” initiated by the 1997 notice (CRTC 2000a). The Commission stated that a “consultative process” involving campus broadcasters (as well as commercial radio, other types of not-for-profit

radio, and the CBC) would be initiated. This consultative process was finished in the fall of 1998. Following the agenda is the Commission's proposed policy for campus radio, found in Public Notice CRTC 1999-30, Call for Comments on a Proposed New Policy for Campus Radio, which generated comments, opinions, and ideas that contributed to the policy outlined in Public Notice 2000-12. Public Notice 1999-30 provided an overview of the various perspectives and opinions generated by interested parties who participated in the consultative process of which the Campus Radio Policy from 2000 would follow.

The Commission received a total of forty-three comments regarding the proposed policies for campus radio, generated after February 18, 1999. These comments were put forth by groups such as the NCRA, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada (SOCAN), and various other interested parties and individuals. Campus Radio Policy stated that most comments were "generally supportive" of the proposed policies, and that "several parties addressed the Commission's proposed policies regarding the structure of the boards of directors of campus stations, and the Canadian content requirements for music in genres where the availability of Canadian selections is low" (CRTC 1999). It was also stated in the 2000 policy that the Commission's primary goal of the revised regulation was "to ensure diversity within the broadcasting system, while providing greater flexibility to the campus radio sector through the introduction of streamlined regulatory and administrative requirements" (CRTC 2000a).

The proposed policy revisions that altered the licensing and structure of campus radio stations were numerous, many of which dealt with the general programming structure of all campus stations. For instance, the revised policy stated that at least

twenty-five percent of weekly broadcast programming must be spoken-word programming. Also, for English-language community-based campus stations, no more than ten percent of weekly musical selections should be hits (no more than thirty percent for instructional stations). For French-language stations, however, “in the absence of effective tools to define French-language hits, the Commission will not place a limit on the number of hits such stations may broadcast in each broadcast week” (CRTC 2000a). The revised regulations and proposed amendments also mentioned “the means to ensure that the programming of campus stations offers an alternative to that provided by other types of stations;” “Canadian music and local talent development;” “the structure of the boards of directors of campus stations;” and finally, “policies respecting advertising aired on campus stations” (CRTC 2000a). Furthermore, the revised policy provided “more flexibility to campus radio stations by streamlining the various regulatory and administrative requirements to which they are subject” (CRTC 2000a). Such stipulations, such as the restriction on the amount of “hits” that an English-language station can program, are strong examples of the way in which “alternativeness” can be reaffirmed by policy, although much of this operating ethos was present throughout the sector before official licensing. The Commission is wary of how radio spectrum is allocated, ensuring that licensed campus stations do not compete with commercial radio stations. Commercial musical “hits” cannot be prominently programmed, but rather, “alternatives” are required. Otherwise, much of the regulations can be read as vague and open, suggesting the Commission encourages the sector to determine its own diversity, within reason.

Throughout Campus Radio Policy the relationship between campus radio stations and “alternative” programming was made apparent, and was further reflected in policy revisions that dealt with Canadian content regulations and programming directed at “culturally-diverse” listeners. For example, paragraph 14 of the document stated that the Commission believed a “healthy and vibrant not-for-profit sector is essential to fulfill the goals of the Act,” and that “Campus stations play a unique and valuable role in the communities they serve” (CRTC 2000a). Paragraph 15 mentioned the cultural diversity that was evident in many Canadian communities, claiming that “campus stations serving those centres [are] in a position to make a strong contribution to the reflection of that cultural diversity, especially by providing exposure to new and developing artists from minority cultural groups” (CRTC 2000a). This acknowledgment of cultural diversity continues in paragraph 17, where the Commission stated that campus stations in areas without an already existing ethnic station were allowed to provide up to forty percent third-language programming without the Commission’s approval. For all campus and community license applications, the Commission examined “closely the applicant’s plans to provide programming that would increase diversity in the market...” (CRTC 2000a). Emphasizing “diversity in the market” is a recurring aspect of campus radio policy that is central to the Commission’s idea of how the “alternativeness” of campus broadcasting should function.

Canadian content is mentioned in paragraphs 33 to 48 of the policy, including the Commission’s proposed “amendments to the regulations that would increase, from 30% to 35%, the minimum level of Canadian content for category 2 musical selections that campus stations are required to broadcast over the broadcast week” (CRTC 2000a). For

category 3 music, the Commission also proposed “amendments to the regulations increasing the minimum level of Canadian content for category 3 musical selections from 10% to 12% over the broadcast week” (CRTC 2000a). Category 2 is “Popular Music,” which includes pop, rock and dance; country and country-oriented; acoustic; and, easy listening. Category 3 is “Special Interest Music,” and includes: concert; folk and folk-oriented; World beat and international; jazz and blues; and, non-classic religious. These categories allow the Commission to group genres based on notions of popularity and listenership, whereby more popular genres are separated from less popular genres. By asking campus stations to program a greater number of non-Canadian category 3 musical selections, competition with commercial stations becomes less of an issue, as the genres listed under this category are hardly represented on commercial radio. As well, a higher Canadian content quota for category 2 music ensures that any “Popular Music” genres are largely Canadian.

The comments generated during the consultative process provide an interesting perspective on how the revised policy affects different groups. In an e-mail addressing Public Notice CRTC 1999-30, the NCRA expressed support for an increase in Canadian content, category 2, to thirty-five percent but the organization did not support the proposed increase in category 3 music because “many small stations have real difficulty getting enough servicing in this area to fulfill even the current requirements” (Cote 1999, 1-2). SOCAN also supported the proposal to increase minimum levels of Canadian content in category 2 from thirty to thirty-five percent and, unlike the NCRA, also supported an increase in category 3 from ten to twelve percent. SOCAN, in contrast to the NCRA, said that they do not agree with the fact that ““Campus stations *appear* to

have difficulty finding Canadian material in certain genres,” and argued that, “further empirical study of this issue is required” (Rock 1999, 2, emphasis original). The Canadian Association of Broadcasters also supported the increase in Canadian content for both category 2 and category 3 musical selections (CAB Radio Board 1999, 3). Canadian content is evidently an area in which most parties are in favour of maintaining and increasing for campus radio, namely because many of these organizations and individuals represent the interests of Canadian artists, not that of campus stations. However, a primary concern of the CAB is ensuring that campus stations do not compete with commercial stations, and the NCRA represents the interests of the stations themselves, first and foremost. Such quotas help make certain that campus radio remains devoted to local music, and they keep stations from competing with commercial radio by restricting their ability to program widely popular hits (typically from the United States). This, of course, means that Canadian groups and artists constitute a larger and critical component of campus and community radio programming, which bodes well for Canadian artists, but also for the groups and organizations that represent the interests of Canadian groups and artists, like SOCAN. Campus station programmers must then ensure that program logs are filed and are meeting these requirements. These tasks may seem marginal, but for a radio station with limited resources they can be a considerable amount of work.

The structure of campus radio boards of directors are also addressed in the proposed policy amendments. The former policy “generally expected that a majority of the board of directors of a campus station would come from the student body, faculty, administration and other groups closely associated with the educational institution” (CRTC 2000a). The revised policy, however, promoted a balanced representation from

the student body, members from the associated college or university, station volunteers, and from the community-at-large. Campus stations, therefore, recognize the role and significance of community members in their overall maintenance and operations.

Furthermore, the revised policy encouraged members of the board to hold positions with terms of more than one year. The Commission noted in paragraph 57 that “each licensee will be asked at the time of renewal whether the structure of its board complies with this policy,” and also stated that “licensees that are not in compliance with the policy will be asked to provide detailed plans regarding how they intend to bring the composition of their boards of directors into conformity with the policy” (CRTC 2000a).

The National Campus and Community Radio Association (NCRA) expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed restructuring of boards of directors. The NCRA argued that board structure policy should only allow “organizations whose specific mandate is to hold and operate a licence” to sit on a board of directors, and they stated that, “radio societies should be autonomous; no outside organization (such as a student union or university administration) should hold a controlling interest in the radio society through appointed board members” (Cote 1999, 5). The Canadian Association of Broadcasters was more supportive of the Commission’s proposals, noting that they agreed “with representatives of the campus radio community on the importance of having balanced representation on station boards” (CAB Radio Board 1999, 4). The NCRA’s concerns did not alter the Commission’s proposed amendments to restructure the board of directors for campus radio stations, but they highlighted a notable tension in campus broadcasting policy. On one hand, organizations such as a student union can be helpful in providing

necessary resources to the station, but as NCRA argued, this also risks reducing the station's autonomy.

Other significant revisions in Public Notice 2000-12 concerned advertising, local talent development, and the Commission's streamlined regulatory approach. Paragraph 58 pertains to the removal of all stipulations regarding "restricted" advertising, and stated that campus stations would "henceforth be permitted, in each broadcast week, to broadcast 504 minutes of advertising of all types under category 5, with a maximum of 4 minutes of advertising in any hour" (CRTC 2000a). The Commission's reasoning for this revision was that it felt it would help campus stations increase funding and revenue. Additionally the Commission made note of Canadian local talent initiatives, and stated that they "are expected, and should be described in licence applications" (CRTC 2000a). Lastly, paragraphs 71 to 75 of the notice outlined the Commission's streamlined regulatory approach, introduced in paragraph 71. This streamlined regulatory approach involved the removal of the need for applicants to complete a Promise of Performance, but asked applicants to submit a proposed program schedule. Such components of this regulatory approach contributed to the primary goal of this revised campus radio policy, which was to create "simple, effective and easily-measured requirements" in order "to ensure diversity within the broadcasting system, while providing greater flexibility to the campus radio sector" (CRTC 2000a). Apparently, the Commission wanted to facilitate the ease of the license renewal process for campus stations, suggesting a less-formal process that allows campus stations to retain a different, certainly less-professional, structure than that of public or commercial radio. By becoming less restrictive in areas like advertising and renewal, and maintaining emphasis on local talent development, the

Commission was strategically allowing for the campus sector to uphold the essence of the Broadcasting Act as well as ideas about diversity on the FM radio band. This brief summary of Campus Radio Policy does certainly not include mention of each and every policy revision and proposed amendment included in Public Notice 2000-12, but it does include the policy revisions and proposals that are reflected in subsequent licenses and license renewals of campus radio stations. These specific revisions and proposals are also those that have the most influence in the areas that contribute to the way a campus station might be perceived by the listener, including the type of programming a station must broadcast. Competing perspectives during the consultative process also highlight the fact that notions of autonomy and professionalism are certainly relative. For instance, certain initiatives attempt to streamline the regulatory process, while other stipulations, such as Canadian content quotas, require attention to detail and administrative work.

In 2010, the policy that shapes and structures Canadian campus and community radio stations was reviewed and revised by the CRTC. Central issues within this review process included spectrum scarcity, funding difficulties/strategies, new media and technology, and the definition of the social, cultural, and musical role(s) that campus and community radio broadcasters play within Canada's media environment. During the review, both commercial and campus stations staked claims for the limited FM band radio spectrum – evidently now very much the standard for radio broadcasting. While some parties cited the internet as an important supplement to FM broadcasting, most advocates of community and campus radio argued that it does not serve as an adequate replacement. As former Vice-Chair of Broadcasting for the CRTC, Michel Arpin noted, there “continues to be a strong demand for new FM radio licences, even though the FM

dial in many markets has become overcrowded” (Arpin 2010). Inherent within these debates and discourses are ideas about the current roles of the three broadcasting sectors in Canada, within the contemporary media environment.

A number of revisions were implemented in the 2010 policy, including the bringing together (again) of both community and campus radio under a single policy, revised definitions for both the campus and community sectors, programming requirements, a new funding approach based on Canadian content development (CCD) contributions from commercial stations, and the easing of limits on advertising. The Commission determined that “it is appropriate to regulate campus and community radio by way of a single policy that provides for differences in the two types of stations where appropriate” (CRTC 2010). Those representing the campus and community sector explained that they prefer to not be defined in terms of their programming or in comparison to other sectors, or as an “alternative” to other stations in a given market. Instead, “they highlighted the importance of programming being a product of the organizational structure of the stations, emphasizing openness to community members, training, a volunteer component and the not-for-profit nature of the stations” (CRTC 2010). The policy stated that both campus and community stations make maximum use of Canadian-produced programming and local news and information; that they broadcast local cultural and artistic expression; promote emerging Canadian talent; and broadcast local and regional content pertaining to social, economic, and community issues. Campus stations were distinguished from community stations by local programming that is produced by student volunteers as well as by those from the broader community; a board of directors that includes campus representatives, including representation from the

administration, station volunteers, and the community at large; and, access to funding through student levies.

The 2010 policy abolished instructional campus stations, noting that there were only a few undertakings licensed as such, and a new instructional station had not been licensed since 2007. According to the Commission, the training provided by these stations could easily be done through unlicensed closed-circuit, carrier current, or Internet-based stations, and thus decided to no longer license instructional stations. The submission from the University of Ottawa's CHUO had also suggested removing instructional stations from the FM dial, due to the fact that spectrum scarcity "is becoming a major problem in the campus and community sector" (Kepman 2010).

Spectrum scarcity was also raised by the joint submission from the NCRA/ANREC, ARC du Canada, and ARC du Québec. Their submission recommended that frequency protection be provided to low-power community stations, and that commercial applications that may disrupt a low-power community station provide financial and technical assistance to that low-power station. Moreover, they suggested that FM frequencies be reserved in markets that are not served adequately by community or campus stations so that new stations could be licensed in these areas (Matthews, et al. 2010). On these matters, the Commission responded that reserving frequencies falls outside of its jurisdiction and that the Governor-in-Council is the only person able to reserve frequencies. However, to help low-power campus and community stations ensure they are given notice of potential technical interference by new commercial stations, the Commission would require new license applicants to answer questions on their

application forms regarding whether and how notice was given to any low-power or community stations that might be affected (CRTC 2010).

Revised programming requirements under the 2010 policy included a minimum of fifteen percent spoken-word programming each broadcast week (down from the previous requirement of twenty-five percent), which should all be locally produced. The Commission also noted that it was of the “preliminary view that the Canadian content level for category 2 music should increase to a minimum level of at least 40% for all campus and community stations,” and it said it would issue a call for comments as to whether this would be appropriate (CRTC 2010). An increase in the Canadian content level for category 3 (Specialty) musical selections was also proposed, from twelve to fifteen percent. Some parties, including CKUW stated that the five percent weekly category 3 requirements should be removed, as this category “rarely meets the needs of the communities served, and others submitted that finding volunteers to provide and produce such programming is problematic” (CRTC 2010). Alternatively, *Association québécoise de l'industrie du disque, du spectacle et de la vidéo (ADISQ)*, a non-profit organization that supports the music industry in Québec, felt that campus and community radio should be offering Specialty music as it is important for ensuring diversity of music broadcasting. The Commission determined that campus and community stations regularly exceed this requirement, and the majority of the category is locally produced by volunteers. The Commission deemed it fair to assume communities have an interest in this content, and the five percent requirement remained.

Under the heading “Experimental music” the 2010 policy stated that the Commission had previously acknowledged (in Public Notice 2000-12) that turntablism

and radio art are forms of artistic expression that “could be” significant parts of the programming at some stations. At this time, however, there was not enough input to “properly define those forms of artistic expression for the purpose of Canadian content requirements” (CRTC 2010). Following a consultative process, the Commission defined “Experimental music” in the 2010 policy as:

The unconventional and non-traditional uses of instruments and sound equipment to create new sounds and an orchestration of these sounds. This includes audio-art, turntablism, *musique actuelle*, electro acoustic and sound ecology. While it may involve the use of previously recorded sounds to create new sounds and orchestrations, it does not include spinning or beat mixing where the alterations of previously recorded tracks are limited to mixes between two or more pieces or samples. (CRTC 2010)

In order to measure Canadian content for Experimental music, the Commission explained that the “artist” is considered Canadian if the turntablist or sound artist is Canadian. If the recording is the result of collaboration, the majority of collaborators (at least half) would need to be Canadian.

The 2010 policy stated that parties “from the campus and community radio sector all agreed that funding is the central concern for their stations” (CRTC 2010). Challenges run the gamut from low advertising revenue to copyright tariffs, and some post-secondary institutions have removed levies on student fees to support stations. The Commission fielded a number of proposals, and despite some apprehension around the commercial sector funding the campus and community sector, determined that “all commercial radio stations (including ethnic stations and spoken word stations) earning in excess of \$1.25 million shall contribute 15% of their basic annual CCD contribution to the CRFC. This amount shall be reallocated from contributions which would normally be made to

FACTOR or MUSICACTION,” two organizations that provide support to Canadian recording artists (CRTC 2010). This decision avoided increasing the overall CCD contributions that commercial stations are responsible for, but rather drew from two organizations that are financially stable. Additionally, the Commission removed the four minutes of advertising per hour restriction, allowing campus stations to concentrate advertising during certain hours or days, so long as they broadcast no more than 504 minutes of advertising per week.

The 2010 policy also noted that the NCRA submitted a request that the Commission consider developing a Code of Practice for the campus and community radio sector. The proposed Code would be developed through a collaborative process involving the Canadian public, and it would address practices for diversity, programming standards, and content guidelines, and its administration would include reporting mechanisms and promotional materials for member stations to inform them about the purpose of the Code. This proposed Code echoed the submission made by McGill University’s CKUT, wherein diversity was stressed as “a value held by our institution and the people that work within it. Respecting, encouraging and creating space for diverse people, ideas, music and languages should be fostered in all aspects of [campus/community] institutions” (Cornell 2010). However, the Commission determined that it did not have enough information to decide if a code for the campus and community sector is appropriate. The NCRA was directed to develop and submit the Code so that the Commission could issue a notice for public comment.

An intriguing section of the 2010 policy, titled “Dissenting Opinion of Commissioner Marc Patrone,” questioned some of the policy amendments, such as the

removal of the distinction between type A and B community stations (“A” being the primary community station in a market, “B” is secondary). Patrone claimed that the regulations are not strong enough to distinguish community from commercial radio, and he feared that the community sector could become too similar to the commercial sector. He argued that there should be a “minimum level of ‘emerging artist’ content on community radio stations,” and noted that the Commission does not have the capacity to “monitor the play of such content on community radio” (CRTC 2010). He also noted that there is uncertainty as to what “‘adequate’ means given the current absence of any official definition for what constitutes emerging artists at this time.” Patrone added that there are no strict “requirements that community radio stations play music originating from the general area or region in which the station operates” (CRTC 2010). These concerns are important to keep in mind. Forthcoming chapters illustrate how campus radio responds (either directly or indirectly) to these issues, particularly regarding how stations navigate this policy through their station mandates and programming. Is policy from the federal government as pertinent, binding and necessary as Patrone suggests, or is there a self-awareness or particular culture amongst and throughout the campus sector that is decidedly attuned to local and emerging music, regardless of the policy handed down?

The most recent policy to govern the campus radio sector has emphasized localism, both in terms of spoken-word programming – yes, there is a decrease in the overall percentage required, but locally produced content is stressed – and Canadian music development. Canadian content increases for music from both categories 2 and 3 were recommended, and new funding initiatives were rerouted from already existing

funds for Canadian talent development. Evidently, the Commission considers the campus sector to be a pivotal resource for new and emerging Canadian artists. The sector maintains an awareness of innovative musical styles and genres, as evidenced by the inclusion of sound art and turntablism in the new policy.

This historical overview has shown how Canadian campus radio broadcasting has been developed by trends, traditions, and broadcasting experiments over the past century. Early educational radio involved universities experimenting with broadcasting technology, working with their community and providing listeners with content that often strived to be of high quality, whether musical or otherwise. Many community radio stations in Canada worked toward increasing community involvement with the medium, and were tied to important social activist movements, particularly during in the 1960s, but also earlier, as is apparent in farm radio broadcasting for and by agricultural communities. Campus radio is the result of the blending of these traditions, as political movements gained prominence on campuses across the country. As students and community members who were well-versed in culture and politics became involved with on-campus broadcasting, the musical programming of campus stations began to reflect these interests. Contemporary campus radio broadcasting is now arguably the most vibrant and musically innovative community radio sector in the country, amalgamating the “high-quality” trends of educational radio, in terms of how stations treat their music-based programming, and the social activist mandate of community stations from Northern communities and from the urban stations that took root during counter-cultural political movements of the 1960s. The significant contribution of individuals and organizations made up of radio activists, students, and cultural producers were the driving force behind

recognition and legitimization of campus and community radio broadcasting in government policy. The following chapter continues to examine the relationship between campus radio stations and government policy, looking closely at the operations and structure of three Canadian campus radio stations, both before and after being licensed by the CRTC as FM broadcasters, in order to locate the areas where policy has been influential and challenged Canadian campus radio stations.

Chapter 4:**From Campus Borders to Communities: Campus Radio in Three Canadian****Localities**

Alongside the development of the Canadian campus radio sector is the formation of a policy to regulate the sector, which has dealt with a variety of issues over the past few decades, including the ways in which stations are defined, specific programming requirements, and issues of funding and sustainability. Cultural distinctiveness, taste cultures, and value judgements about music have been ongoing characteristics of campus radio broadcasting, as have the political and social issues that have inspired community media initiatives. The previous chapter outlines a general history of the sector, noting many of the significant policy decisions that have shaped its development. The purpose of this chapter is to specify the analysis by examining three Canadian campus radio stations that comprise the case studies for this dissertation. This chapter highlights the pre-FM operations of CHMA in Sackville, New Brunswick, CKUW in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and CiTR in Vancouver, British Columbia, and discusses the processes by which these stations acquired their FM broadcast licenses from the CRTC and began to broadcast beyond campus borders and into wider communities. Locally produced station mandates and program grids are juxtaposed with centralized CRTC policy in order to determine the levels of autonomy present at individual stations, as well as the ability for stations to structure their operations in a manner that responds to the communities and music scenes within their broadcast range.

The Canadian campus radio sector is large, and the nation's community radio sector is even bigger, extending far north and filling in numerous rural areas that are distant from any college or university campus. Therefore, I chose research sites from what could have been a wide variety of combinations. I decided that it would be best to visit a station from three cities or towns of varying sizes and populations: including a large metropolis, a medium-sized city, and a small town. This would thus allow me to draw conclusions on the significance of the city or town and its corresponding population. Is programming determined more so by federal policy or by the actual geographic locality and demographic in which the station is located? I wanted to ensure that my research was somewhat geographically representative of the country, despite the obvious difficulty in totally achieving this given the vast size of Canada. Nevertheless, I felt it necessary to visit both the East and the West Coast, and stop somewhere in the middle. I decided against visiting Ontario and Québec for two main reasons. The first was that I am the closest to both provinces, having spent most of my recent life living and studying in both, and secondly, because the majority of existing written work on community or campus radio in Canada is situated in Ontario or Québec (see Monk 1997; Nopper 2010; Fauteux 2008; Ogilvie 1983; Stiles and Lachance 1988; Wilkinson 1988; Light 2011; and Zimmerman 1991). And while it was very tempting to include Québec on the basis of the French language and cultural components alone, I believe that each province and its respective cities and towns are culturally and musically distinct in their own way so as to allow for an in-depth juxtaposition. Furthermore, because a number of related studies already focus on Québec, I decided to include them in the previous chapter, as important contributions towards a historical background for this study, instead

of choosing one of the province's campus stations for my close analysis. With these thoughts in mind, I set about creating a spreadsheet organized by regions (east, central, and west) where I entered the names and call numbers of Canada's campus stations, and colour-coded them by the size of the university population, the population of the city or town that they serve, and the dates in which they were first established (as a radio society or a broadcasting course, for instance) (see Appendix A).

Once this spreadsheet was completed, I was then able to visualize how I could best choose a range of stations given the criteria. I selected CHMA at Mount Allison University ("Mount A") in Sackville, New Brunswick, because of its very small population. The town has a population of about five and a half thousand people, of which just over two thousand are comprised of students at the university. The station is also on the East Coast, and in 2008, the city was designated the "cultural capital of Canada" by the Department of Canadian Heritage. Given the small population, the location on the East Coast, and the cultural acknowledgement from the Canadian government, CHMA certainly fits well within my criteria.

CKUW at the University of Winnipeg ("U of W") in Winnipeg, Manitoba, also fits nicely with my criteria. Winnipeg has a long and significant history of contributing to Canadian popular music and culture, yet it very rarely figures into discussions of Canadian culture or music, left to the wayside of more popularly featured sites like Montreal and Toronto. The city is geographically central within the country, and it is fairly isolated in terms of proximity to other large cities (the closest being Minneapolis, approximately an eight hour drive across the American border). As of the 2006 Canadian Census, Winnipeg is the seventh largest municipality in Canada with a population of

633,451. The University of Winnipeg, an inner-city school, has about ten thousand students (most of which are undergraduates). The university's moderate size and the city's central location make for an interesting research site, as does the fact that the campus is located right in the downtown core, which offers a welcome contrast to the other two stations I visited.

Lastly, CiTR at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver, British Columbia, was chosen as the station housed in a big university that serves a large metropolitan centre and surrounding area. Because Vancouver is on the West Coast it makes for a more intriguing "large city" site rather than Toronto or Montreal, cities that have been the focus of much discourse surrounding Canadian culture and music (thanks, in part to the recent success of bands like Arcade Fire, Broken Social Scene, Drake, the Weeknd, and Metric). The Greater Vancouver area is the third largest metropolitan area in Canada, according to the aforementioned census, with a population of over two million. And while the city-proper is slightly smaller than Winnipeg, the station serves a large portion of the Greater Vancouver area, making the population for this site considerably larger. Furthermore, UBC has an incredibly large student population of over fifty thousand (both Vancouver and Okanagan campuses combined, with most at Vancouver). The main Vancouver campus, where CiTR is located, is about ten kilometres away from the downtown core, on Point Grey, just west of the Kitsilano neighbourhood. UBC is a useful contrast to the other two stations, both because of its size, and because it is a large campus that is somewhat isolated from the downtown core.

Once these three stations were chosen, I began compiling information about their development and their approach to programming and service to their communities. This

information includes the policy documents and historical or archival notes that comprise the majority of this chapter, as well as the publications, weblogs, articles, and social media postings that comment on each station's place, or role, within their respective music scenes and cultural communities (the focus of the next chapter). Interviews were conducted with various individuals who currently work with each campus station in one form or another, ranging from station managers to local musicians or cultural producers. For each station, I first contacted the station manager, and she or he put me in touch with other individuals who were willing to participate. In total, thirteen individuals were interviewed, three at CHMA, and five at both CKUW and CiTR. The interviews were conducted throughout June and July of 2011. I visited Sackville in early June following the annual Canadian Communication Association conference in Fredericton, New Brunswick, and right before the National Campus and Community Radio Conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia. I planned a back-to-back visit to Winnipeg and Vancouver in early to mid-July, according to the availability of the station managers that I had contacted. My visit to Sackville was brief, from an early Friday to a mid-Sunday afternoon. Because the town is so small, and so few members from the radio station were around in the summer, this length of visit was sufficient. My time in Winnipeg was slightly longer, from a Monday morning until a Thursday evening. I arrived in Vancouver that Thursday night, and stayed until the following Thursday. Evidently, my time in each city or town corresponds to the size of the geographic locality, as well as its respective campus station, music scenes, and cultural communities. During my visit to CKUW, I was able to spend time going through the archives of the station's associated cultural publication, *Stylus*, and some of the developmental stories told in this chapter result from this publication.

Similarly, while visiting CiTR, I spent time searching the Alma Mater Society's archives of the Radio Society. These documents were comprehensive and plentiful, and as such, this chapter profiles CiTR more heavily than the other two stations. I also briefly searched the archived copies of *Discorder*, CiTR's sibling publication. The interviews resulting from these visits will figure much more prominently in the following chapter, but snippets will appear here and there throughout the brief developmental stories that soon follow.

The principal focus of this chapter is an examination of the ways in which government policy and station mandates discursively frame the operation, programming, and structure of campus stations. But these three stations were operating in various formats under the direction of, or from, different organizations or institutions before becoming licensed by the CRTC. Writing about these pre-licensing stories is somewhat difficult because documents of varying completeness and comprehensiveness are kept by each station or their host university. Interviews help to tell these stories, as do articles from cultural publications, and brief notes scattered throughout the internet. Suffice to say that the following accounts are in no way complete. The amount of information I have been able to locate for each station also varies. UBC, for instance, is diligent about keeping archival records pertaining to the Radio Society, and Winnipeg is home to a good number of individuals who have been with the station for a long time, and who were more than willing to chat about the station's early days. Whereas my visit to Sackville turned up slightly fewer resources, and the town is quiet in the summer because many of the students, radio staff, and volunteers are elsewhere. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of these three stations form a telling account of the developmental paths

that campus stations have followed prior to being granted a license by the CRTC, including the differences that are dependent on the particular histories and resources available at each university. Furthermore, I am interested in the stories that emerge from the process of searching for documents and information, the observations made when visiting these sites, and the information shared with me by the people I interviewed. In what follows, I discuss each station's early days in the chronological order of my site visits. These accounts do backtrack a little, given that the previous chapter has already introduced the policies that have shaped the sector over the years. The policies specific to these three stations, however, serve to compliment the previous chapter and offer a more holistic account of the development of Canadian campus radio.

Pre-FM Radio Broadcasting at Three Canadian Universities

CHMA-FM is located in the Wallace McCain Student Centre on York Street, one of the larger buildings on the relatively contained and modestly sized Mount Allison campus in Sackville, New Brunswick. The station space is large, clean, and impressive. The windows in the front offices (where the program director and station manager work) enable one to see through the offices and into other areas of the station space. Upon my arrival, station manager Pierre Malloy directed my attention to a large programming board made up of different coloured Bristol board. Pierre explained that many of the in-house programs have been temporarily replaced with syndicated or pre-programmed shows because so many volunteers have left town for the summer. The main room in the station is also large and inviting. A foosball table and video games, including Rock Band,

suggest that this is a comfortable space for volunteers and staff to spend their time. Chairs and couches are dispersed throughout. Toward the back of the station are the broadcast booth, production studio, and music library, a well-sized room with CDs and vinyl albums stacked from floor to ceiling. Multiple boxes are piled up, because, as Malloy said, a shelf that was supposed to have been built has not been completed.

Before CHMA began broadcasting from the student centre, it followed a developmental path that involved pirate radio broadcasting from a student dorm room in the 1960s. Malloy became involved with CHMA in spring of 1995, after moving to Sackville the previous year. Prior to this, he worked at CHSR in Fredericton, New Brunswick in the early 1980s, and he had a radio show in the North West Territories during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Malloy provided some insight into the stations operations in the 1960s. During the 1960s, said Malloy, “Mount A had one of the premier Engineering programs in the country” (Pierre Malloy, personal interview, June 6, 2011). A lot of “bright young guys” were at the university studying engineering, “mostly guys, because it was the 60s,” after all. These students had access to all kinds of brand new equipment provided by the university, so they built their own station and played music that fell within their tastes. According to Malloy, “their idea of the station was basically electronics and music,” and he was careful to stress that the station is much more than this now.

In a CRTC decision dated April 10, 1975 (CRTC Decision 75-102), Attic Broadcasting Co. Ltd. was granted a license for “an English language AM (carrier current) radio station at Sackville, N.B. on the frequency 670 kHz with a power of 20 watts day-time and night-time” (CRTC 1975a). The decision referenced a public

announcement from May 1972, of which the Commission stated “that it expects student carrier current radio stations ‘...to reflect the interests and activities of the total university or college community in which they operate; to schedule a consistently high proportion of Canadian material; and, above all, to promote innovative programming which will explore and enlarge student interests’” (CRTC 1975a). As of the mid-1970s, campus radio broadcasting in Sackville was licensed and regulated by the CRTC, and it would move onto the FM dial in a decade’s time. A letter to the editor written by alumnus Lorey Miller in Mount Allison publication *The Argosy* recalled CHMA during the 1970s, when it would “spin” vinyl “in a tiny but adequate studio at the top floor of the Memorial Library building” (Miller 2011).

CKUW-FM in Winnipeg, Manitoba, is currently located in an annex above the fourth floor in Centennial Hall, atop a yellow staircase that projects from a large floor filled with tables and chairs. The station space is somewhat narrow, with rooms connected to the right of a narrow walkway. To the left are the program director and station manager’s cubicles, followed by a comfortable couch and table, and separated areas that store the station’s music collection. Concert and event posters decorate the walls, with the gaps in between covered by stickers. The station space feels lived-in and comfortable, and conveys a feeling not unlike being in a music venue or record store. The university campus runs alongside Portage Avenue, on the west side of the city’s downtown core. It is a fairly small campus that blends in with the city, although a few new buildings of impressive size and design appear to be nearing completion. I visited the campus during the summer, but it was lively and the streets outside were filled with students and residents of the city, made up of various classes and cultures. This is an

inner-city campus, and all the characteristics associated with a city are very evident in and around the campus grounds – a striking contrast to both Mount Allison and the University of British Columbia.

Before residing in Centennial Hall, CKUW began as CJUC in 1963, started by David Shilliday and Ron Riddell, a professor of physics. The call letters were changed to CKUW in 1968 to mark the founding of the University of Winnipeg. At this time it was a closed-circuit station operating out of the basement and broadcasting to various spaces in the building including the lounges in Lockhart Hall, the Buffeteria, and the Bulman Students Centre. In an interview in the October 1998 edition of *Stylus* magazine, station manager Rob Schmidt explained to Anna Gilfillan that at that time, speakers were set up in Lockhart cafeteria, and they had individual volume controls so that people could turn them down if the music was not appealing to listeners (Gilfillan 1998, 6). Long-time station volunteer and periodic staff member, Ted Turner, recalled getting involved with the station in 1990, during his second year as a student at the university. Turner said that he remembered always hearing about the station, this place he always knew about but which did not broadcast outside of the campus, but rather just through speakers in certain areas on-campus. He and a friend decided to check out the station after hearing so much about it. “And it was a big deal to go in there,” Turner reflected, “because you were very intimated because there were a bunch of cool people in there, right? And it was just like, the door was always closed, and there’s all this cigarette smoke coming out. So how do you, you’re only 19, 20 years old, so how do you walk in there and be like ‘Hi, I’d like to be one of you?’” (Ted Turner, personal interview, July 7, 2011). However, after attending his first meeting, Turner felt at ease. He found that the station was friendly, and right

away it was really exciting. Turner began hosting a radio show, and by the next year he was the station manager. Today, Turner is the station's outreach and sponsorship coordinator.

Throughout the 1990s, Turner recalled, the "idea of going FM was always what was there, it was always the goal that was put out there," and he stressed the similarities between the goal of getting the station on the FM dial to a "group of fisherman" who are working together to get a boat – both "triumphant" and "hilarious." Turner also mentioned that he recently became interested in what would have happened if the station did not begin broadcasting on the FM band. He attributed this interest to the simple fact that the station did indeed acquire an FM license, but his emphasis on a group of people or a certain energy that existed in the pre-FM days expressed the "feeling" that was there at the time. For Turner, and certainly for others involved with the station at the time, CKUW was "more of a hiding place, and this place where these amazing records would come from Chicago and other places." Records would "just show up," Turner said, "somehow [the station] had this magical mailbox where these really amazing underground records would show up and you could play them to a group of people of which maybe a handful were ever listening" (Turner 2011).

According to Turner, in order for the station to eventually receive its FM licence from the CRTC, a number of factors had to coalesce, including mobilization towards better organization and planning. Turner recalled that the station had to lose its connotation as a "boy's club," especially in the eyes of the university's student association and administration, where "this scary music came from where people were smoking and swearing and probably doing other things." The station was shut down a

few times throughout the 1990s due to issues like noise complaints. In 1992, Nicole Firlotte became the first woman to be hired as station manager. Turner explained that Firlotte acquiring the manager position was a critical point during the years leading up to CKUW's FM license. Another major development during the pre-FM years was CKUW's sibling publication, *Stylus*. Turner said that *Stylus* was the station's "transmitter before [going] FM. [*Stylus*] was the means by which the activity and culture of CKUW was disseminated across the city. And it was...really well put together. Great writing, great editing, great leadership." Turner was careful to state that Firlotte was "a lot more than just the first woman to manage the station," but that her role as manager certainly contributed to dismantling the image of the station as a boy's club, as well as actually dismantling the practices behind this "boy's club" image which did exist at the station beforehand. Firlotte "brought a whole different energy, and a sense of organization and professionalism" to the station at the time, said Turner (Turner 2011).

Turner informed me that in either 1994 or 1995 CKUW moved from its basement studio to its current location, while they were still operating as a closed-circuit station. A levy campaign was initiated in order to line up revenues and hire a full-time manager who could, according to Turner, "look at what it would really mean to go FM." Rob Schmidt was hired as manager, and still holds the position to this day, approaching fifteen years in the position at the time of my visit. Turner had applied for the manager position, hoping to get it after having been a station manager, program director, and operations manager before, and he was "crushed" when he did not get the position. But, within a short period of time, he recalled, it was clear to him that "it was for the best" because "Rob came in with this whole different skill set" that "no one else had in the city,"

including prior experience at an FM station. It was helpful for someone new and fresh to come in, said Turner, someone who did not have the “baggage” from different relationships, and all the pros and cons that came with being involved with the pre-FM station for a considerable amount of time. Turner explained that Rob had a real sense for the technical side, and “he just came into it with all sorts of energy and worked super hard.” Turner also mentioned the hiring of Steve Bates as the first full-time program director as another important contribution to the energy that was moving the station forward, towards the goal of acquiring an FM license. Turner referred to Bates as a talented, community-minded guy who “really, *really* got what the potential of this thing could be, because he had been around the culture of CKUW for so long” (Turner 2011).

The station “came out of the gate in ’99 with this incredible scale, this incredible quality and depth in programming, and diversity,” said Turner (Turner 2011). They were able to draw from the strengths of the already existing station and the people who were involved during the ten to fifteen years before becoming an FM broadcaster.

Rob Schmidt grew up in Northeastern Ontario, and moved to Winnipeg after living in Hamilton while attending McMaster University and working at McMaster campus station CFMU. He told me about the importance of moving past some of the stigma associated with campus or college radio during its formative years. “I think that in the ’60s and the ’70s,” Schmidt said, “it really was just students playing records between classes. University was so different back then (Rob Schmidt, personal interview, July 5, 2011). “And then, in the 70s and the 80s,” Schmidt added:

I think you had the tail end of the hippy movement and the radical movement and sort of, campus radio was a place where people could drink a bottle of wine and play some folk music. And it was sort of a counter-cultural thing, not that that has changed. It’s still counter-

cultural, largely, but just the organization behind it, you know? I think a lot of our stations really take our mandate *very* seriously now, and act in a more professional and more organized way than it was fifteen years ago. (Schmidt 2011)

Schmidt recalled that dealing with policy issues was fairly easy once the station went FM, because before that, the small-scale closed-circuit station had such a tight-knit group of people working together. A lot of the volunteers all knew each other, and it was easy to communicate and deal with issues together as a group. As the station developed in the wake of acquiring its FM license, Schmidt said that there were “more and more people that didn’t know each other, that don’t have a history, so you need a few more rules in place, you need clearer ways of dealing with things” (Schmidt 2011). And as the station added more individuals who did not all share the same values, it became necessary to establish internal policy to help negotiate such differences.

In the September 1994 issue of *Stylus* magazine (Volume 6, No. 1), editor Jill Wilson admitted that she was “more than a bit miffed when it was suggested to [her] that *Stylus* should work harder at promoting CKUW,” after all, she said, “CKUW is just a closed-circuit, dinky station that most people don’t even know exists” (1994, 2). However, she rejoined, a trip to the National Campus/Community Radio Conference changed her feelings about the “dinkiness” of the station. Wilson explained, “Those of us who attended the conference came back with a strong sense of purpose; to turn what had originally been dismissed as a pipe dream into reality. CKUW has the potential to bring campus radio to Winnipeg, and that has a level of importance that should be transcend any petty squabbles or ego trips” (1994, 2). Wilson’s initial comment suggests that the desire to broadcast as an FM station was not a unanimously shared goal, or a priority

among students and those involved with the pre-FM station. It is very likely that at all three stations, some individuals did not feel the need to broadcast on the FM dial, and Turner's noted interest in the alternative history of CKUW (that is, if it did not become an FM station) could also be evidence of this. However, the majority of comments made in reference to each station's pursuit of an FM license illustrates that the full potential of these stations was not being realized when contained by campus borders. For instance, in the same issue of *Stylus*, this sentiment was echoed by Alec Stuart in an article titled "Catching a Radio Wave." Stuart asked, "How does it feel to know that Winnipeg is the largest city in Canada without a campus radio station?" (1994, 5). Stuart continued, "Seriously though, Winnipeg sorely needs a campus radio station. The [University of Manitoba] used to have one a number of years ago, but student politics killed that one, and their current financial troubles make a radio station there an unlikely prospect." This article reflects the turn in perspective that would drive the station towards an FM license. Stuart claimed that "the ball is rolling. We've started to work towards eventual broadcasting, but we need help" (1994, 5). He explained that financial donations were greatly appreciated, and that the station has started to sell memberships. For those that did not have the "cash to toss around," even for a "worthy cause," Stuart implored readers to come and see one of the many shows that the station organized that year. "If you own a business," he said, "or work in some such place, write us a letter of support. We need a whole pile of letters to hand in to the CRTC when we finish the application. Most importantly, support the local scene. These are people who are helping us out a lot" (Stuart 1994, 5).

In the December 1998 issue of *Stylus* (Volume 10, No. 4), it was evident that the four years prior had been spent preparing for the station to launch its FM service. Station manager Rob Schmidt made this point in an article titled “Launching an FM radio station isn’t as easy as you might imagine.” Schmidt explained that a “CRTC license is only one of the components needed for a successful radio station, and we’ve been working hard to get the other parts together. Equipment, volunteers, and training all have to be in place before we can even hope to begin broadcasting to the community” (1998, 7). The license application was approved in October of that year, and in the application CKUW “promised to create programming that is diverse musically and yet has a strong focus on urban issues and concerns. At least half the music [listeners will hear on] 95.9 FM will be coming from the genres of folk, jazz and experimental music,” and a quarter will be spoken-word (Schmidt 1998, 7). Schmidt added that gathering equipment “was one of the easiest tasks, but even that had to be done carefully, keeping within budget and remembering [the station’s] goals of self-sufficiency and ease-of-use.” The studios, according to the article, would be set up before Christmas, with the transmitter installed by the end of January. Schmidt ended by saying that there was still a lot to do, but the station hoped to be on air by February, although, as he said, “any number of delays could happen between now and then” (1998, 7).

CiTR in Vancouver, British Columbia, easily boasts the largest station space out of the three I visited. The station is on the second floor of UBC’s Student Union Building, and consists of a lengthy hallway that turns right and left, with large rooms and offices jutting off on both sides. The first office belongs to the station manager, followed by a large music library full of CDs and a lounge of considerable size with numerous

places to sit. The office of the station's sibling publication *Discorder* is further down the hall, as is a production studio, some storage rooms, and, finally, the broadcast booth. Informational documents are available in slots fastened to the wall, easy for prospective volunteers to collect, and promotional posters for both local bands and the station itself can be found both along the hallway and in the rooms. Many volunteers and staff members were in and out of the station space, organizing the music library, reorganizing storage space, or preparing for a show. The Student Union Building is just one of many large buildings on UBC's expansive and picturesque campus, which overlooks the Pacific Ocean and sits on University Endowment Lands. The campus is a significant commute from the downtown core, whether by bike, car, or bus. It has a traditional, self-contained campus feel to it, different from both Mount Allison and the University of Winnipeg, but especially the latter.

One of the benefits of researching a radio station at one of Canada's largest universities is the amount of resources that have been catalogued and retained. As such, a solid account of CiTR's early days can be given. In October 1987, The Alma Mater Society and The Student Radio Society of UBC published a fifteen-page booklet titled "Fifty Years of UBC Radio: 1937 – 1987." The booklet provides a useful overview of the benchmarks during this fifty year period, and was researched and written by Alma Mater Society Archivist Iolanda Weisz and then Station Manager Harry Hertscheg. According to this booklet, in 1937, a Students' Council meeting led to the investigation regarding the possibility of forming a UBC radio program, following a period during which the University was suffering for a lack of funding and facilities. Thus, various proposals were considered to help generate a publicity campaign in support of the university. The radio

program was one of these proposals. In September of the same year, the Alma Mater Society began *Varsity Time*, a weekly radio program that ran for a half-hour on CJOR. The purpose of the show was to connect the on-campus students to people in Vancouver and the province of British Columbia, under the supervision of the University's Department of Extension. Starting in October 1937, the Radio Society would broadcast a daily five minute radio program consisting of farm news on Canadian Broadcasting Radio (CBR), Vancouver's CBC station.

During the second year of UBC radio broadcasting, the Radio Society greatly improved and gained a reputation as one of the most active on-campus clubs. The club changed its name to the University Radio Society (URS), and *Varsity Time* became two separate weekly programs. On Fridays, *News of the Campus* would report on sports and general news, and on Sundays, dramas were aired on CJOR. Over the years, more shows were developed, and in 1944, it was determined that the club's location in the basement of the Agriculture Building was less than ideal, and in 1945 a new studio was opened. The opening of this studio, in the South Basement of Brock Hall, coincided with a post-war growth in radio club volunteers. After many returning soldiers joined the Radio Society, the general membership doubled to one hundred. By the late 1940s, the club had constructed new studios, and a number of shows provided students with opportunities to develop their acting, singing, and performing skills.

A fire in Brock Hall in 1954 caused the Radio Society difficulties in terms of maintaining operations, but the studio was later remodelled, and broadcasting continued. By 1956, the club was broadcasting closed-circuit for eighteen hours a week. Heading into the 1960s, the Radio Society had a membership of seventy-five and was broadcasting

forty hours per week. New programming policies were put into place to allow for entertainment shows like *Playboy Jazz* and *Works of the Masters*. Some interesting Letters to the Editor in the UBC publication *The Ubyyssey* gave a sense of what the programming was like at the station at this time. One dated November 10, 1959 asked the station to eliminate *The Works of the Masters* because it was broadcast from 11:00 a.m. until noon, when most non-classical music fans are arriving in Brock after morning classes. The “Two Hopeful Students” who wrote the letter felt that students “do not want to listen to classical music. It can be heard anytime of the day by tuning into a Canadian Radio Station. Popular music, or even music of a livelier type, is much more appreciated by the majority of students as it tends to awaken them” (Two Hopeful Students 1959). Similarly, a letter from November 3 of the same year defended rock ‘n’ roll by citing “the liberal tastes of students in the musical field” (Henderson 1959). Author Ralph Henderson argued that “we are living in a democratic country,” and if “the majority of students want to harken to the enchanting strains of ‘Mack the Knife’ or ‘Teen Beat’, then by all means let them!” (Henderson 1959).

In 1964, UBC Radio worked toward increasing listenership, and began to broadcast in student residences. In 1969, the campus radio station moved from the Brock Studios to the Students Union Building, and the Radio Society became known as CYVR – UBC Radio. In January of 1973, CYVR was shut down for operating without a license after the CRTC altered its regulations for closed-circuit stations. However in July of the following year, CYVR was approved for a license and the station reopened as Thunderbird Radio (the “TR” in CiTR). In 1975, the station was distributed through cablevision FM, on a condition that no commercial content would air. The following

year, a struggle over the musical direction of the station was reported in *The Ubysey*. Chris Gainor wrote an article titled “Squabble splits CTR hacks” claiming that then president Richard Saxton would be challenged by “musical director Mark Forrest, who hinted in an interview...that he would like to see CTR take a more progressive musical direction.” The article explained that “many members are unhappy over the way Saxton has run the station,” making it “his station” and insisting that “CTR follow a commercial AM format” (Gainor 1976, 1). Despite these critiques, Saxton was re-elected on March 11 of that year. In 1978, the station filed a formal application to the CRTC for an FM license, but the Canadian Department of Communications had put a hold on the last FM channel in the city.

In early 1980, Steve McClure wrote an article for *The Ubysey* titled “CTR spreads waves over public” that clearly anticipated the FM license that would allow CTR to grow and expand. McClure claimed that the station had recently “attained a degree of professionalism unknown in past years when only a select company of [Student Union Building] janitors and insomniac students ever bothered to listen to CTR” (1980, 4). However, McClure stressed the fact that the station has its share of problems, primarily regarding its ability to transmit, at the time “confined to a carrier current system that allows only 28 per cent of UBC residences to pick up CTR,” and the “vast majority of Vancouver radio listeners still don’t even know of the station’s existence.” The article also mentioned that the station had embarked on a promotional campaign to reach out to Vancouver listeners, and that an application had been made to the CRTC for a low-power FM license “so that the station can reach all of Vancouver west of Granville Street,” as well as a bid to hire a full-time station manager (McClure 1980, 4). There were some

critics who disapproved of the idea to hire a full-time manager, both because of the costs incurred, as well as apprehension around the potential of the manager to “wield a greater degree of influence than is desirable in a student club,” and some individuals felt that this move might take the focus away from campus issues and students. However, station members saw the station’s role as “providing a link between a UBC that is often too insular and self-absorbed and a city that is out of contact with western Canada’s largest educational institution” (McClure 1980, 4).

On September 11, 1980, then president of CiTR, Hillary Stout, wrote a “Perspectives” piece in *The Ubyyssey*, urging students to give the station a chance, and either listen to it or get involved. Stout said that a “hefty percentage of the students of UBC are surprised to learn they own a radio station. Not just any old station, but one that’s been recognized as a major influence on Vancouver’s music.” Stout explained that the station does not care if people join it or not, but that it cares whether or not students give the station a chance. “I constantly hear people complaining about the massive number of ads that break up the music on regular AM and FM” radio, Stout wrote (Stout 1980). “Well, we don’t have ads,” she continued, “The same goes with overplaying hit songs, and the practice of playing only the single from an album. We don’t overplay anything.” Stout ended by saying that after the previous year’s “burst of publicity (most of it showing only one side of CITER)” the members of the station want to let students know how they feel about it. So, “Give us a chance,” Stout pleaded, “at 690 AM in the residences or 88.9 on CABLE FM” (Stout 1980). That same year, the Alma Mater Society designated CITER a service organization, rather than just a club, and this granted the station more resources which were helpful for making a successful application for an

FM license which was awarded in 1981. CiTR had to compete for the channel with another station, CJAZ, but wound up winning 101.9 Mhz, and on April Fool's Day, 1982, Music Director Dave McDonagh introduced the new FM broadcaster by playing "Dancing in the Streets" by Martha and the Vandellas. Shortly after, in February of 1983, *Discorder* (subtitled "A Guide to CiTR FM 102 Cable 100" at this time) was launched by founding editors Michael Mines and Jennifer Fahrni. The magazine would promote the station and its playlists, working towards improving communications between the station and its listeners. According to the fifty year celebratory booklet, CiTR's notoriety in the late 1980s came from "the music it plays." The decade before the publishing of the booklet had "seen a focus on alternative music by non-mainstream, independent artists – particularly local, underground bands – who do not receive airplay on commercial Top 40 stations" (Weisz and Hertscheg 1987, 14).

On Canada's East Coast during the counter-cultural years of the 1960s and 1970s, students had set up a pirate radio station in a dormitory on the campus of Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, students at the University of Winnipeg operated a closed-circuit radio station from a small basement studio, spawning stories of cigarette smoke and rare records that could be heard on speakers in select campus spaces, much to the dismay of many students and the university administration. At the University of British Columbia, just west of Vancouver's downtown core, a student radio society took off after World War 2, and has been growing ever since. What these stations have in common is the collective drive of students and community members, who at a particular point in the history of their campus broadcaster felt that it was time for the station to expand beyond the confines of the

campus, and reach a greater number of listeners. These were public efforts, as students and radio practitioners justified their stations to other students and university administrators, asking for support that ranged from financial contributions to simply asking other students to give the station a chance and tune in. There came a time in each station's history where the scale and scope of volunteers could not be contained by a low-range broadcaster, when students felt the need to put their connections to the wider cultural and musical communities of their city or town into practice, through the campus broadcaster they were a part of. The move to FM broadcasting required hard work and organization by the majority of those involved with these stations in order to ensure that they were ready to broadcast to the wider community. This is not to say that professionalization of a broadcasting standard required at the level of a commercial or public radio station was sought amongst campus radio practitioners, but rather a level of awareness and expertise that instigated efforts by these stations to best reflect their communities and contribute to the surrounding music scene.

The unlicensed nature of these campus stations, in some instances, limited the diversity and inclusivity of campus radio. In part, this stems from the expertise and technological-adeptness that the students who first began working with radio equipment at universities needed to have. University engineering departments or early Departments of Extension were often behind the development of campus radio broadcasting, and more often-than-not, given the times in which these stations developed, the departments and the students working on these projects were predominately male. The construction of early campus radio stations, like the one at UBC, or (much later) the dorm room pirate station at Mount Allison, was largely the result of radio enthusiasts or hobbyists, not

unlike the amateur DXers that Susan Douglas describes in *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*. Douglas writes, referring to amateur radio in the late 1910s and early 1920s, “Trapped between the legacy of genteel culture and the pull of the primitivism so popularized in the new mass culture, and certainly trapped between the need to conform and the desire to break out, many boys and men reclaimed a sense of mastery, indeed of masculinity itself, through the control of technology” (1999, 68). It is not a stretch to suggest that the university environment consists of a similar tension, that between “the need to conform and the desire to break out,” and in many cases this tension is the driving force behind amateur on-campus radio, whether it be a pirate station or a radio club. Not much would change regarding this tension between “the need to conform and the desire to break out” as these stations developed, aside from the fact that technical mastery over radio equipment seemed to transform into a cultural mastery or elitism in terms of musical tastes and the valorization of extensive record collections. This culture is described by Ted Turner above as a “boy’s club,” and it is part of a larger issue in which “authentic” music is often felt to be somewhat rare or distinct, like the records that would end up at CKUW from Chicago. This notion of authentic and rare music, or the discovery of rare and culturally rich or diverse music, is often considered to be, and written about as, a male realm. A number of works have focused on authenticity and masculinity in popular music, as introduced in chapter 2. Will Straw’s “Sizing Up Record Collections: Gender and Connoisseurship in Rock Music Culture” explains that there is the “idea that record collecting, within Anglo-American cultures at least, is among the more predictably male-dominated of music-related practices” (1997, 4). And just as

Turner described the feeling of the basement studio of CKUW as this place of escape,

Straw writes:

In a circular process, record collections, like sports statistics, provide the raw materials around which the rituals of homosocial interaction take shape. Just as ongoing conversation between men shapes the composition and extension of each man's collection, so each man finds, in the similarity of his points of reference to those of his peers, confirmation of a shared universe of critical judgment. (1997, 5)

A small, somewhat secluded pirate radio station or closed-circuit station tucked away in a basement can act as a private space for individuals to hide away and play records, especially if not many other people are listening or paying attention. However, as stations worked toward the goal of going FM and broadcasting to a wider listenership, the private/public ratio has to be renegotiated. Janis McKenzie, long time CiTR volunteer and *Discorder* writer now sits on the board with the station. She joined the station in 1984 or 1985, after listening to CiTR since the time of the station's first FM license. McKenzie reflected on her early days at the station in the 1980s, and offered interesting comments on this renegotiation of private versus public space in relation to the station's efforts at recruiting more women after going FM. McKenzie said that at that time, "there were very, very few women on the air at CiTR. I think at one point, and this is just a really rough estimate, that there were about forty-two slots on the air, and probably three or four of them were filled by women" (Janis McKenzie, personal interview, July 12, 2011). However, she continued:

there was a real desire, even then, to try to make sure we had more women on the air, and so if we had students, women students, who were interested in doing shows, I think perhaps there was some incentive for the station to make sure, I mean we still had to live by the same standards as the other programmers, but I think it might have been a little easier to get on the air even with standard indie

rock programming. But I was a pretty successful programmer. I won the Rookie of the Year award the first year I was there, and ended up doing some work for CBC radio later. (McKenzie 2011)

McKenzie's sentiments echo the stories of CKUW as it neared an FM license. The station worked hard to dismantle the "boy's club," both in reputation and in operations, and approached a more inclusive space that reached a larger public (although all interviewees did stress that these stations were very warm and welcoming once they went through the station doors and began to volunteer). As each station became officially licensed by the CRTC, the negotiation of private and public space would carry on. Stations would retain that specialized knowledge of music and culture, only it would be available to more people as more diverse programs and programmers would become part of the station's musical and cultural fabric, and as more and more listeners could hear these stations. Stations increased their presence in the communities within their broadcast range, and the CRTC would establish a national policy to regulate the sector. However, this policy followed in the wake of on-campus campaigns by the pre-FM stations that made strong efforts to bring these stations beyond the campus borders. Volunteers, students, staff members, and radio practitioners achieved the goal of broadcasting to a wider audience on the FM band, and emphasized the significant role of campus radio stations as a participatory and accessible medium that has the ability to reflect and circulate local music and culture.

Campus Radio as Licensed FM Broadcasting

On September 14, 1981, CiTR was the first of these three campus radio stations to be granted an FM radio license by the CRTC. Decision CRTC 81-661 explained that the Commission “approves the application by Hilary Louise Stout, representing a society to be incorporated under the name of Student Radio Society of U.B.C., for a broadcasting licence to carry on a low-power, non-commercial English language student FM radio station” that will serve the university campus and surrounding Vancouver area, on 101.9 MHz, with an effective radiated power of nineteen watts (CRTC 1981a). The license was set to expire on September 30, 1984, so that the Commission could consider its renewal alongside those of other stations in the region. The license limited the number of directors appointed by the Alma Mater Society to five out of eleven, so that the board was autonomous, and the “interest and enthusiasm shown by the students for this new FM radio station” was acknowledged by the Commission (CRTC 1981a). The station’s commitment to the wider community was outlined by the decision, as it was expected “to continue to be actively involved in the development and promotion of local talent on campus and in the community,” and three hours per week were designated for community access programming, including two hours for the use of other post-secondary schools in the city (CRTC 1981a). The station’s Promise of Performance, submitted in advance of this decision, stated that the station would not broadcast any advertising material. The station reaffirmed at the public hearing preceding the license that “funding for the operation of the station was assured through subsidies from the University Student Council and through the rental of its mobile sound service” (CRTC 1981a). The decision

ended with the CRTC “reminding” CiTR that “the frequency approved by this decision is an unprotected frequency. In the event of the broadcasting spectrum demands that this low-power station change to another frequency, the licensee must either agree to do so or cease operation” (CRTC 1981a). This reminder hints at the precariousness of allocating spectrum to a campus radio station in a busy radio market at this time.

Ten years after Attic Broadcasting acquired an AM license from the CRTC, the station at Mount Allison University was granted an FM license on 106.9, upgrading the previous carrier current power of twenty watts, to an effective radiated power of fifty. On August 12, 1985, the CRTC issued an FM license “expiring 31 March 1990, subject to the conditions of licence specified in this decision and in the licence to be issued” (CRTC 1985a). The decision referenced the prior student radio policy from 1975, reiterating that the purpose of student broadcasting was primarily “to communicate the concerns, interests and activities of the campus as well as of the academic environment to the public, and to offer to the general public innovative and alternative programming fare which makes use of the many resources available to the academic institution” (CRTC 1985a). It also stated that student radio can “provide basic training for students interested in broadcasting careers.” Interestingly this decision also said that “the licensee appears to have recognized its unique position as the first radio station to be licensed to serve Sackville,” and has done so by creating such objectives as the intent to provide “innovative programming based on the resources of both the Mount Allison and Sackville communities,” and the development and promotion of local arts, as well as by encouraging “interest among individuals to learn broadcasting skills.” The relationship between the university and the local community was also emphasized in the decision,

with such stipulations as CHMA ensuring that newscasts will include content that is twenty-five percent local or regional, and students from Tantramar Regional High School “will produce a weekly program covering high school events and activities.” Regarding music programming, CHMA stated that emphasis would “be placed on selections from small label artists, new artists and the non-hit musical material from established artists,” and the station had “proposed to enhance its musical diversity through a range of special music shows that will feature ‘classical, jazz, experimental, folk and traditional, country, bluegrass/traditional country, reggae, blues, soul, contemporary religious and various combinations of these limited only by the programmer’s creativity.’” The station also committed \$500 for the production and programming of tapes provided by local artists, and opened its studio space to local theatre groups. For matters pertaining to advertising and sponsorship, the station was able to broadcast statements of sponsorship that identified a sponsor of the station or of a specific program. Statements, however, “must not contain language which attempts to persuade consumers to purchase and thus must not contain references to convenience, durability or desirability or contain other comparative or competitive references” (CRTC 1985a). The station had to generate most of their sponsors from the area in which they broadcast, and it was not able to use pre-produced national advertisements.

CKUW was the last of the three radio stations to be granted an FM license, and as described above, the stories behind this process are still fresh in the minds of those who worked toward this goal. Decision CRTC 98-476, dated October 5, 1998, stated that “the Commission approves the application for a broadcasting licence for an English-language FM campus/community radio programming undertaking at Winnipeg on the frequency

95.9 MHz...with an effective radiated power of 450 watts” (CRTC 1998). The license, which would expire on August 31, 2005, was granted under stipulations found in Public Notice CRTC 1992-38, which outlined the policies for community and campus radio at this time. The decision referenced this notice, stating that “campus radio stations must provide a service that is complementary to that offered by other local, commercial radio stations in the market, as well as to that offered by any other campus radio station.”

CKUW, according to the decision, had stated that it “will offer diverse musical programming that emphasizes ‘new music and styles not represented on commercial radio stations,’” and spoken-word content would be centred on downtown community issues, student life, and activism. The station’s commitment to nearby communities included 105 hours of local programming each week, a two-hour weekly program “consisting of interviews and live music with artists performing in the Winnipeg area as well as a one-hour program featuring interviews and the latest releases from Manitoba artists.” One commitment that set this FM license apart from the other two involved “a maximum repeat factor of 7 and a maximum percentage of hits selections of 5%” (CRTC 1998). Limiting the number of times a certain song could be played during the week was an effort to ensure a diversity of musical selections by the station, as was controlling the amount of songs played that are concurrently listed on a major Top 40 chart. As well, a minimum of twenty percent total music programming on the station would be from category 3, which included Traditional and Special Interest genres. This decision also reminded the station that the chief executive officer and no less than eighty percent of the board of directors must be Canadians. The decision followed Public Notice CRTC 1993-38, which set out a policy for advertising on campus stations, an area where the

Commission was particularly involved in terms of formulating policy for campus stations. This notice stated that the station must “broadcast no more than 504 minutes of advertising per broadcast week, with a maximum of 4 minutes in any one hour. Of the weekly total of 504 minutes, a maximum of 126 minutes may be conventional advertising,” with the remainder conforming to the CRTC-defined “restricted advertising” as outlined by the notice (CRTC 1993c). CKUW’s first FM license was also unique from the others in that it referenced the Canadian Association of Broadcasters’ Sex-Role Portrayal Code for Television and Radio Programming, their Broadcast Code for Advertising to Children, and the Commission’s Implementation of an Employment Equity Policy. The decision ended with a final stipulation that this license would only be issued once the station completed its construction undertaking, and once it was prepared to commence operations.

These three FM licenses span the better part of two decades, yet a number of factors are common to each. Most importantly, each license committed to expanding the station’s operations from catering content to a geographic area more or less contained within the campus, to reaching listeners in nearby communities within the town or city in which the station operates. In the case of CHMA, it was the very first station in the area to do this. Each license was also specific to the very geographic space surrounding the station, and thus certain differences are apparent. For instance, in Sackville, local theatre groups were mentioned, invoking the notion of a small-town from radio’s early days, when live theatre was regularly disseminated over radio waves. CKUW, in contrast, referred to its inner-city location, and confirmed a commitment to downtown life and activism. Over this twenty-year period a few significant trends illustrate the changing

radio broadcasting environment and its related regulatory routine. For one, the wattage of each license is considerably larger as time goes on, beginning with the nineteen watts given to CiTR at the beginning of the 1980s, and the 450 watts given to CKUW just before the turn of the century. Of course, the power of CiTR would increase over this twenty year period (more on that soon). As well, with each succeeding license, the ability for a station to use advertising to fund its activities became more and more pronounced. CiTR promised no advertising, and by the time CKUW hit the FM airwaves, a carefully crafted advertising policy for campus radio was in place. This relaxation of advertising restrictions was likely due to the realities of operating an FM radio station that does not just serve the campus, but also surrounding communities. However, as the mantra typically goes, increased advertising limits creative freedom, independence, and alternativeness. But, perhaps this is not the case and broadcasting some advertisements, which are primarily comprised of local businesses and student groups, might allow the station to fulfill better its duties as a radio broadcaster that is distinct from commercial or public broadcasters in the same radio market, especially making apparent the links and connections to local record stores and venues, as well as student groups and organizations that might use the station for promotion. Examining the subsequent license renewals for each station will shed further light on these discourses and the regulatory trends that have emerged.

The CRTC decisions that approved the license renewals for each station following their initial FM licenses are fairly brief and lacklustre. Their primary purpose was to ensure that the stations were aligned with other federal regulatory frameworks. Only briefly do they give a sense of the structure and operation of these stations, although the

documents they frequently referenced and referred to outline a clearer mandate or role for Canadian campus radio stations, broadly speaking. In 1990, both CiTR and CHMA had their licenses renewed, and at this point the CRTC outlined a number of provisions that the licenses were dependent on. Decision CRTC 90-379, dated April 18, 1990, renewed CiTR until August 31, 1995. The decision explained that a condition of this license was the station retaining “full control over all decisions concerning the management and programming of this station and that the majority of directors be students.” As well, “the chairman or other presiding officer and each of the directors or other similar officers of the licensee must be Canadian citizens” (CRTC 1990a). The same statements were repeated in CHMA’s license renewal of that same year (CRTC 1990b), as well as in their renewal in 1993 (CRTC 1993a). However, shortly after CHMA’s 1993 renewal, a second decision followed (93-169-1) which applied a correction to the first license. The decision is dated October 21, 1993, and is titled “Correction to condition of licence for CHMA-FM – Mount Allison University.” The correction pertained to the condition of license that outlined the structure of the board of directors. It replaced the phrase “the majority of directors be students” with “representatives of the student body, faculty, alumni or administration representatives of the university or college with which the station is associated, considered together, form the majority of the board of directors” (CRTC 1993b). The decision stated that this language is in line with the Commission’s campus radio policies in Public Notice 1992-38. This same text is also found in CKUW’s renewal in 2006 (CRTC 2006). CKUW’s renewal also specified that “the chair and not less than 80% of the members of the board of directors must be Canadians ordinarily resident in Canada” (CRTC 2006). The language in CKUW’s 2006 renewal also reflected the fact

that the chair could be a woman or a man, as opposed to the use of “chairman” by the CRTC in CiTR’s 1990 renewal above – likely an oversight, but one worth noting.

Evidently, these license renewals ensure that Canadian campus radio stations are primarily controlled by students, and operate with as much involvement from the university as possible. A second major trend inherent in these license renewals is the CRTC putting campus licenses in line with other federal policies pertaining to radio. CiTR’s first renewal is very brief, dated January 11, 1984. It renewed the station for a year, because, as the decision stated:

In light of recent policy developments, particularly the Review of Radio, the Commission renews these FM licenses for a short term to allow the licensees sufficient time to revise their Promise of Performance in the context of the Commission’s policy statement (Public Notice CRTC 1983-43 dated 3 March 1983) and proposed amendments to the Radio (FM) Broadcasting Regulations, which will be published shortly for public comment. (CRTC 1984)

1983’s Review of Radio had the Commission expanding “its definition of ‘restricted’ commercial activity to permit the inclusion of price, name and brand name of a product in messages broadcast by community stations, but continued to disallow references to convenience, durability or other comparative or competitive references” (CRTC 1985c). In CiTR’s 1990 renewal other policies were referenced and enforced through conditions of licenses that stated that the station must adhere to the Canadian Association of Broadcaster’s “self-regulatory guidelines on sex-role stereotyping,” as well as their Broadcast Code for Advertising to Children (CRTC 1990a). CHMA’s renewal from the same year also mentioned these CAB codes, as well as the larger principles outlined in the Broadcasting Act and Radio Regulations of 1986 (CRTC 1990b). Strangely, these decisions sound as though the CRTC was renewing commercial radio stations. There is

not much that really drives home the unique or distinct purpose of a campus radio station. However, these renewals came before the 1992 policy for campus and community radio, so their short length and reliance on codes created by the CAB can be attributed to this fact. As well, neither was much said in reference to the 1992 campus and community radio policy in license renewals that followed this policy. This is due to the fact that the 1992 policy served to temporarily regulate the campus and community sectors until the Commission could formulate a larger, more comprehensive policy for campus radio. CiTR's 1995 renewal stated that the renewal was for a term less than the maximum of seven years that are allowed by the Broadcasting Act, because the Commission wanted to "consider the next license renewal of this undertaking in accordance with the Commission's regional plan for campus/community radio undertakings across Canada and to better distribute the Commission's workload" (CRTC 1995). In 2000, of course, the CRTC issued a more comprehensive campus radio policy, for which subsequent renewals would follow.

License renewals after the year 2000 were in accordance with the Commission's policy for campus radio, released that year. Another policy document referenced after the year 2000 was Public Notice CRTC 2000-156, New License Form for Campus Radio Stations. Both CiTR and CHMA's renewals from 2001 stated that they were now following the renewal procedure put in place by this notice. The goal of the notice was to "simplify and harmonize" the renewal process and "lighten the administrative burden and increase efficiency" (CRTC 2000b). This involved the elimination of the need to submit a Promise of Performance, and all conditions of license that "generally apply to campus radio stations will now appear on the licence form." A number of "conditions" appeared

on the license form for community-based, instructional, and developmental campus radio stations, and they were attached to the notice. Some worth noting included, the requirement to adhere to the aforementioned sex-role portrayal and children's advertising codes as determined by the CAB; requirements and restrictions related to advertising (see below); a requirement that at least two-thirds of a week's programming is station-produced; a minimum of five percent musical selections per week must be selections from Special Interest Music; and, for English-language community-based campus stations no more than ten percent of all musical selections broadcast during each week can qualify as hits (essentially any song appearing on Top 40 charts from a variety of sources like Billboard). CiTR and CHMA were both renewed together in 2007 (CRTC 2007), and that renewal mentioned the Campus Radio Policy from 2000 as well as the license form. The same was the case for CKUW's 2006 renewal. Such efforts at streamlining the license renewal process allowed the Commission to outline the basic mandate of Canadian campus stations, taken together as a group, speeding up the renewal process for individual stations. Any issue specific to a certain station could then be dealt with at the time of an individual station's renewal, but as these decisions show, such issues are not that common.

Two other policies referenced throughout these renewals pertain to advertising and employment equity. CiTR's license renewal in 1985 (CRTC 1985b) claimed that no commercial announcements would be broadcast by the station, which would last at least until the license expired in September of 1990. In 1995's renewal, CiTR, if it chose to, could advertise according to Public Notice CRTC 1993-38, a document that outlined a policy for advertising on campus radio, including the authorization of no more than 504

minutes of advertising per broadcast week, with a maximum of four minutes per hour. CHMA had taken a much different route than CiTR in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as it did not decline the broadcasting of commercial messages. The station's 1990 renewal began with a statement that noted the station was authorized to continue broadcasting pre-packaged national commercial messages, in accordance with the Review of Community Radio from 1985 (Public Notice 1985-194). The Review stated that student stations would be permitted to play pre-packaged national commercials. Yet, the Commission would "maintain its current restrictions on the types of advertising student radio stations may sell, until such time as it has completed consultations on this matter with student broadcasters and other interested parties" (CRTC 1985c). CHMA's renewal from 1993, like CiTR's from the same year, also mentioned Public Notice 1993-38, and said that out of the weekly 504 minutes, a maximum of 126 minutes of "conventional advertising" may be broadcast, while the rest must conform to a definition (which I have cited earlier) that allowed for items like the name of a sponsor, business location, and hours, as well as the price, name, and brand of the product. Statements were not allowed to reference convenience, durability, or desirability, and could not contain competitive or comparative comments. Advertising was likely not as big of a concern in the eyes of the CRTC for CHMA, because, as the 1993 renewal noted, the station was the only local broadcaster (whereas CiTR has always had many other radio stations to maintain distinction from). Nevertheless, external policies have set the terms for the ways in which campus radio stations program promotional and commercial messages.

CHMA's 1993 renewal concluded with mention of Public Notice CRTC 1992-59, Implementation of an Employment Equity Policy, which stated that the Commission

would examine employment equity practices. The CRTC considered “that community radio stations should be particularly sensitive to this issue in order to reflect fully the communities they serve. It encouraged the licensee to consider employment equity issues in its hiring practices and in all other aspects of its management of human resources” (CRTC 1992b). This notice did not read as though it was specific to campus radio stations, but rather communicates the Commission’s understanding of campus and community stations as being well-positioned to meet this particular requirement (which all radio stations at the time were to follow). CiTR’s 1995 renewal mentioned the same policy, as did CHMA’s 2001 renewal and CKUW’s 2006 renewal.

In addition to these broad policy alignments, wherein campus stations were to meet the requirements set out in public notices and codes, a few lines in certain license renewals were devoted to describing the role campus stations were to play in terms of programming and Canadian music development. CiTR’s 1990 renewal said that the CRTC noted “the annual budgets and the initiatives undertaken by the licensee in respect of Canadian talent development” (CRTC 1990a). CHMA’s 1993 renewal also emphasized the importance of developing Canadian talent, and noted that CHMA-FM would “continue to broadcast new Canadian music as well as interviews with Canadian artists” (CRTC 1993a). The station’s 2001 renewal said that the CRTC expected the station to implement the initiatives laid out in its plan for Canadian talent development, and it was to establish measures that encouraged volunteer participation. A commitment to Canadian programming was also expressed in CiTR’s 2001 renewal. The decision said that all campus and community stations must ensure that thirty-five percent of category 2 music is Canadian, as well as twelve percent of category 3, Special Interest Music,

selections. The Commission's language is largely reflective of a familiarity with licensing commercial and public radio stations, as Canadian talent development and initiatives encouraging local participation were expressed in highly-professional terms, which are not in line with the culture or language of campus stations. However, these initiatives are representative of the desire for FM campus stations to reflect the culture and musical activity within their broadcast range, by ensuring that Canadian and local music are a key characteristic of campus radio programming.

Only briefly was campus radio's commitment to their respective communities and function as providers of alternative content referenced throughout these renewals. The 2001 renewal for CiTR mentioned that the station had proposed six hours a week for French-language programming, as well as two hours for "third-language programming (directed to 6 ethnic groups in 5 different languages). This is consistent with the significant role played by campus stations in serving the needs of the minority communities resident within their service areas" (CRTC 2001). A few years earlier, in CHMA's 1993 renewal, the license stated that CHMA was the only local radio service in Sackville, and in "keeping with its role as a campus community station, CHMA-FM offers a blend of alternative music and spoken word programming on a variety of subjects" (CRTC 1993a).

Before a license is granted or denied in a CRTC decision, a discursive process may first take place either at the level of the station or the CRTC or both (beyond, of course, informal conversation). Depending on the license, this may be an in-depth process involving a lengthy discussion that takes place at a public hearing, as well as student surveys or administrative discussions at the university level. Or, the process

might be brief, with little to no debate or discussion. Such discourse provides more background detail into the licensing process, demonstrating the discursive strategies used by campus stations within the regulatory process. As mentioned above, CiTR's FM license was granted after competing for a frequency with another station, CJAZ. Because of this, a substantial presentation was required at a public hearing in Vancouver on April 30, 1981. Presenting on behalf of CiTR, Station manager Hilary Louise Stout pleaded the station's case, noting, "I have a letter up here signed by 29 student radio stations from across the country, supporting our request to hold the only student FM license west of Ontario" (CRTC 1981b). Stout expressed that the station hoped to be "the first of many Western Canadian student radio stations." CiTR's presentation stressed the importance of connecting the university to wider communities. "UBC should be a familiar part of the whole community," argued Stout, "not a remote and mysterious fortress. Our goal is to promote greater interaction between the University and the community." In response to an intervention by Vancouver community station Co-Op radio, which claimed students to be a "special interest group," Stout argued, "We have incredible diversity of interests on campus. The more than one hundred clubs that are flourishing on campus prove that" (CRTC 1981b). CiTR used the hearing to explain that the station was ready and mature enough for FM broadcasting, and demonstrated the importance of connecting the university to the city of Vancouver.

In September of 1988, another decision involving CiTR was issued, but it was not a license renewal. Rather, it was the approval of a power increase from nineteen watts to 390 watts (CRTC 1988). Not much detail was given in the decision itself, but some of the documents generated by the station were quite descriptive, including the application

submitted by the station, a number of letters of support from listeners, and the results of “The High Power Hi-Test Questionnaire.” The application asked questions that were in line with the typical conditions and stipulations of licenses and renewals. The station was asked if it will promote live and recorded Canadian music on air, to which CiTR explained that it “regularly interviews local bands and plays demonstration tapes produced by Canadian bands during mosaic programs...” (CiTR 1985). The application also asked if CiTR would broadcast station-produced programs featuring other forms of Canadian cultural expression. CiTR explained that its magazine (*Discorder*) programs feature reviews of local arts productions and regularly features local arts and artists.

In one of the many letters submitted to Ferdinand Belisle, Secretary General for the CRTC, in support of CiTR’s high power application, Charles J. Campbell wrote that:

CiTR offers a unique service to many people who cannot otherwise find outlets for their music and ideas as well as to the community, which is provided with a bold, different view of the world, not available to it through the mainstream media. The station is one of a handful of radio stations that offer alternatives to programming that...is controlled by a few rich and powerful men. (Campbell 1985)

In addition, the results of a questionnaire completed by eighteen individuals served to help the High Power Working Group in their pursuit of increased broadcast power for the station. The top reasons people cited for having the station increase its power included an increase of signal strength, expanded reception to other areas of the city, increased audience, and the expansion of the university image into the wider community (see Appendix C). The questionnaire also asked where the station should put its energy in terms of increasing the amount of public affairs and spoken-word programming. Respondents were most in favour of featuring university researchers, and community

events and groups. These documents communicate a sense of what an increased community service and listenership meant for the station at the time, much more so than what can be gleaned from the license renewals.

There is more descriptive content in the discourses surrounding these license renewals than the license renewals themselves. In actuality, very little from the comments, interventions, letters of support, and related discourse finds its way into the official decisions and licenses, although it is evident that they are a part of the renewal process. If the license renewals, themselves, are indicative of anything it is that the CRTC pays little attention to the specific circumstances of each station, including its locality (although this somewhat happens at the time of granting a first license). Instead, the Commission acts as a mediator between more substantial, centralized policy documents and each station's license renewal. Time and effort is put into crafting documents such as Public Notice 2000-12, Campus Radio Policy, and the more recent Campus and Community Radio Policy outlined in CRTC 2010-499. These are lengthy accounts of how campus stations will ensure that programming offers an alternative to other stations, and descriptive statements like "campus stations serving those centres [are] in a position to make a strong contribution to the reflection of that cultural diversity, especially by providing exposure to new and developing artists from minority cultural groups" (CRTC 2000a). The lack of station-specific stipulations in each license renewal can be attributed to the efficiency that this process enables, where the Commission simply refers to a number of documents in order to facilitate a quick renewal process. In other words, as long as these stations are meeting their basic requirements as set out in centralized broadcasting policy and their original conditions of license, everything should be fine

come renewal time. Secondly, the CRTC typically operates on a “by complaint only,” basis, which means that it only looks at license infractions if enough complaints are generated by listeners. If certain infractions go unnoticed or not reported, they will likely not figure into the renewal process.

According to the NCRA/ANREC, this streamlined approach is also appreciated by the sector, or at least the stations that are members of the association. Writing in favour of CiTR and CHMA’s 2007 license renewal (as well as ten other member stations), then NCRA/ANREC President Chad Saunders said that “the sector welcomes streamlined and simplified processes, as we often lack the resources to support each station individually, and stations themselves benefit from opportunities to work together to help understand the requirements and paperwork involved in regulatory processes” (Saunders 2007). From Saunders’s perspective, the sector appreciates the “Commission’s understanding and flexibility in working with our stations,” given especially the “complex nature of many regulatory processes and the fact that most volunteers and staff in our sector are inexperienced with these processes...” (Saunders 2007). According to the NCRA, this streamlined and centralized approach allows stations to focus most of their time on day-to-day operations and station-specific issues, as opposed to spending limited time and resources on the regulatory process. Thus, both organizations benefit from this system. This regulatory process enables a certain level of openness or autonomy for each station in terms of how they choose to fit within the necessary requirements that must be met to ensure license renewal.

Reflecting on the CRTC’s comments on FM radio in 1975 (discussed in chapter 3), the FM radio band was reexamined in terms of how it might diversify radio

broadcasting. Shortly after this policy, the CRTC began licensing campus radio stations, and by the time the national policy from 2000 was established, it appeared as though the Commission left the sector to operate more-or-less on its own, aside from a few basic regulations. Perhaps this is an efficient way for the Canadian broadcasting environment to appear diverse and in-tune with local communities, by ensuring there is a small but vibrant radio sector that has local programming at the core of its mandate. Meanwhile, the commercial sector can continue to increase profits and become more centralized, and the public sector can focus on remaining competitive enough financially to sustain itself, while also serving its role as a national broadcaster and curator of Canadian “cultural identity.” A skeptical look at this situation recalls the dynamics of power in policy making discussed in chapter 2 (Freedman 2006). There is market logic at work, allowing for the commercial broadcasting sector to increase profits by a variety of means, including centralizing programming and playlists, so long as the founding essence of Canadian broadcasting is still evident. This essence remains in the public and community sectors. Therefore, the sector is left with a policy updated every ten years or so (1992, 2000, and 2010) that ensures the campus and community sector is “alternative,” “diverse,” “community-oriented,” and “local,” in so far that it maintains practical and philosophical distance from commercial and public radio stations.

This analysis explains why the license renewals of each station are brief and lacking in specificity. However, it fails to give proper attention to how stations might actually be distinct from one another, regardless of the centralized policy that loosely regulates the sector. How important are individual station mandates? How is a mandate similar to other campus radio station mandates, and how is it different? As the pre-FM

histories of each station suggest, as do the comments, interventions, and letters of support crafted during moments within larger regulatory processes, the individual stories and locations specific to each station differ significantly. The remainder of this chapter turns its attention to each individual station and the various discourses related to each in order to determine whether each station is simply ensuring that they meet federal broadcast regulations, or whether they are more concerned with their respective communities. Perhaps it is some combination of both, but the following analysis will help to further situate the factors that construct the sector's "alternativeness" and community responsibility.

Mandates and Philosophies

A campus radio station typically establishes and abides by an operating mandate or a set of rules and regulations that can be distributed to volunteers and staff members. A clear and specific description of the role of campus radio is conveyed by these documents.

CHMA, for instance, does not have an explicit mandate listed on their website, but they provide a general introduction to the station in an "About Us" section on their website, and they publicize their extensive training documents which outline the station's internal policies. The station's "About Us" section highlights the non-profit status of the organization, and claims to provide members "with an opportunity to create innovative, educational and alternative community-based programming." The station describes its schedule as including "open format and specialty music shows, spoken word programs on a variety of topics as well as audio art programming that explores the limits of this thing

we call radio.” The station is careful to project its inclusivity, stating that a membership gives volunteers an opportunity to get involved with the station on a number of levels, and that most of the station’s members begin with no experience in broadcasting. The section ends quite persuasively, stating that “If you are interested in independent media and the power of community radio, now is the time to get involved” (“About Us”).

CHMA’s training manuals demonstrate the ways in which the station negotiates federal policy, and they provide staff and volunteers with specific rules and regulations. The first of four manuals is subtitled “Orientation & Station Tour.” This document explains all the necessary background information on the station, including brief descriptions about each staff position, as well as information about related organizations like the CRTC, SOCAN, and the NCRA (CHMA 2005a). Following this are a number of station rules adding to those enforced at the federal level. Examples of CHMA station rules include maintaining a certain level of professionalism (essentially, not “behaving like an idiot”), not stealing music or resources, not discriminating against others (including CHMA’s written policy on sexual harassment), and maintaining station security (CHMA 2005a). These rules are followed by a section on volunteer rights and responsibilities. More precise rules and regulations are described in the second manual, “Rules and Regulations,” which is written for an audience of programmers. This list is meant to help volunteers avoid fines and legal problems, complying ultimately with federal policies, yet it is described in a language more in-line with the culture of the station. These rules touch on personal issues, such as, “If you are suddenly injured or become ill or your boyfriend or girlfriend dumped you and you feel you cannot make your show, you must still inform the Programming Director,” to rules explaining what

should or should not be said on the air (CHMA 2005b). Things to avoid include free advertising, discussing station policy on the air, and false statements (“You’re listening to CHMA News and Coca Cola has purchased Mount Allison University”). The “Radio Regulations” section integrates CRTC regulations with station policy, claiming that the station’s main objective “is to provide alternative programming such as music, especially Canadian music, not generally heard on commercial stations...” and the section goes into great detail about profanity, slander, defamation, and sex role stereotyping (CHMA 2005b). The manual outlines the various types and categories of music, as determined by the CRTC, as well as copyright issues and emergency procedures. The last two manuals go into more detail about technical training, providing readers with information about programming and hosting their first show (CHMA 2005c; CHMA 2005d).

CKUW shares its philosophy on its website, which says that the station is a “true Community/Campus radio station” (“About CKUW”). The philosophy begins, “Campus/Community radio is just that, a reflection of the community that owns and creates the programs – not a preprogrammed infomercial for big business.” CKUW is “people driven not profit driven,” continues the philosophy, and “the programming is a reflection of the true interests and concerns of the volunteers and the local community.” The mandate then comments on the sector on a larger scale, stating that campus radio “has the freedom and the mandate to present music and ideas that can not be found in the mass media. CKUW is a place where alternative viewpoints can be aired, and local musicians always take priority over top 40 jingles.” The station also highlights the fact that local cultural programming is integral to its schedule, and its spoken-word programming covers “local news, the entertainment scene, and community/social justice

issues” (“About CKUW”). CKUW’s philosophy comes across more antagonistically than CHMA’s, taking jabs at mass programming and dismissing commercial programming as big-business infomercials. It also emphasizes the station’s focus on social justice and an awareness of local cultural communities and music scenes.

CKUW is guided by station policy titled “The Winnipeg Campus/Community Radio Society By-Laws.” The bylaws commence with definitions for the terms used throughout the document, including the station’s own definition of its community. According to CKUW, the “community” is simply that which is within the city limits. The definition labels the community as “the community of Winnipeg” including “all areas within the city limits” (CKUW 2008). The bylaws also set out the types of meetings that the radio society holds. These include voting procedures and methods for electing, as well as removing, officers. The document continues, describing other positions, ending with a brief paragraph on copyright. CKUW’s bylaws are much more technical and formal than CHMA’s training manual, and they seem to serve more as a policy for ensuring each individual holding a staff or board position is aware of her or his role, and for explicitly outlining legislative and administrative procedures.

CiTR’s mandate is “to serve, instruct and inform the UBC and Greater Vancouver Community through radio broadcasting by supplying alternative, progressive, informative, and community-oriented programming” (“About”). The station summarizes the unique listening experience it provides as having three main points. The first is that the station is student-run, with student executives making management decisions alongside staff members. Secondly, it is community-supported, which allows the station “to promote diverse cultural coverage at less than four minutes of advertising per hour.”

Along with musical styles of all kinds, the station broadcasts news, sports, comedy, and current issues. Thirdly, the station is nationally recognized – fully regulated by the CRTC and active members of the NCRA. CiTR's published mandate is fairly brief, but early press clippings exemplify the approach to programming that has remained at the heart of the station to this day. In early 1990, the station came under some heat for broadcasting Public Enemy's album *Fear of a Black Planet*, specifically the song "Welcome to the Terrordome." Professor of Church History, R. Gerald Hobbs wrote a letter to the station of February of that year, arguing strongly against the programming of such an album, a "rock album whose lyrics are highly objectionable for persons with a historical memory for the roots of racial injustice and persecution in our world" (Hobbs 1990). He quoted lyrics that read "Crucifixion. Ain't no fiction / So-called chosen, frozen," and wrote that "Anyone with any knowledge of the history of Christian-Jewish relations, and the origins of the Holocaust will not need lessons in identifying who is the target of this thinly veiled diatribe." In a letter from the station simply titled "Welcome to the Terrordome," we learn that CiTR pulled its copy from access on February 12, 1990 following listener complaints. However, a week later, on February 19, the station's copy was made available once again. The station justified this decision by bluntly stating that "CiTR uses discretion in its programming" ("Welcome..."). And while their policy clearly stated that the station will not air any material that incites hatred or discrimination against any identifiable group, CiTR believed "that the lyrics contained in Welcome to the Terrordome do not incite hatred against the Jewish community" ("Welcome..."). CiTR ended the letter by saying it would "not remove from public contemplation and discussion an artistic work whose only offense is the fact that it is controversial." In an

article for the *Vancouver Sun* in September 1988, just a few years before Public Enemy incited listener complaints, Station Manager Harry Hertscheg explained that listening to the station is not always easy or “accessible.” He said the station’s job is to “provide a challenging listen” (Wong 1988). This idea that the listening experience should be challenging is reflected in the station’s approach to programming. The article explained that “DJs at CITR are virtually free to play anything from the station’s record library or their own collections. The only restrictions include [CRTC] requirements for Canadian content and unofficial station rules against playing songs too often. No such thing as heavy rotation here.” In this same article, station DJ Don Chow explained that it is not just called “alternative” radio, but rather it is “more encompassing.” Programming, for example, “encompasses” a folk show, *Absolute Value of Noise* (“a program which once consisted of nothing more than the noises emanating from the broadcast studio when it was being remodeled”) and heavy metal (Wong 1988).

These three campus radio stations are all licensed and regulated by the CRTC, and their respective license renewals are fairly synchronous in regards to the conditions they are granted on at a given point in time. Each station has also taken the time to integrate these federal regulations into their own station policies and approaches to programming, although each has done so in its own, distinct way. Mandates and station philosophies briefly and passionately state that which motivates volunteers and staff members to continue broadcasting. Certain key terms connect these philosophies, like “alternative” viewpoints and programming, and a “community-oriented”, “-based,” or -reflected focus. Other key defining features include independent or non-profit status, innovative and creative programming, educational and instructive programming, and variety and

diversity. Individuals are encouraged to get involved with the station regardless of experience or prior broadcast training.

A station mandate or philosophy is a rhetorical and discursive document that at once affirms acceptance of federal broadcast regulations, and at the same time, exerts a level of station autonomy by crafting an internal policy that governs one station and one station only. Key terms like “alternative,” “community,” and “independent” are significant when it comes to shaping an individual’s experience with a station, whether that experience is shaped by listening, volunteering, or by being programmed or interviewed by the station. These terms also mean very different things to different groups of people or organizations. For the CRTC, the term “alternative” functions as a placeholder for a radio broadcasting sector that will cater to local cultural communities, play Canadian music, avoid pre-packaged advertisements, and not program the same commercial hit songs that private radio stations in the same market rely on to ensure a measurable listenership to sell to advertisers. Independence from profit-determined programming is ensured by alternative funding models, like student fee levies and listener donations. The funding and financial sustainability of the campus radio sector is in no way perfect, rather it is one of many constant struggles and obstacles, but it is essential to a broadcast sector that is able to operate in a relatively diverse, varied, and autonomous manner. Within the campus radio sector, “alternative” is still thought of in a similar way to the CRTC’s use, but it becomes much closer to a station’s identity, which in turn is determined by the cultural communities and music scenes that it promises to serve. This community focus manifests itself in a variety of ways, from the community member volunteers who host shows, to the format and structure of a station’s weekly

programming grid. Concerning the latter, a station's program grid is a mixture of long-running, schedule-standards, to temporary, improvised shows that fill in the programming gaps during the summer months when students are away. Some shows are hosted by community members, and some by students. Others are syndicated shows that can also be heard on other radio stations, like *Democracy Now*, which originates in New York City and is broadcast on many campus radio stations across Canada. An analysis of the programming schedules for CHMA, CKUW, and CiTR elaborates on what exactly a community-oriented focus means to each station, and how they envision and put into practice "alternative," "diverse," and "informative" programming.

The Program Grid

The first thing I was shown upon arriving at CHMA's station space was a large programming board with multi-coloured squares of Bristol board attached to it. The names of radio programs were written on each. Pierre Malloy explained that a large majority of their in-house programming had been temporarily replaced with other shows, syndicated, or pre-programmed, because it was early in the summer and many student volunteers had left for the break. I spoke with Sandy Mackay, CHMA's programming director, about his approach to programming at the station. Mackay appeared to be in his early twenties, and had arrived in Sackville "through the secret underground tunnel from Dawson City," Yukon – more on the relationship between Dawson City and Sackville soon (Sandy Mackay, personal interview, June 3, 2011). Mackay explained to me that his role is to maintain a constant presence in the office. The majority of this work "has to do

with the training of volunteers, recruiting new volunteers, and getting programmers on the air.” He told me that his strategy is “to get as many programmers on the air, regardless of long term commitments or initial skill level,” and this is where he feels he differs from some of the past directors who have been stricter “about things like content.” Mackay provided insight into the shifts in the schedule during the summer months, which were largely due to the fact that the town is so small and that students make up so much of the population as well as the programmers at the station. Mackay said, “During the summer, all of the students are gone, and so my big thing is always trying to get community members out, and it’s harder than you think. They’ve got their summers already planned out and then a radio show is more work.” He explained that many of the community members who do come out, are often newcomers to the town, “who don’t know much about it, and might have done radio in another town that they used to be in like Sackville, New Brunswick and now they’re here and want to get involved in something” (Mackay 2011).

Local musician, recent Mount Allison graduate, and former CHMA programmer, Pat LePoidevin came to Sackville six years ago from Princeton, British Columbia. LePoidevin also described this shift in programming, and said that in the fall and winter, there are two thousand more people in the town, two thousand “more young individuals who are ready to go out to shows and participate in the radio station. So, the programming board drops like, I don’t know, fifty, sixty percent” (Pat LePoidevin, personal interview, June 3, 2011). The student demographics were described by Mackay as a “university full of seventeen through twenty-five year olds, and everyone’s pretty segregated” (Mackay 2011). He explained that it is pretty easy to tell on the first day of

school who the new programmers will be. Not “overly representative” of the entire student and community population, Mackay said there is typically “at least one programmer from each demographic, but the majority of programmers and volunteers are nerdy high-schoolers who are now nerdy university students,” himself included as he said. According to these comments, the station’s program grid is largely influenced by the fact that it is mostly students participating in the station, who are more-often-than-not somewhat similar in their interests and style.

Before CHMA’s programming underwent its temporary summer changes, the 2010 schedule included twenty syndicated shows and fifty-seven local programs, covering all twenty-four hours of the day. This program schedule and show descriptions were found and downloaded from a blog post on CHMA’s old website (see Appendix D). Syndicated programs range from larger news and spoken-word shows like *Democracy Now*, which is played every weekday from 6 until 7 p.m., to *The Green Majority*, a program produced at the University of Toronto’s campus station CIUT, which aims to raise “awareness about Canadian environmental issues, connecting listeners with their environmental communities and encouraging green values, philosophies and lifestyles.” Other syndicated shows include *Footlight Parade*, which showcases Broadway and Hollywood songs “from the turn of the 20th century to today,” and *This Way Out*, an “award-winning internationally distributed weekly LGBT radio program, currently airing on over 175 local community radio stations around the world” (CHMA 2010). These programs, while not produced in-house, certainly fit within a mandate that focuses on informative and diverse programming, diverse in terms of the range of topics and subjects covered by these shows.

Most of the programming produced at CHMA's is music-based, which suggests that the syndicated shows serve to ensure there is enough spoken-word content. A few of the show descriptions offer a sense of what the local spoken-word shows focus on, generally a mix of pop culture critique and discussion. For instance, *Wasteland* challenges the idea that pop culture is a "barren wasteland" by creating "life from the nothingness." Listeners can also hear "art talk and casual conversation" (*Full of Purpose*) and "nerd-chatter" (*The Final Frontier*, "a show for those still wary of Klingons") (CHMA 2010). The range of genres and styles covered by the station's music-based programming meets the station's goal of providing educational, innovative, and community-oriented programming. The ways in which the show descriptions are written emphasize the knowledge and expertise that the programmers bring to their shows. According to the descriptions, these are not just volunteers aimlessly choosing albums to play at random; these are intelligent, well-seasoned music fans who carefully curate their playlists. *The Massie Hour* is hosted by "Japanese exchange students," who "practice their English and *introduce us* to new music" (CHMA 2010, emphasis added). On *Hyperborean Sound*, Julie Stephenson "showcases" music that is new to her "and hopefully to you as well." The show is an "exploration through Canadian content new and old." *Sounds of the 30's, 40's and 50's* has host Alex Keeling playing the "best pre-rock recording that most radio has forgotten." Playlists are "extensively researched and prepared by Alex, one of the most knowledgeable hosts on CHMA." Meaghan Fisher, host of *Postcards from Inania*, is a "real music lover" who "attempts to provide snapshots from each different genre. Along with intelligent commentary, she is sure to be your radio hero." Commitment to local music and content is apparent throughout, especially

on shows like *Songwriter Full Circle*, which brings “the best of traditional East Coast songwriters to the radio,” and *A Toast to the Coast* a “celebration” of East Coast music. Genres like bluegrass, drum and bass, and “grass-root female singer/songwriter” are mentioned across the grid, and descriptions highlight a pull towards the innovative, such as *P.H. Balance*’s commitment to “music that is anything but neutral and inert” (CHMA 2010).

The station’s programmers are mostly students and this is definitely reflected in the programming grid and show descriptions. A small, Liberal Arts-style university on the East Coast of Canada is hardly the most diverse place in the country. Most universities are not. Thus, the shows are not all that high on the cultural diversity and community activism side. Syndicated news and talk shows do help to fill in these gaps, and a campus or community station can really only be as diverse as the communities it serves, or as diverse as it imagines its communities, and the volunteers who participate. The focus for the station seems to be on ensuring that programming is well-researched and different from other programs during the week. East Coast music and culture is certainly central, as are the individual tastes and interests of the volunteers themselves. It is also worth pointing out, once again, that CHMA is the only local radio broadcaster actually based in the town. Because of this, the need to diversify is much less than if it were to be sharing the area with other local stations.

CKUW in Winnipeg differs dramatically in comparison to CHMA in terms of the composition of its volunteer and programmer base. Asking Rob Schmidt about the volunteer base, he informed me that when the station first went on air, they did not have a lot of student programming. The station was “new” and they “wanted the best of the best”

(Schmidt 2011). He figured that students made up a little less than twenty percent of the participants at the time. He assumed it is closer to thirty percent now, although it “would be nice to have a 50/50 split,” because “students provide a bulk of the funding.”

According to Schmidt, students are a bit more transient than community volunteers, and there is some turnover for the summer, but he is glad that the station never has needed to go automated over the summer like some others do. “There’s always been a good core of volunteers,” he told me, and that is “part of the nature” of Winnipeg. “A lot of people don’t leave this city for school,” Schmidt added, “In Winnipeg, most people live at home and continue to go to school for much longer than what was typical for me and my friends, anyways, in Ontario.” CKUW’s program director Robin Eriksson became a volunteer in 2004 once moving to Winnipeg, and then the director two years later after filling in for a show and then taking one over as host. Eriksson explained that it is oftentimes hard to draw the line between “student” and “community” volunteers. Quite frequently, students enjoy their time at the station and continue their work with the station after graduating, becoming, in effect, community volunteers. “So, we haven’t lost them,” she told me, “We’ve just lost that student status” (Robin Eriksson, personal interview, July 6, 2011).

Sarah Michaelson entered the Winnipeg music community through CKUW in 2000 after her first-year orientation at the university. She has been a programmer and host of *Stylus Radio* for ten years now, and is a well-known Canadian DJ performing under the name Mama Cutsworth. She has also been the news director, and is now on the programming committee at the station. Michaelson told me that a lot of what determines if a show is accepted is that which “sets it apart from any of the shows that we already

have on the air. Because it's about enhancing the diversity of the program grid, more than anything. So it's not about fitting in, which is kind of amazing" (Michaelson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). Pitching a show that features established Canadian bands like Stars and Broken Social Scene will not necessarily be accepted because a lot of people are pitching that, added Michaelson, "So think beyond that. And if you want to play that kind of music, what's going to make the show different?" If someone is pitching a spoken-word show, she or he should understand how to do interviews and "how to frame a topic." CKUW also works to ensure they have enough "programmers from different genders and cultural backgrounds and ages," she said. Michaelson continued, "I love the fact that we have a nine-year old who comes in every Saturday morning and co-hosts. And we have Bill who's like in his 80s and is an amazing guy, and does a couple different programs. It's really amazing to have that." Michaelson told me that programmers are "real people coming in and reflecting their interests, and serving tiny pockets of the community and celebrating the differences." She did stress, though, that this only goes so far. Because the station is funded and operates out of a university, and even though there are "tons of people who are not students," there is still:

that ivory tower issue with being based inside a university. People who maybe have never been to a university, people who are intimidated by that, or don't live downtown, being a downtown campus...So, that has its cons, because, you know, someone's family doesn't have a history of going to university, they may never feel comfortable enough to walk on in and say they want to be a part of the station. Which, is *that* easy, but I could see that being intimidating. You know, we're always looking for more women programmers, and more aboriginal folks. It's still my understanding of the bulk of Canadian campus and community radio is that it's still pretty white. That's definitely something that I would like to change. And that's slowly shifting. (Michaelson 2011)

As Michaelson said, the station works to ensure that diversity and a range of voices are heard in its programming, keeping its downtown location in mind. Ted Turner added that in comparison to nearby University of Manitoba's CJUM-FM, which went under for a while after losing some financial support, CKUW's programming has always been "a little more out there" (Turner 2011). The station definitely sounds "more like the downtown station," according to Turner, and this is reflected in its "award winning spoken-word programming, like *Inner City Voices*, this fantastic show that really focuses on the stories of people living in this neighbourhood." Rob Schmidt connected this back to the station's mandate, and used such words as "listener-driven radio." His favourite phrase is "participatory media," and he considers this to be the "core" of the station. And out of this participatory, listener-driven idea, Schmidt said "you get sort of a social responsibility to get those voices on air that are marginalized, or not represented in mainstream media, or on private media or State media." And then, "out of that comes the activism of getting community organizations involved, getting youth involved, getting the voices of radical movements heard, and those sorts of things," he added (Schmidt 2011).

CKUW's schedule lists station-produced and syndicated shows from at least 6 a.m. until midnight, with some shows listed infrequently during the early morning hours, although there is programming running twenty-four hours a day (late night and early morning shows vary between syndicated and non-syndicated). The station's website explains that the program schedule is always changing, but its current program descriptions illustrate the range of music and spoken-word programming on the show, as well as a focus on communities in Winnipeg. As with CHMA, a range of syndicated shows are broadcast by CHMA, although they represent a smaller percentage of the total

programming. *Alternative Radio* is a “weekly one-hour public affairs program offered free to all public radio stations in the U.S., Canada, Europe, South Africa, Australia, and on short-wave on Radio for Peace International” (“Programs & Archives”). The show “provides information, analyses and views that are frequently ignored or distorted in other media.” *Family Matters* is produced at the University of Guelph’s campus station, CFRU, and the show discusses “supportive parenting practices, communication, and culture in the context of conventional and unconventional families.” *Black Mask* and *Queer Power* are station-produced spoken-word shows. The former is “an anarchist radio show that has been broadcast since 1999,” and the latter is “a weekly dose of queer news – from your community and beyond” (“Programs & Archives”).

The range of styles and genres heard on CKUW, as well as its role as the “downtown” station are evident in such shows as *Peg City Groove*, which airs on Fridays from 5 p.m. until 6 p.m. and covers the “local Winnipeg music scene” (“Programs & Archives”). The show’s mission is “to give local musicians a platform to promote their band, their gig, their albums; their way” and the show’s hosts “want the music of the Winnipeg community to thrive.” Kent Davies’s *Amateur Hour* features “the best of the worst. Artists and bands that never got their fair share of airtime for how seemingly weird, awful or cheesy they are will finally get their due.” *Hit the Big Wide Strum!* is hosted by Robin Eriksson, and is the “only bluegrass broadcast in the province,” and *Island Vibes* features soca, reggae, dance-hall, and chutney music from The Islands, plus “local Caribbean events, guest DJs and other music industry info from the Caribbean.” *Rock ‘n’ Roll Damnation* specifically plays heavy metal from 1969 until 1992, billed as “music you never hear on radio” (“Programs & Archives”).

CKUW's programming is a little more "out there" than CHMA's, but it is located in a much larger city with many more people from a wider range of backgrounds and places. The station certainly works toward sustaining a powerful voice in the downtown core from which it broadcasts, and strong efforts are made to transcend the boundaries between university and community. After asking Robin Eriksson about CRTC policies that govern programming, she claimed that, in the long run, they do not "make our programming better in any way" (Eriksson 2011). And in certain ways, she added, they could "take away the creativity and the good judgment that volunteers could and would have on their own volition." Eriksson is confident that the station "could do just fine if we were just allowed to create programming that our community was asking for, rather than abide by things that this government agency in Ottawa regulated." However, she noted that levels of regulation help to ensure that the sector sounds somewhat the same, in terms of it sounding "unlike anything on the dial." In other words, federal policy ensures that campus stations do not sound like commercial or public stations.

Considering CKUW's program grid, and Eriksson's confidence in staff and volunteers for creating content that reflects communities in Winnipeg, the shows and hosts are quite in-sync with the station's mandate, particularly its emphasis on not sounding like other radio stations, and being an active downtown, inner-city station.

As with CKUW, CiTR in Vancouver has more community member volunteers than they do students. Station manager Brenda Grunau moved to Vancouver after finishing her undergraduate degree at the University in Winnipeg and moving to Toronto for a Masters in Business with an Arts and Media specialization. She came to Vancouver looking for work after travelling, and she took the station manager job thinking it would

be a “really good fit” given her past experience. Grunau explained to me that CiTR is in a unique position because it not only has a board of directors, but also a student executive that “isn’t just a volunteer committee” (Brenda Grunau, personal interview, July 11, 2011). Because the bulk of the station’s funding comes from students, and because CiTR is a student club, the board wants the station to be “student-driven and student-run,” said Grunau. The staff and the board are responsible to the student executive. Although the student executive is integral to the station’s structure, Brenda figured that the student programmer percentage is about eleven percent, and it is “really low across the country” in general. She explained, “even though we’re really good at involving students in how the station is run, it’s really hard for us to get students on air. So we’ve been rethinking our training process.” The station has a lot of community programmers, some who have been around for fifteen, even twenty years. Grunau said that this “makes some things really rigid, and then other things sort of fluid. So a balance somewhere in the middle would be preferable.” One of the ways the station is hoping to get more student volunteers is by relaxing their volunteer training process, which was once fairly difficult and rigorous. Grunau explained that it was “a bit more like being lectured, and we’re making it more interactive now.” Students used to have to produce a demo, and “people would spend hours recording pieces and getting stuck, and getting afraid of the equipment, and it would never get finished and then they would fall off the map,” Grunau said. According to Grunau, the process is now much more hands on, “where you might sit in on a show, and then program an hour.” “We’re just shoving [new volunteers] on the air right away,” Grunau added, “so instead of doing a demo, they can do a live show with someone in the booth, watching, so it’s less intimidating” (Grunau 2011). Janis

McKenzie spoke to this issue drawing from her longevity at the station and current position as a board member. She told me that the station has “had challenges all along, with keeping students on the air and keeping student representation high. And also women. It sounds funny, you’d think we’d have these things resolved by now, but strangely enough, I think it just needs continual attention and work to maintain representation” (McKenzie 2011). In line with Sarah Michaelson’s comments above, McKenzie pointed to areas where representation could be better, while also highlighting an awareness of these issues and the station’s active role in trying to remedy this. “And that goes for other groups as well,” she continued, “all kinds of groups that aren’t getting represented well enough on the air. So we need to do more about that. But I think there was hardly any queer programming when I started, so we’ve made improvements in some areas.”

During my first visit to CiTR I sat in with Nardwuar the Human Serviette as he programmed his weekly Friday afternoon show. I watched as he played albums from bands in town that weekend, while waiting for him to play one of his pre-recorded interviews that he has become so well known for – well-researched and witty interviews, in which he often surprises interviewees with albums or “gifts” from the past – during which we would begin our interview. Nardwuar, a Vancouver resident, began hosting a show in October 1987 after joining the station in September of the previous year. “At first, I was just happy doing public service announcements, or carts, getting the word out for different events and stuff like that,” he told me, “and after a while I said, ‘I’d like to do a radio show.’ So it took me about a year to get the courage to do a radio show” (Nardwuar the Human Serviette, personal interview, July 8, 2011). His show is also

broadcast on WMFU in New Jersey, although for that broadcast, he has to spend extra time removing the swear words before it airs. He also shares his video interviews on YouTube and archives many of them on his website, Nardwuar.com. In the early 1990s, Nardwuar began conducting in-person interviews using a video camera because the audio sounded better, and he could use the video for cable access television and play the audio on CiTR. Nardwuar also plays in bands The Evaporators and Thee Goblins. He explained, “Well you just saw exactly why I love CiTR radio. First off, I was able to begin with dead air. What other stations are you allowed to begin with dead air? What other stations period are you allowed to have dead air?” He enthusiastically told me that campus radio in Canada is “just so amazing,” and in the United States “you can’t even say the word ‘asshole.’” Although, he explained, “you have to be sensitive with what you’re doing, you have to worry about the time of day and you have to give warning for stuff like that, but you can still do it. So many commercial stations will have you believe you’re not allowed to swear on air.” You have to be able to justify such language, and give proper context, he informed me.

CiTR has a number of long-term programmers like Nardwuar, whose longevity is attributed to a passion for approaching radio programming in a manner that allows for more freedom than commercial radio. An overview of the station’s programming demonstrates a range of shows that reflect the station’s mandate to “to serve, instruct and inform the UBC and Greater Vancouver Community through radio broadcasting by supplying alternative, progressive, informative and community-oriented programming” (“About”). CiTR’s schedule runs seven days a week, with programming covering every hour, although some early morning slots are filled by a “CiTR Ghost Mix.” CiTR, like

CHMA and CKUW, does feature a number of programs that cover Canadian indie music, and a large percentage of the overall schedule are station-produced shows, and it currently programs four syndicated shows from other campus or community radio stations. Spoken-word shows include *News 101*, “Vancouver’s only live, volunteer-produced, student and community newscast,” which gives listeners a “fully independent media perspective.” *Prof Talk* meets the informative and educational aspect of the mandate, as a “show that aims to bring professors at the University of British Columbia talking about current/past events at the local and international level” (“Show List”). It offers a space for faculty and doctoral students to engage in dialogue about important events and to share their current research on the subject at hand. Its second goal is to provide a space for interdisciplinary thinking, including interviews with professors from a variety of disciplines.

Music programming on CiTR covers genres and styles from a range of cultures represented in Vancouver and elsewhere. As well, there are a considerable number of shows that emphasize the experimental and inventive. DJ David Love Jones hosts *African Rhythms*, which has been airing for over twelve years. The show plays genres like “jazz, soul, hip-hop, Afro-Latin, funk, and eclectic Brazilian rhythms. There are also interviews with local and international artists.” *RhythmsIndia* is hosted by Anoop Sharma and “features a wide range of music from India. Popular music from Indian movies from 1950’s to the present, Classical music, Semi-classical music (Ghazals, Bhajans, and Qawwalis), pop music and music in regional languages.” Shows identifying with the “weird,” the “noisy,” and “experimental” include *Misery Hour*, Hans Kloss’ “sub-collection of mostly disgusting and unlistenable songs and sounds;” *Exploding Head*

Movies, which “explores music from the movies, tunes from television and any other cinematic source, along with atmospheric pieces, cutting edge tracks and strange old goodies that could be used in a soundtrack to be;” *Stereoscopic Redoubt*, “Experimental, radio-art, sound collage, field recordings” that are recommended “for the insane;” and, *Synaptic Sandwich*, which is “full of electro bleeps, retrowave, computer generated, synthetically manipulated aural rhythms” (“Show List”). CiTR’s programming features more music than spoken-word. An exploration of sounds and styles that fall outside popular music genres, or at least land somewhere on the fringes, is a considerable component of its music-based programming, which hints at the station’s idea of how “alternativeness” is projected through broadcasted content.

These schedules and show descriptions reveal the ways that programming is discursively constructed and organized in line with station mandates and internal policies. Responsibility to local communities is constantly reiterated, and the limits of each station’s programming are colourfully described with terms and adjectives that defy the popular conception of the organization of commercial radio programming and operations. Programming is created for an audience of both students and community members, wherein the percentage of each is highly uncertain, evidence of the blurred function of campus stations. Mandates dictate roles for both community members and students, and both the operations and programming of stations fluctuate in terms of serving both these constituencies. Numerous similarities are present in each of the three station’s programming schedule, as are some significant differences. CKUW puts greater emphasis on spoken-word programming that reflects its downtown location, and each station’s music programming is certainly shaped by its location in the vast country that is Canada.

East Coast music is profiled on CHMA, and on CiTR, the weirdness and diversity that come with a large metropolis is certainly reflected in the station's programming. Cultural variety is also dependent to a large extent on location. Winnipeg and Vancouver, two cities of different sizes, have more cultural programming than CHMA, a station located in the very small town of Sackville, New Brunswick. Judging by programming and station policies, disconnections between the three stations are apparent, regardless of all sharing the same federal broadcast regulations. The centrality of federal policy, as well as its streamlined license renewal process, grants stations room to navigate the implementation of federal policy and enables them to respond to the localities that they serve. CRTC campus radio policy is indeed effective for ensuring that campus stations operate with a specific purpose and remain distinct from commercial radio. However, much more can be said about how stations respond to the music scenes and cultural communities within their broadcast range. Given this fact, questions arise such as, how do stations serve their localities beyond just programming local or alternative music, and broadcasting community-oriented content? What other roles do station staff members and volunteers play within cultural communities and music scenes? The following chapter will take this analysis further to explore the relationship between a campus station and its specific locality. Surely "alternativeness" and community responsibility figures into the culture of campus radio beyond simply being mentioned in policy documents to ensure difference and distinctiveness from commercial and state broadcasting. The relationship between campus stations and other nodes in a music scene is connected along discursive lines that strategically deploy these terms and concepts, yet the links implicit in this

relationship are much more dynamic than the descriptions and definitions of diverse and experimental radio programming.

Chapter 5:

Canadian Campus Radio and Local Musical Activity

While Canadian campus radio stations are required to follow a handful of stipulations and regulations that are established and enforced on a federal level by the CRTC, the demographics and cultural components of a locality are a determining factor in shaping programming and operations at individual stations. The Commission has the power to decline a license renewal and can intervene to cease a station's operations if license stipulations are not being met, as was the case with CKLN at Ryerson University in Toronto in February 2011. As I explain in the introduction, CKLN failed to submit annual returns, they filed program schedules late and the station was subject to a number of internal disputes that resulted in the election of competing boards of directors. However, as I argue in the previous chapter, the CRTC approaches regulation of campus radio in a manner that allows stations to continue their operations at a relative distance from the Commission. Stations navigate federal regulation through internal policies in the form of station rules and/or a mandate/philosophy. This grants stations a level of autonomy to cater their programming and operations to local communities or music scenes as they see fit, within the bounds of both federal regulations and internal governance decisions. The variety or diversity inherent in a station's programming grid tends to be largely determined by the very locality that the station serves. In other words, if there are segments of a population that identify as a certain cultural or ethnic group, or speak a certain language, there is a good chance that part of the station's programming will reflect this. If a station and university are in a small town with a demographic largely

made up of one ethnicity or language – which in many small towns in Canada is assumed to be white with European or English backgrounds – the programming will be less culturally diverse, although genres and styles of music heard may still be quite varied. The reflection of a locality’s diversity through programming is determined by a particular impression of that city or town’s demographics as understood by programmers, volunteers, and staff members at the station. Therefore, it is necessary to be aware of the process by which some communities are recognized and others are not. In the previous chapter, for instance, Sarah Michealson explained that there are communities that are not entirely familiar or comfortable with the university space, and she provided the example of the aboriginal community in Winnipeg. According to her account, CKUW is aware of the fact that more effort needs to be made to represent and reflect such communities, but this is an important issue to keep in mind throughout this chapter.

Connections between a locality and a campus station are imagined by campus radio practitioners and cultural producers, and these often fall along ideological lines, such as participating in the notion of “alternative” or “independent” culture. The connections between a campus station and cultural communities or music scenes inspire a closer look at the localities served by CHMA in Sackville, CKUW in Winnipeg, and CiTR in Vancouver, including the physical places that are discussed and described as integral to musical activity within the locality. The relationship between a station and a locality raises such questions as: What is it that makes each locality distinct from others, and how do these distinguishing characteristics factor into how the stations operate? How are stories recalled about each station, especially those that highlight the station’s role within cultural and musical communities in a broadcast range? What other cultural

institutions do campus radio stations work closely with, particularly in regards to the music-based side of these stations, and what can be said about the role of campus radio stations in circulating music *besides* the ways in which programming is organized and described?

In this chapter I will first describe each of my visits to Sackville, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Beyond stepping inside the studio space at each station, I explored the corresponding city or town, paying very close attention to what was happening musically. During each visit, I was particularly keen to follow any path connected to music-making that was promoted or referenced by the radio stations. Interviews with campus radio practitioners and local music-makers, as well as analyses of cultural productions related to campus stations, complimented my visits and observations. Four cultural objects are profiled at the end of this chapter, including two albums that reinforce the prominence of cultural institutions in the Vancouver music scene, and two publications that are produced by campus stations CKUW and CiTR: *Stylus* and *Discorder*, respectively. This chapter discusses the differences and similarities between three localities and their respective campus radio stations and music communities. There is a tension that emerges within this relationship, between individual taste and expertise and the utopian ideal of fully representing one's community. This tension is implicit in the formation of an "alternative" music culture that permeates both campus stations and local music scenes that circulate and support independent and local music. The production of an "alternative" music culture by campus radio is an idea that will conclude this chapter, but only briefly. The issue will be taken up in greater detail in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Spaces, Places, and Campus Radio

Sackville, New Brunswick, is a small town with an approximate population of just over 5,500, organized more or less around one major intersection, and it was the first location I visited. The hotel I stayed in during my visit is located right off of the Trans-Canada Highway, in an area that has off-highway staples such as fast food restaurants, gas stations, and a coffee shop. It took me about fifteen minutes to walk from the hotel to Mount Allison University, which is a little further than the halfway point to the centre of the town. My first day was spent visiting the station. The weather was rainy and cold, about eight or nine degrees Celsius. An evening walk on an early summer Friday was quite solitary, though not by choice. A few people were buying groceries after work, and conference-goers at the university were wrapping up their days by walking around the campus border. I made a point of walking to the music venues that were mentioned during my conversations at CHMA earlier in the day, and this revealed very little activity. No shows were planned for the night, and it was hard to picture these venues active and full. On the other hand, I had the sense that these spaces would be busy from September until April, given that over two thousand more residents are in town during the academic year. George's Roadhouse is the venue that was most frequently mentioned during my conversations at CHMA. I passed George's Roadhouse during my walk. It looked more like an abandoned set of a horror film – lonely and empty, sitting adjacent to a large open field, train tracks, and a quiet train station. The campus is, both geographically and culturally, quite central to the town. There was some evidence of the circulation of art and culture during the late spring and summer months. But I found it to be subdued or at

least not as vibrant and in plain sight as it might be during the academic term. Most of the people I saw walking around were in their fifties and sixties, older than the average university student; or they were elementary or high-school aged. Undoubtedly, this was a much different scene than what I would have observed during an academic term.

The music venues (and the places that infrequently double as music venues) that I passed are close together. Ducky's is a bar just off the corner of Main and Bridge streets, the primary intersection in town, and it was described as the local watering hole where people congregate for drinks on the weekend and after classes or work. The Live Bait Theatre is found at the same intersection, only across the street, and it is a venue that has been used at times for live music. During my visit, the theatre was hosting a trivia and hamburger night. The same intersection is also home to Thunder & Lightning Ltd., a multi-purpose arts and culture space that has become a central spot for much of the musical activity in Sackville. For one, it is the home office of the large East Coast music festival SappyFest. Though the space is not all that large, it sells records and hosts intimate live shows. North of George's Roadhouse on Lorne Street is Struts Gallery. Struts is an artist-run centre that is used for a variety of purposes, including art exhibition and discussion, and it occasionally hosts live music. Essentially, all these places are within walking distance from each other. In taking a short walk through the town, one can easily pass by all of these venues. By exploring the town on foot, I could see how, given the size and centrality of the university compared to the town, the station is easily connected to all these spaces. This large number of cultural venues within such a small town certainly justifies its 2008 designation of "cultural capital of Canada" by the Department of Canadian Heritage, as well as its role as a regional cultural hub.

The following day I was informed that there might be a show at a house that doubles as a venue called 18 Allison (also the actual address of the house). However, upon looking for further details about the performance, it seemed like the venue had moved to another location. I also discovered that on the night before, an arts collective called The Rec Room had hosted a show at a “brand new locale” on Bridge Street, described on a Facebook event page as “the home of the NDP’s campaign office during the election and location of a concert by Handsome Dan & His Gallimaufry a few weeks back.” Attendees were told to go through the yellow door on Bridge Street, which leads into The Rec Room. Three bands were on the bill for the night, although one of them, Audrey and the Agents from Halifax, Nova Scotia, had to cancel. The other two bands, Meisha and the Spanks from Calgary, Alberta, and Blue Thunder Kuno from Moncton, New Brunswick (all groups I had not previously heard of), still played.

That Saturday afternoon, while having lunch at Bridge Street Café – a good-sized coffee and sandwich shop that was playing the Beach Boys and a selection of Motown hits – I overheard a few musicians and friends chatting about house shows in the city. One individual told his friend that house shows provided a “good vibe” for showcasing new songs, or for having your music heard in an intimate setting. Before I left, I heard him say that this particular café is the extent of where excitement both begins and ends during a summer in Sackville.

I next visited Winnipeg. As I grew familiar with the musical and cultural sites in Winnipeg that were described to me during my conversations in the city, it became evident that Winnipeg is a significant leap from Sackville in terms of the number of cultural and musical institutions active in the city. It is by all means a city, although one

without the dominant “downtown core” of skyscrapers that many cities are organized around. This was my second visit to Winnipeg and I had the impression that the area is made up of smaller “districts” or “villages” connected by residential or industrial roads. Slightly northeast of the University of Winnipeg is the Exchange District, an area with many small restaurants and “hip” stores that sell vintage clothing and stylish furniture. Into the Music, a record store recommended to me by numerous Winnipeggers is located here, as is the Royal Albert, a live music venue that has been central in the Winnipeg punk and rock scene for some time now. A number of people I talked with mentioned the fact that Hüsker Dü (an influential punk/hard-rock band from Saint Paul, Minnesota) played the Albert in 1984. South of the Exchange, amidst the downtown bars and clubs is the Pyramid Cabaret, a larger music venue that hosts a variety of bands and events. Further south across the river is Osbourne Village, a strip of Osbourne Street that features shops and a number of restaurants and bars, including The Cavern, a venue underneath a popular pub. There is also Ozzy’s, a basement venue located in what appeared to be a fairly seedy hotel, which featured heavy metal and punk music. Of course, the city is home to many other places that feature live music and a few more record stores, but these aforementioned locations were the most frequently mentioned during my interviews and casual chats with residents of the city.

My time in Winnipeg began on an early Monday morning and I stayed until the following Thursday night. Unfortunately, I missed out on a weekend and the shows that are typically programmed on a Friday or Saturday night. However, I was fortunate to have been in Winnipeg for the beginning of the Folk Festival, which started on the Wednesday night and ended the following Sunday. Upon my arrival, the festival was

certainly a topic of much conversation. The festival takes place at Birds Hill Provincial Park, where many attendees also set up tents and camp for the extended weekend. During my visit, I stayed with a good friend and I attended the first night of the festival with her, along with some of her friends. We arrived at the park around 7 p.m. on a sunny warm evening. A moderate line for wristbands extended down the road to the parking lot. People of all ages populated the grounds; everyone was in good spirits, some naturally and some with the obvious assistance of drugs or alcohol. In between the front gates and the main stage were many food stands offering a great range of eating options, all provided by local restaurants and kitchens from Winnipeg. In front of the main stage, a tapestry of blue, brown, and orange tarps reserved spots for people to sit or stand and hear the music. Individuals, from young children to adults, walked in between the tarps on which others had settled for the night with no intention of moving. My friends and I visited the beer tent and returned for the night's headliner, Blue Rodeo, a popular country-rock band that formed in Toronto, Ontario. They played their 1993 album *Five Days in July* from start to finish as the sun went down and the crowd in front of the stage grew. The Folk Festival had started, and many people would be taking in workshops and music for the next few days.

One thing that really stood out at the festival was how many people knew each other. It was obvious that the individuals I was with had been going to the festival for years. While walking around or sitting in the beer tent, they recognized and said hello to a variety of people. It did not feel like any other summer festival that I have attended. Most of the summer festivals that I have visited took place in cities much larger than Winnipeg, or in towns with a large city nearby. The Winnipeg Folk Festival gave me the impression

that it is an event that people attend on a yearly basis – a summer camp for fans of music and culture. There were no fast-food logos towering above the crowd, or people handing out free energy drinks, as is often the case at large outdoor music festivals. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Folk Festival has been running since 1974, and in 2012 (the year after I attended), it was funded by such organizations and institutions as the Department of Canadian Heritage, SOCAN, the Winnipeg Arts Council; and investors included Assiniboine Credit Union, Big Rock Brewery, and Manitoba Hydro. “Family Area Sponsors” included Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and the Manitoba Federation of Labour. Evidently, the festival is a local institution that draws support from groups and organizations across a variety of sectors and interests.

My next stop was Vancouver, and while there I stayed with friends, a couple I have known since undergrad at The University of Western Ontario. On Friday afternoon, my friend offered to bring me around the city and show me the venues and record stores that he had come to know since moving to Vancouver five years prior. We took the bus from his apartment on West 4th Avenue in Kitsilano, crossed the Granville Bridge, and stopped at Granville and Drake Streets, right out front of the Yale Hotel. This particular venue is a well-established spot for blues music. Walking northeast along Granville, we passed a number of larger clubs and venues, including the Vogue Theatre, the Commodore Ballroom, and Venue Nightclub. The venues had their concert listings posted outside, and many of the acts were recognizable bands familiar to commercial radio programming. This section of Granville is Vancouver’s main entertainment district where one would hear music performed by larger touring acts. Judging by the concert

listings, it appeared highly unlikely that smaller bands, whether local or independent, would play these venues. From here, we walked a short distance to the intersection of Richards and West Georgia, where a record store called Scratch Records used to be located (Scratch also doubles as a record label). However, we found that it had moved its location and it appeared as though the space was now for rent. Moving from the city centre, we walked to Hastings Street and then went east through a small, older part of the city called Gastown. Here, we stopped in at two record stores, Beat Street and Vinyl Records. The latter is quite large, with a really good selection of neatly organized used records. We later passed a place called Red Gate, which was attempting to function as a members-only art space in order to get around legal issues concerning the performance of live music and the sale of alcohol (more on this issue soon). Rather than selling tickets, the venue sells memberships. It is in an older building with a worn facade, a characteristic of much of Hastings Street.

We stopped by Scratch's new location, just east of the east-west divide on Hastings, right where new development in the area had ceased for the time being. The store is a noticeably small space, maybe twenty by twenty feet, and the young man working the counter said that the owner chose this spot because of the cheaper rent. Bins of vinyl records stood in the middle of the store, and show posters decorated the walls. There were also listings for all the upcoming shows that had tickets for sale at Scratch Records. The employee told us about some of the new performance spaces that have been opening up in the city for live music, which are counteracting the fact that venues have a tendency to quickly become shut down by the city. There is a space in an alley, he said, called 360 Glen, which is the venue's address. Naming the venue after its actual street

address conveys a sense of humour or wits' end regarding the status of live music venues in the city – as though the locale will be shut down by the police anyways, so its location might just as well be named. When leaving, we navigated through the scores of people that lined the streets, many who were homeless. To put it lightly, Vancouver's Downtown Eastside is the epicentre of a number of political, social, and economic issues, an area of the city where homelessness and drug use is prominent. Only a few metres away from the record store, two women knelt on the street in broad daylight, heating up a syringe just a few doors down from the city's safe injection site.

Just beyond the intersection of Main and Hastings is Rickshaw, a venue that borders on Chinatown and was once the Shaw Theatre, which was a major exhibitor of Hong Kong cinema. My friend told me that it was now a great venue for punk and lo-fi bands, or bands with minimal instrumentation, since the sound is not very good – the space consists of a stage enclosed by two walls of concrete blocks. We walked down Main Street, through Chinatown and stopped at the Cobalt, a place once known for punk shows, but it was unclear whether or not the space was now hosting live music on a regular basis. Across the street from the Cobalt is a venue that was new at the time, called the Electric Owl. It looked quite stylish and modern, dramatically different from many of the other nearby spots, and indicative of a change in demographics in the area.

The next day, there was a free concert in Stanley Park, a large space at the north end of the city, which featured performances by Hannah Georgas, Neko Case, and The New Pornographers (Case performed both on her own and with The New Pornographers). The New Pornographers are a prominent Vancouver-based band that Case recorded and toured with from time-to-time. She was quite central to Vancouver's

music scene in the mid-1990s after moving to the city to attend the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design (although she later moved to Seattle following her studies). Georgas was born in Newmarket, Ontario, but now resides in Vancouver. These three acts were the final performers on the main stage, while other acts like Hey Ocean! played on a second smaller stage. The free concert celebrated Vancouver's 125th birthday, and the city's more successful indie and rock bands headlined the festivities. At this event, the city appeared young, and the choice of bands to celebrate this benchmark spoke to this youthfulness.

The following Tuesday, I had some free time and I visited Zulu Records on West 4th Avenue, just east of Burrard Street. Many people had mentioned to me that the shop was as a long-time supporter of CiTR, describing it as one of the city's best record stores. The store was busy for a Tuesday afternoon. Zulu is organized in two sections; one is full of vinyl with local bands clearly marked, and the other section contains CDs, a number of books and 'zines, and a wall of staff recommendations. This half also has a raised floor where in-store performances often take place. There is a good selection of used records with helpful stickers on the front that describe the album's quality and whether it is an original pressing or not.

That night, my friend and I attended a *Discorder*-sponsored show at the Biltmore Cabaret, an active venue for local music in the city (recall that *Discorder* is the sibling publication to CiTR). The venue is on the Kingsway, not far from Main and Broadway, a major intersection in Mount Pleasant (a trendy neighbourhood south of the downtown core). It was a "Twoonie Tuesday" show, so cover cost two dollars, and the bands that played included The Shilohs, Capitol 6, and Timecopz. I was not familiar with the bands,

but they appeared to have a decent local following. The opening band, Timecopz, was quite heavy and noisy. The band suited the venue, a space that does not have the greatest sound, which appeared to have been an old cabaret that was once part of the hotel above. The Biltmore is a big wide-open room with dim lighting and large booths along the side of each wall. There was a respectable turnout at the show, with most attendees seeming to be in their early to mid-twenties.

My visits to each of these three places were largely shaped by the conversations I had with people from the radio station or the wider musical community and by the friends I stayed with. Thus, these accounts are partial. The venues and record stores that I went to are certainly not entirely representative of what each locality has to offer. However, they represent the places that stand out in the discussions I had with a select group of people – individuals who are very well-versed in the city or town and particular genres of music and culture happening within it. Clearly, there is much more that can be said about the cultural activity and cultural institutions within a large city like Vancouver in comparison to a smaller town like Sackville and this is how this chapter will subsequently unfold. But this does not mean that the venues and cultural sites in a small town are any less essential.

As I spent time in these three locations, connections between these three radio stations and other cultural institutions (venues and record stores), and cultural productions (magazines, weblogs, and so forth) became apparent on numerous interrelated levels. There are connections made within the cultural histories of the stations and in the stories recalled by my interview subjects. As well, the relationships between campus stations and cultural institutions are evident within the content generated by cultural productions like magazines, show posters, and promotional material. This

content circulates in print, on the internet, throughout the town or city (a show poster on a telephone poll, for instance) and within performance and exhibition spaces like concert venues. This chapter now turns to site-specific analyses of these three campus stations and their connections to cultural institutions and productions. These connections not only demonstrate the place of campus radio stations within a broader conception of a music scene or the overall music-making taking place in a locality, but they also contribute to the ways in which a music scene – and the culture indicative of a particular scene – is constructed, sustained, and ideologically framed by a preference for notions of localness, independence, and alternativeness. Thus, interviews with station staff members, volunteers, and local musicians/cultural producers illustrate a number of links between campus radio stations and local musical activity that are implicit in the mythmaking that contributes to the ways that music scenes are imagined in both the present and the past. Some of these stories recall a particular history or story about the station's development in relation to an institution, production, or performance, and others comment on the contemporary place and space of the station in relation to its surrounding music scene.

CHMA and Sackville: Music Festivals and an East Coast Cultural Hub

Given the modest size and population of Sackville, New Brunswick, it is not surprising that CHMA maintains a close relationship to the handful of venues and bars that regularly host live music. During our interview, station manager Pierre Malloy explained the centrality of local business owner Darren Wheaton in terms of the town's local music scene. Wheaton owns George's Roadhouse, Ducky's, and the town's foundry, which,

according to Malloy “is like the old industry legacy of Sackville” (Pierre Malloy, personal interview, June 3, 2011). Malloy said that a lot of money used to come through Sackville, as it was once famous for providing the hay that was used to feed horses during the Boer War in South Africa. Malloy also expressed his admiration for the Wheaton family and the work that Darren has done in Sackville. George’s was once a tavern that would have “the odd blues and/or rock band” play from time to time,” said Malloy. According to Malloy, CHMA started to book shows at George’s, which led to more touring bands inquiring about booking gigs at the tavern. Malloy explained that shortly thereafter, a man named Paul Henderson moved to town, and he began to book the types of bands that he wanted to hear, including musicians he knew from Edmonton and Calgary. “He knew a lot of what was new and what was indie,” said Malloy, and “he started to bring people up as they were passing through, and booking them tours,” and as interest in live music at George’s increased, Darren put more money into the tavern. Malloy told me that Darren “built a stage, lights, a smoke machine, and now it’s like rock central.” Darren also runs Ducky’s, which Malloy said, “is like the cool watering hole” in town (Malloy 2011).

Malloy’s comments suggest that CHMA has a reciprocal relationship with George’s and other local venues, in which both sides benefit from the existence and operation of the other. “We have a really good relationship with George’s,” said Malloy, “it’s mutually beneficial. It’s kind of like, we bring the party to them, and they make beer sales. And they’re really nice to all of the people who come through, all of the bands. And then we hire Darren to do sound” (Malloy 2011). Struts Gallery is another performance space mentioned by Malloy, described as the local artist-run centre and

gallery. “We’ve had a really good relationship with them over the years,” he said, “and it’s the same group of people, basically, who are involved here and involved there.” The gallery is a venue where CHMA promotes or programs all-ages shows and shows that attract a limited number of attendees. Malloy explained, “If we’re expecting a crowd of twenty-to-forty people, we’ll have it at Struts, and if we’re expecting a hundred or two hundred people, we’ll have it at George’s.” The town of Sackville is also home to a number of places that are not typical venues for live music, but which have served this purpose from time to time, largely because of initiatives at CHMA. Malloy told me that during music festivals, the station “initiated the whole idea of using alternate spaces,” like rock shows at the United Church during Stereophonic. “We just bring stuff and set it up, and in the last couple of years we’ve started using the chapel because the church is in really bad shape and we don’t want the roof falling on the audience. So we’re always looking for new and interesting places,” said Malloy. He added that the station has done shows at the old Vogue Theatre in town, which “is like a 1940s movie theatre” (Malloy 2011). In a small town with only a few performance spaces suitable for live music, these “alternate spaces” enable CHMA and other programmers and producers to host festivals and a number of live events that would not be possible if they relied solely on places like George’s and Struts.

Musician and former Mount Alison student Pat LePoidevin remembers his time as a student in Sackville as “almost legendary” (Pat LePoidevin, personal interview, June 3, 2011). His experience also hints at the connections between CHMA and the surrounding music scene that he found to be important during his time as a student. LePoidevin explained that he was in a “class with a whole bunch of peers and friends who were really

gunning for the same opportunities and the same situations.” He said that on weekends, he and his friends would frequent George’s Roadhouse “way down on Lorne Street.”

LePoidevin described the venue as “an old bar roadhouse place. A beautiful, beautiful place.” The group “grew” with the venue. According to LePoidevin:

We would go down to George’s and maybe we would know one of the bands, maybe we wouldn’t know any of them. But we’d still go down to just gather together and listen to really good music. So that’s where I first heard bands like The Weakerthans, bands like The Constantines. Because after a while, it got to the point where, well, hundreds of people were coming out to these shows and we could have some really good bands too. Which is cool, but it’s also really awesome that we had these smaller bands come. Any bands or musicians that were travelling through basically, we just had a group of friends, a really strong music community that stalked them and said, ‘Hey, we’ll put on a show. We’ll feed you, and give you a place to stay.’ And that’s sort of how the Canadian indie scene runs, which is, really cool. (LePoidevin 2011)

LePoidevin reaffirmed Malloy’s comments about the alternate performance spaces in the town. He explained that he used to live with six others in a “big old Victorian mansion on Bridge Street,” and they would “put on shows there all the time because it was such a show-friendly house with a big downstairs area.” LePoidevin also described the importance of CHMA as a production space for new and independent artists. He told me that he is a folk musician who had been practising his craft for about four years prior to our discussion. He had always been involved with music, but it was coming to Mount Allison and getting connected with CHMA that really helped him to establish himself as an artist. “There’s been one huge thing that has made me focus on what I want to do, and that’s the radio station,” LePoidevin explained. “Actually, in the production studio here at CHMA is where I recorded my first album, called *Blue Tornadoes*, like four years ago,” he added. Not only was he a volunteer and a programmer at the station, but LePoidevin

also took advantage of the station space for the purpose of sound recording. When he toured his first album, LePoidevin was able to use connections that he had made through the campus station. A lot of campus community radio stations “work in a similar way,” said LePoidevin, “so they’ll understand a lot more when albums are coming from a radio station directly to other campus community stations. It’s that effect of sharing, or a network that automatically occurs.” Having taken advantage of the resources and connections that CHMA offered, LePoidevin makes a point of advertising and mentioning the station “everywhere he goes,” and he has thanked CHMA on each album he produced (LePoidevin 2011).

Beyond an awareness of the mutual dependency of CHMA and music performance spaces in Sackville, and in addition to the role of CHMA as a recording studio, the station is also central in the promotion and circulation of music and culture. Programming director Sandy Mackay insisted that CHMA is “integral” to the Sackville music scene, and that there would not even “be a music scene without CHMA” (Sandy Mackay, personal interview, June 3, 2011). He told me that that before the annual music festival SappyFest really took off and “became the entity that it is now,” the station really was “the hub of everything.” Now, he explained, “SappyFest has got an office and it has office hours, and Paul Henderson is doing a lot more local stuff, and that sort of shifted to become more of a hub for the music scene.” The SappyFest office is located in Thunder & Lightning Ltd. However, CHMA is still a very important place for promoting and sustaining music in Sackville, evidenced by such initiatives as creating free posters for any show in town. Mackay explained that the show’s promoter usually designs the poster, and the station then prints it out for free, though the station also offers a free design

service for people that need it. Mackay said that all these individuals, organizations, and institutions work together, and that there's a "really nice balance in town that is maintained through us and SappyFest and the rabid concert-goers." During my walks through Sackville, show posters visible throughout the town often had CHMA's logo in the bottom right-hand corner. A number of posters with CHMA's logo are also visible on the Redesign Sackville website (<http://www.redesignsackville.com>).

Malloy informed me that CHMA has been a strong supporter of SappyFest. In the festival's first year, the station donated about half of the cost for the festival's first paid employee. The station still helps the festival with promotions and posters, as well as ongoing on-air promotion. "Plus," Malloy added, "we often train the people they hire. The girl who's working Sappy Fest this summer was the Stereophonic coordinator last year" (Malloy 2011). Stereophonic is a smaller festival than Sappy Fest and it is programmed and promoted by CHMA. As Malloy explained, the "Stereophonic festival is ours. We started it in 2004. The first year I was here was the first one, January 2004. And, we've been doing it every year since." Malloy said that the festival originated after a lot of musicians travelling the East Coast for other festivals were looking for venues and places to play outside of the one-hundred-mile radius of Halifax. Bands playing in Halifax are often not allowed to play in nearby locations for a specific amount of time before and after their gig, as stipulated by show promoters. The same stipulations apply to Moncton. So, CHMA's music director at the time suggested hosting shows for these bands. He listed all the bands he wanted to play Sackville, and Malloy proposed having a festival and programming them all. Before Stereophonic, according to Malloy, CHMA was organizing "every little rock show that was coming through town and [the station]

was losing money, every time.” This inability to break even financially was attributed to a lack of proper promotion, in Malloy’s opinion, and the fact that bands often insisted on large guarantees that the station could not really afford. It reached the point where the station felt it could no longer program live music, so CHMA became more of a promoter and information hub for booking agents and artists. However, the station decided to continue programming shows, but only within the context of a music festival. The first Stereophonic lasted for just two days and featured about ten bands. In the festival’s second and third years, it increased in size, and by the fourth year, it was featuring between twenty and thirty bands over the course of a week, a scale it has since maintained with varying levels of success each year.

The Stereophonic festival prioritizes Maritime independent music. Malloy said that one year an organizer from Ontario was really pushing to program a large percentage of bands from Ontario. Malloy told me that he had to respond to this individual and emphasize the focus as a “Maritime independent festival,” though bringing in a band or two from Toronto that did not require a thousand dollars for travel was okay (Malloy 2011). He said that they work to keep the festival local and “try to have at least one local act on every show, often two, and this then lets bands from Halifax, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island perform with them.” The station equates “local” with “Sackville,” not nearby cities like Moncton. Most of the local bands playing the festival are comprised of Mount Allison students, and Malloy figures that an increase in student bands is directly related to the fact that festivals like SappyFest and Stereophonic provide a platform for local music. “When I first arrived, and when we did the first couple of festivals” Malloy explained, “we would try to get university people, like ‘do you have a

band?’ but nobody had bands. And now, it’s like, ‘what do you mean we need to find another spot for a local? How many Mount A bands *are* there?’”

Sackville also attracts a number of bands from other Canadian towns and cities, in addition to the many local bands that often form at the university and play at Sackville’s music festivals. As LePoidevin recalled, “there were bands that would come through Sackville and some would have a lot of hold” (LePoidevin 2011). The Rural Alberta Advantage is one of these bands, according to LePoidevin. He remembers the band coming to town in their “early stages” and “a bunch of people just really loved it. So when they came back, they just *stuck* in the town. The Rural Alberta Advantage was just the band that everyone listened to in Sackville.” LePoidevin would then play the band during his airtime on CHMA, further promoting the group to listeners in Sackville and Mount Allison University. “A lot of musicians coming through town influence what is played on the radio, I think,” added LePoidevin. He told me that “if you look at the charts – the weekly charts – usually you can actually line up the shows that are happening in the town to who’s charting. So, if for example, Rural Alberta Advantage was going to play a show here, they’d be charting the week before, usually.” LePoidevin also fondly recalled the opportunity to be a local artist who had the chance to open for some “really amazing” touring bands, like Toronto-based Justin Rutledge and Rock Plaza Central. He claimed that one of the key characteristics that sets Sackville apart as a live music town is that it could “never have an insular local scene that is all on its own. What’s always going to happen in Sackville is that the shows are often going to be touring bands, which is so cool.” This is the “great thing about living in a small town,” he said. “That fear of an

insular crowd that only watches local acts, that can't happen because there are just not enough people" (LePoidevin 2011).

Sackville's modest size and population means that the music scene requires out-of-town bands to help sustain its vibrancy, but the students at Mount Allison certainly play their part as well, either as music fans or as musicians in local acts. LePoidevin's comments hint at the station's dependency on touring bands in terms of shaping the programming habits of show hosts. It is noteworthy that Sackville's connections to other cities and towns, and the bands and artists from these places, are not randomly determined. East Coast bands frequently perform in Sackville, as do touring Canadian bands headed for the larger city of Halifax. Another interesting connection that was brought up during my interviews at CHMA is one between Dawson City, Yukon, and Sackville, New Brunswick. While talking with Mackay, he asked me if I had encountered this connection before we met. I had not, but he told me that CHMA had a former music director who is now the artistic director for the Dawson City Music Festival.

Furthermore, the station had recently lost its latest music director who was hired as the assistant artistic director for the festival. I asked Sandy why this connection exists, and he told me there is quite a long and storied past between the two towns. One explanation involves Shotgun Jimmie and Fred Squire from Shotgun and Jaybird, artists who are now quite prominent within the Sackville and East Coast music scenes. Jimmie and Squire, who had been living in Dawson, went away on tour. Their van broke down in Sackville, and "they called their friends in Dawson, and people sort of went back and forth for years" (Mackay 2011). Mackay told me that the "towns are almost identical, both small towns with seasonal populations. People go there in the summer and leave in the winter.

Here, everyone comes in the winter and leaves in the summer. Similar sort of socio-economic strata I guess – artist types and people just making enough to get by.”

Pierre Malloy synthesized the various connections between CHMA and local music in Sackville. He thinks that CHMA has managed to “really create that sense of community, that musical community, especially with Stereophonic and SappyFest and all of the independent shows that happen in between” (Malloy 2011). “It’s nuts here,” he exclaimed, and in the “last few years it’s just been going up and getting really good.” He said that the station’s role in the music scene is quite dependent on the volunteers and staff of the station. “Some years we get people who are really motivated and we know it’s going to be an easy year. They’re going to do a lot of work and get a lot of people involved.” Other years, “you might get a bunch of shy nerds, and we know this isn’t going to be the year where we recruit a lot of people, but maybe we can get a bunch of technical stuff fixed. It’s a balance, and very dependent on whom we have. It’s the people who do it.”

The individuals at CHMA certainly displayed knowledge of the interrelated cultural histories between the station and the music scene in Sackville, as demonstrated by the stories told about the transformation of George’s from a tavern to a live music venue. They also demonstrated an awareness of the similarities between Dawson City and Sackville and the role this has played in the town’s live music scene. The station also makes use of “alternate” performance spaces, from old churches to large student homes that host shows. The station contributes to the production of music in Sackville by providing studio space for artists, a space seemingly appropriate for recording an album early in one’s career – an opportunity that Pat LePoidevin seized. CHMA is very

involved in the performance of live music in Sackville, through the programming and promotion of Stereophonic and by providing resources like funding and trained personnel for SappyFest. Furthermore, the station provides posters for live shows, and is a hub of information for touring bands and artists that helps them book shows in town. CHMA's programmers and hosts also promote live gigs on air, and their programming practices are often inspired by the music of touring acts, as evidenced by LePoidevin frequently playing Rural Alberta Advantage after listening to them live. Students in Sackville are central to the circulation of music in the town, as their attendance at live shows is crucial for sustaining the music scene, as is their participation in local bands that are required to provide support for touring acts. The small-town nature of Sackville certainly enables the station to be very connected in different facets of local music-making and performance, and its precise location – close enough to neighbouring cities like Moncton and Halifax, yet distant enough for show promoters and bookers to allow a band to play the night before or after visiting these cities – makes the town a perfect spot for touring bands to stop and perform.

CKUW and Winnipeg: Isolation and Collaboration in Music Mythmaking

CKUW in Winnipeg is well-connected to venues in the city, as well as record stores and clothing shops that have been influential in the promotion and circulation of music. The station has a strong presence in cultural events and music festivals, and Winnipeg is a city where indoor music production and rehearsal occurs frequently. A notion of isolation and collaboration permeates and shapes the connections between institutional spaces, and this

is evident in the musical mythology of the city. During my visit, programmers at CKUW emphasized how certain radio shows are often connected to a musical community in the city or a certain sub-genre of music – signifying the ways that the host of a show can bring to the airwaves a particular understanding of a certain genre or segment of the city’s music scene.

Rob Schmidt, CKUW’s long-time station manager, provided me with an overview of the many festivals that the station has been, or is currently involved with. One festival in particular that has been around for a long time is the send + receive festival, which began even before the station received its FM license. Schmidt said that in the festival’s early days, CKUW spent a lot of time providing promotional, logistical, and volunteer support. “Recently,” he added, “we’ve been providing stage hosts for the Jazz Festival, and we have had varying involvement in that over the years” (Rob Schmidt, personal interview, July 5, 2011). A stage host, Schmidt informed me, introduces the band and talks with the crowd in between sets. In certain years, the station provided the same service for the Winnipeg Folk Festival. CKUW also maintains a close relationship to local arts and cultural centres and the festivals that these organizations often program. “There’s a community organization called Art City that is a drop-in arts centre for kids,” Schmidt told me, and the station “works really hard to promote the things that they do,” including their various fundraising efforts. Schmidt also mentioned the Ellis Street Festival. Ellis is a street just north of the university that closes for the festival, and “it’s sort of an inner-city festival,” described Schmidt. CKUW has provided promotional and logistical support for the festival on a yearly basis. Ted Turner, the station’s outreach and sponsorship coordinator, mentioned one more community and cultural organization that

the station often works with, which is the Spence Neighbourhood Association. Turner said that it is “just down the street,” and it “runs a lot of youth programming,” including participation in CKUW’s Radio Camp (Ted Turner, personal interview, July 7, 2011). The camp runs during the summer and was described by Turner as a week-long camp for a group of children who “learn how to make radio and do interviews.”

Turner emphasized the station’s important relationship to local independent record stores, particularly Into the Music in the Exchange District. “In the same way that *Stylus* was the transmitter for CKUW before we went FM,” said Turner, “there were spots like Into the Music and a skate shop called SK8 that were really important in terms of creating a sense of community and aligning certain energies that would sort of be flowing from all these different underground points” (Turner 2011). Turner told me that when Greg Tonn originally opened the store in the late 1980s with his own record collection, it was down the street from “the old SK8” on Corydon. Turner made connections between stores like Into the Music and SK8 and venues like the Royal Albert in the Exchange, and claimed that all these places came together to “create a community at once, at one time.” He said that the Royal Albert “as a venue is really important in terms of the development of all this energy as well. That’s where these bands played, that’s where local bands played and that’s where touring bands played. Along with the Spectrum, which is now The Pyramid.” He recalled that the promoters who worked at the Spectrum brought the band Hüsker Dü to Winnipeg twice. Thinking about the history of the station and related cultural institutions in the city, Turner said that “having a campus radio station downtown wouldn’t make sense on its own. It made sense because all this other stuff was happening.”

Rob Schmidt also mentioned Into the Music and he explained that “it’s super important to have ties to places like that, because if there was nowhere to get the music we play on the station, it would kind of be a sterile environment” (Schmidt 2011).

Schmidt said that Into the Music has a ton of LPs and used CDs, and that their staff members are “experts.” The station promotes the record store and the store sponsors some of CKUW’s shows. Venues and record stores are also vital to a music scene, as Schmidt explained, because these are:

also social spaces where people from communities can mix and talk and share ideas. You don’t really have people hanging out at Walmart talking about politics or life or things like that. Whereas record stores, or what we conceive of as a good record store, is a social place. You go there and talk to people about music and about events and about culture and politics. So it’s really important to have ties like that. And a lot of those places support us financially, or they support us in other ways. So venues can support us by hosting events when we’re doing our fundraising drive. And then, we happily support the local bands and local music as much as we can. And not just rock music, you know, and not just pop music, but cultural groups and world music. (Schmidt 2011)

Veteran CKUW volunteer Stu Reid has been hosting live music performances from his house for the past few years, exemplifying the close ties between music in Winnipeg and the culture of the radio station. Reid explained to me that college radio has been a big deal to him since the late 1970s. He told me that he first started listening to music when he was fourteen or fifteen, and he “was into it for a couple of years and then all of the sudden it was the summer of 1978, and then came punk rock and new wave” (Stu Reid, personal interview, July 5, 2011). He discovered CJUM at the University of Manitoba at the time, and he was “reborn.” Reid said that it was great to have college radio in the city at that time, but it was only “around for about a year and a half before it died. The student

union basically killed it off. And Winnipeg didn't have alternative radio for twenty years, which was insane." After losing that station, Reid always told himself that if the city ever got college radio back, he would be a part of it. "And, you know, twenty years later," he said, "sure enough, we got it back." He informed me that the time he spends hosting *Twang Trust* is his "favourite two hours of the week." He said that his show started out as an alt-country show, a genre that a friend of his had applied for. His friend hosted the show with Reid as a co-host. Eventually, Reid became the show's sole host. Reid explained that over time, the show started to define him. "Everything I listen to," said Reid, "I'm thinking about my show, like, what can I play next week?" And although his "tastes have narrowed" over time, the show is "still all over the place." He said, "I'll play weird punk stuff and somehow justify it as country music, you know, in some weird way, shape or form. Everything I play tends to have some sort of linear flow to it, whether it's a set of live music happening soon, or whether it's based around a theme that weaves all the way through the show." Reid admitted that he has put a lot more effort into the show than he needs to, but it is a "whole lot of fun" for him. Reid also co-hosts a Saturday morning children's show with his seven-year-old daughter, Brittany, and they rotate hosting duties with three other individuals. Reid said that "Britt was the only kid on there for about four years, but just recently a woman who got involved brings her son in and he's a little older than Britt" (Reid 2011). Two years prior to my visit, Brittany won the station's award for favourite host.

Reid hosts house concerts on a fairly regular basis. His first house show featured Jim Bryson, Mike Plume, and C.R. Avery, and a month before our interview, he hosted Kate Maki and Fred Squire. Reid explained that Fred is long-listed in the Polaris Prize

this year, “which is nice to see” (Reid 2011). On the weekend prior to our interview, Reid hosted his first outdoor show. He said it was a lot of fun, although his “across-the-lane neighbour wasn’t too thrilled.” The show included two bands, the Warped 45s and Joshua Cockerill, both from Toronto. Reid is instrumental in putting these shows together. For his next show, he said he would be hosting Chuck Prophet, who is also playing the Folk Festival the following weekend. Reid explained that he is a huge fan, and because he was worried that it might rain for the Folk Festival show, he wanted to “make sure [he] got [Chuck Prophet] for [himself].” He also told me that a friend from North Carolina is going to film and record the Prophet house show, and put together a package to be sold as a fundraising incentive for CKUW.

Reid has been involved with music in Winnipeg for decades. He works as a graphic artist and has created countless concert posters over the years. Reid said, “way back, prior to computers, I was almost the only guy really doing noteworthy poster art for Winnipeg shows. And I still do a lot of stuff, I do stuff for the West End Cultural Centre, and I was doing the Jazz Festival until recently” (Reid 2011). Reid created posters for, in his words, “just about every bar in the city” at one time or another. He told me that he has always been involved with the “local scene” in this way, and “local is a big part of [his radio show] too.” He recalled one story in particular that illustrates his involvement with local Winnipeg music over the past few decades. “One of my favourite bands from back in the day, local bands” Reid explained, “is called The Fuse, who later became Jeffrey Hatcher & The Big Beat, who were slightly notable.” At the time, Reid was too young to get into bars and see The Fuse live, but he discovered them instead through college radio because the station would play the band’s demos. Over the years, Reid got to know the

band personally. During the station's most recent fundraising efforts, CKUW was broadcasting live from a bar, and Reid managed to get The Fuse together to perform as the house band for the night. He explained that they do not play together frequently, but "they still keep at it to some degree." Reid then asked three different artists from different eras "of Winnipeg live music to come up and join [him] for a couple of songs in each set" (Reid 2011).

Stu Reid's stories highlight the ways in which programmers at CKUW envision themselves as intimately connected to particular aspects of Winnipeg's music scene. Reid has certainly made a number of personal connections with bands and artists, connections that have implications for live music in the city and the content programmed by CKUW. I interviewed two other show hosts, and similar ties exist between them and their respective music communities in Winnipeg. Robin Eriksson is the station's program director, but she also hosts *Hit the Big Wide Strum!* – an "old-time and bluegrass music show" (Robin Eriksson, personal interview, July 6, 2011). Eriksson said that old-time and bluegrass music are growing and becoming "sort of trendy across the country right now. Old-time and roots music [are] making a comeback." Over the last seven years that she has done this show, Eriksson has noticed that more Canadian content is available. Furthermore, she commented on the growing number of younger musicians and female artists playing old-time and bluegrass music. "When I first started," added Eriksson, "we really had trouble finding stuff that wasn't old boys' music. And that's not the kind of stuff that I've liked in any genre. So, the longer I do my show, the more exciting it is for me in a way because I do have more options to play the sort of stuff that excites me."

Eriksson said that she does as much as possible to profile and promote old-time and bluegrass music for her listeners. She interviews artists if they are coming to town, and she challenges the restrictive boundaries that are often put around the genre:

When I first started the show, I used to get phone calls from people, people who listened to the show previously and they would say, ‘what you’re playing isn’t bluegrass.’ And I was really self-conscious, like, ‘Oh, I’m offending the listeners.’ And as a young programmer, I thought I was doing it all wrong. So it took me a really long time to find where my legs were in terms of doing my own thing. Because I stepped into some really big shoes from the fellow that was doing the show, and then the woman I took over from. And it’s hard because, you know, those listeners expected that I was going to step in and do exactly the same thing, and my taste would be exactly Bill Munroe and the Osborne Brothers. And there’s this idea out there that if it’s not Bill Munroe or the Osborne Brothers, then it’s not bluegrass. And if you play new up-and-comers, or if you play music that takes those traditional aspects of the music and mutates it a little bit to have a fresher sound, then it’s all wrong. So the longer I do my show, I feel like, if you like it, you’ll listen, and if not, you’ll turn it off. So I tend to promote the stuff that is exciting to me, and not promote the stuff that isn’t exciting to me. And some people in the bluegrass community here are offended by that. And some people aren’t. And in a lot of ways it depends on their age and their gender. And that’s fine. (Eriksson 2011)

Sarah Michaelson entered the Winnipeg music community through CKUW and as with both Eriksson and Reid, her current relationship to music-making in Winnipeg is greatly facilitated by the station. She told me that her show, *Stylus Radio* “morphed into something that became [her] DJ identity, which is looking into primarily rare soul and funk music, but also expanding into Canadian hip hop and some contemporary stuff” (Sarah Michaelson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). For about seven years she has been performing professionally under the name Mama Cutsworth. “It was definitely *Stylus Radio* and the station as a whole that was my gateway into performing music

professionally,” said Michaelson, “just in terms of learning about a ton of music.”

Michaelson also commented on the station’s relationship to the music scene in Winnipeg on a more general level. “A lot of our hosts are members of the music community,” she said, “whether they are DJs or musicians from different styles of music – but not just musicians, but also booking agents and whoever. There are a ton of people who are heavily invested in the community and are a big part of it.” Michaelson said that it is not really people with journalism or creative communications backgrounds who are doing shows. Programmers and hosts are often “people who are music collectors and extreme nerds about one genre. And that’s why the listening is so interesting too, because obviously it’s not Top 40. It’s this really niche jazz programming, or a whole show just dedicated to ska music.” She told me that programmers and hosts live and breathe these genres, and a lot of these programs are “anchors” for people in those music communities because it’s “their only source to hear this stuff on the radio.” Someone recently pitched an all 8-bit music show to the station, a program that will feature only music from video games. “And there’s this growing culture of 8-bit music and game culture in the city and this show has the potential to be that anchor,” Michaelson said. “You kind of need to be a smart listener at a station like CKUW,” she added, “where you’re really engaged. We call it active listening. You know what time you want to tune in for a program and you’re aware of what’s happening on the schedule, which is a really different concept than just always having a station on in the background” (Michaelson 2011).

CKUW’s awareness of musical activity in Winnipeg is a significant component of the station’s culture, and this relationship becomes part of a larger narrative or mythology about the city’s music scene. Rob Schmidt discussed the trajectories of certain Winnipeg-

based bands. These artists are important in defining music in Winnipeg and the station is aware of its role in shaping their careers. Schmidt explained:

Certain musicians, they develop and they get to the point where they need our support and we support them, and then they get beyond that and some of them are still really great friends. I mean, you look at bands like The Weakerthans, for example. Most or many Canadians would recognize the name of that band. They got a lot of promotion and a lot of support from CKUW in the early days. They went so far as to hosting fundraising events for us and things like that. So, we still play The Weakerthans, of course, but you wouldn't hear them as much as you'd hear other newer bands that are coming up. Like The Details or Imaginary Cities. Which are both bands that Stephen Carroll from The Weakerthans is now helping in their careers. And it's kind of neat, because in those bands, some of their members have also been volunteers at the station. Well, Stephen Carroll himself did a radio show for a period of time. So there's a real neat organic community with that kind of stuff. And that's something that I'm pretty proud that we're able to do. Not every station has that sort of organic connection to its music community. I think with Winnipeg, just the nature of this city, that that was bound to happen. (Schmidt 2011)

The “nature” of Winnipeg is something that most of the staff members and volunteers that I talked with at CKUW mentioned. Sarah Michaelson described the city as “small and isolated,” and she noted how this isolation does a “few interesting things” (Michaelson 2011). “You kind of know everyone in a certain genre of music,” she described, ““Oh, that's the reggae scene in town, and that's the hip hop scene,” and that splinters off into a few different sub-genres too.” Because the city is so small, and because “each music community is so small, in terms of performers and fans,” Michaelson explained that there is a lot of crossover. The city is “really a collaborative city,” she said, “because it's so small and because we have long winters. Minneapolis is one of our closest cities and it's in another country and eight hours away.” Different artists producing music in Winnipeg end up working together because musicians and

artists from other cities are so far away. “And that’s definitely happened to me,” Michaelson said, “[I ended] up being a signer on an electronic music label and I had never done that before. My background was jazz or choir music. And that happens a lot in this city” (Michaelson 2011).

Ted Turner claimed that this collaborative crossover musical culture is often born out of artists and musicians working indoors. He pinpointed the intense energy he felt in the small basement room where CKUW once operated. Turner said, “The sense of the soul of the station, that is the feel of the independent music community. I mean, that’s what you could feel when you walked into the room for the first time. Everyone was either in bands or about to be in bands, or [was] notorious for having a ridiculously big record collection” (Turner 2011). In regards to the city, Turner said that “as much as you can kind of complain about being socially, geographically, aesthetically, and artistically isolated, there’s something kind of safe and comforting in that too. This warm blanket you can just wrap up and hide in, and it is all part of the basement culture in Winnipeg.” According to Turner, when people are indoors for such a long period of time, they are going to start making art and music. “And I think that the station has that feeling,” he added.

Schmidt considered this notion of an indoors, or basement culture, to be central in the mythology of Winnipeg’s music scene. He said that this basement culture is equally vital to the “musical legacy of the place,” as it might pertain to the number of successful popular music acts that started in the city (Schmidt 2011). “Obviously, the Guess Who is still name-dropped constantly, and tons of other great bands have come from here,” said Schmidt. “If you think of the ’90s,” he added, “there are the Watchmen and Crash Test

Dummies and all of these acts went on to pretty notable success. So the mythology is that because it's so bloody miserable here for six months of the year, people stay indoors and jam, they play music. And they have house parties or basement parties." Schmidt admitted that there is a lot of truth to this idea, citing the fact that a lot of all-ages shows take place in basements and he mentioned the house concerts that Stu Reid organizes. He feels that it is quite strange that Winnipeg was the last major Canadian city to not have a campus station, because there has always been a strong musical community and a strong activist community in the city. As he said, "it's the same thing too, where in the winter everyone sits around drinking coffee and talking politics. Those ideas incubate and build some energy, and yeah, it's just a part of this city" (Schmidt 2011).

Musical activity in Winnipeg shares a notion of isolation and collaboration with the culture of CKUW. Turner recalled the "feeling" of the small basement pre-FM station, which to some degree has influenced the culture of the station as it operates today. A recurring theme throughout my conversations with individuals at CKUW was the indoor nature of cultural production in Winnipeg, and how this results in members from different musical communities interacting and collaborating. Interviewees demonstrate an awareness of the cultural institutions that are significant in their own work as radio practitioners or as cultural producers. The station is conscious of the ways in which it is implicated in the careers of local artists and musicians. For instance, recall Schmidt's comments about The Weakerthans, where he emphasized the station's role in helping the band, much more so than the reciprocal case. One example of the reciprocal situation is LePoidevin's comments about Sackville and the role of touring bands in shaping programming. However, the role that these bands and artists play in terms of

helping the station reach a level of recognition among listeners is not as strongly articulated, but this may be the result of the difficulties that stations face in terms of measuring listenership and audience statistics.

The comments and stories recalled by interviewees – which emphasize how connections between institutions and producers are central to the culture of the station – cultivate a shared history amongst individuals involved in various aspects of musical activity in the locality, and they constitute the music scene in the present. The connections between individuals and institutions tend to be framed by a certain level of expertise or taste discrimination that guides listeners and the listening experience. For instance, Reid mentioned his ability to justify nearly any musical selection as “alt-country” and how he is able to do this because of his expertise in the genre and his longevity with the station. There is thus a tension between representing a certain musical or cultural community through one’s involvement with the station and passion for a certain genre or musical style, and a hierarchy of cultural value that either pre-exists or develops as one becomes more involved with the station or a musical community in the locality.

CiTR and Vancouver: Cultural Institutions and Community in a Growing City

CiTR at the University of British Columbia maintains relationships with venues and cultural institutions in the city, although the station is also very active in on-campus cultural activity. Station manager Brenda Grunau provided me with an overview of some of the music promoted and programmed by CiTR. She explained that the Biltmore

Cabaret is one of the station's core advertisers and the station promotes a lot of their live shows. She said that most of the bands that play in Vancouver, and are generally representative of the styles of music heard on CiTR, are booked at the Biltmore. Grunau continued, "We support a lot of what Mint Records does, and The Hive – the leading indie recording studio in town – is a sponsor of SHiNDiG," the station's annual battle of the bands that has taken place at the Railway Club for "about ten years" (Brenda Grunau, personal interview, July 11, 2011). She listed Scrape, Scratch, Red Cat, and Zulu as record stores that work closely with the station. According to Grunau, the station's sibling publication *Discorder* started because "Zulu was committed to purchasing the back page and they've been on the back page of *Discorder* since 1983, so that's why *Discorder* was able to launch, because of that ad revenue. So Zulu's been a stalwart supporter." Grunau told me that SHiNDiG lasts for thirteen weeks, and this competition takes place every Tuesday during the fall. It has been running for about fifteen years and bands compete for prizes, such as production support from "local sound production houses." She mentioned a number of bands that have played SHiNDiG in previous years, exemplifying the station's consciousness of its role in developing the career of Vancouver-based artists. Bands she named include Fond of Tigers, Maow (Neko Case's first band in Vancouver), Destroyer, and They Shoot Horses, Don't They?" Grunau said that the first-place band often "breaks up and the second-place band goes on to do something interesting." (Grunau 2011).

Janis McKenzie explained that the CiTR also makes an effort to ensure that the station is present at musical festivals and events that do not fit within "those indie rock categories, because a large percentage of our programming, especially our long-running

programming, are things like folk, jazz, bluegrass and other genres of music” (Janis McKenzie, personal interview, July 12, 2011). The station has a float in the Pride parade and programs music at The Pit, which is the Student Union pub. McKenzie said that the station has not lost its connection to the campus over the years, although it has been working at building connections to the wider community as well. She also mentioned that there is great potential for collaboration with colleagues at Co-Op Radio and CJSF at Simon Fraser University, such as combining resources to cover large events.

Cameron Reed has not worked or volunteered for CiTR, but his extensive experience and expertise with the production, promotion, and performance of music in Vancouver contributes significantly to a discussion of CiTR and music in the city. Around 2003 or 2004, Reed was in a band and started promoting shows as an independent promoter. “Instead of waiting to be booked, we booked shows ourselves, proactively,” Reed said (Cameron Reed, personal interview, July 11, 2011). “A couple of the shows that we had done went really well, especially considering that they were our first little foray into promoting,” Reed added. This initial experience resulted in Reed and his friend being asked to help out with the Vancouver-based music festival, Music Waste – a festival that takes place over five days and features a “half-dozen shows,” including comedy and art, every night. Reed recalled that when he first got involved with the festival, “the torch had been passed to a new group, and the people putting it on didn’t really have much experience promoting. Neither did I at the time but I took that opportunity and jumped in there and helped out.” Over the course of the following seven years, Reed began “kind of running” the festival along with some other individuals who have helped out a great deal. Sarah Cordingley is one person in particular that Reed

mentioned, who helped run the festival before the partnership assembled a new group that actively organized Music Waste while Reed took on “an overseeing position.” Reed also contributes to the organization of the annual Victory Square Block Party, a free outdoor concert that features, as Reed said, “all up-and-coming local bands.” A review on *Discorder’s* website posted by Christina Gray on September 9, 2011, explained that the seventh Victory Square Block Party “took over the park at Hastings and Cambie at the edge of the Downtown Eastside. [Its] charm is that hipsters, musicians, hobos and people of all different ages come together for one afternoon to listen to local independent music on one of the last days of summer” (Gray 2011). Reed informed me that everything he does is very Vancouver-centric: “I’m not involved with putting on big out-of-town acts. I’m all about shows that are all local bands, all local artists and all local comedians. No corporate sponsorship or anything like that. The idea is to make it easy for people to experience the independent local culture.” The idea of treating local culture like a big festival is what motivates Reed. He said that big festivals like South by Southwest (SXSW) and College Music Journal (CMJ) are great, “and they pull in some big acts and stuff like that, but it really doesn’t take much to take your local culture and treat it in the same way.” Reed has also played in different punk bands over the years and he just started an electronic project under the name of Babe Rainbow, which, he said, “sort of took off right away.” The project was picked up by a well-known electronic label, Warp Records, which had released two of his EPs as of my visit to Vancouver.

The radio station has been involved with these live music festivals in varying capacities. Reed told me that he participated in a number of events that CiTR has sponsored. He said that for the most part, the station is usually the title sponsor, “like

‘this event is sponsored by CiTR,’ and they set up a booth and they’ll run PSAs for us and mention it on air” (Reed 2011). He explained that the station’s involvement in the festival is helpful because “the people that are listening to the station are listening to it for the more outsider stuff, which is what we focus on.” For the previous year’s Victory Square Block Party, CiTR set up a booth and broadcasted live from the event. “That’s the sort of thing that I like to see CiTR doing,” said Reed, “like really get in there and be a part of this big event. And I think they’re doing this more often now. We just had to let the city know that there was going to be a table there, and we had to make sure there were enough power outlets for them. Then we just left them to do their thing for the day.”

Broadcasting live from events and festivals enables the station to display and maintain a presence that conveys participation and involvement with the music scene or a particular musical community. By physically leaving the campus space and setting up a broadcast booth at a festival, stations reach out to the wider community. Conducting interviews outside of the studio is another way to bring an aspect of music-making in the city into the station, and then back out into the city by broadcasting this content to listeners. When I visited Nardwuar the Human Serviette in the broadcast booth before our interview, I observed his programming style. He started his show by talking on-air about Vancouver-based band Apollo Ghosts, and in particular, the upcoming release party for their newest 7-inch, *Money Has No Heart*, at the Zoo Zhop, a record store and performance space in the city’s Downtown Eastside. Nardwuar is very conscious about organizing his show around upcoming live performances in the city, and this greatly influences his interview practices:

Well for me, personally, because my show is every Friday, I’m usually scrambling for something every week. So if a band is

playing in Vancouver that I'm interested in that weekend, I might talk to them. And if there's a band that I'm not interested in, I'll probably talk to them. Or I'll mention it. So I kind of do it that way. I don't really plan ahead at all. I'm thinking, 'Oh this week I'll play the Apollo Ghosts and I'll play Hunx and his Punx because they came to town last week and I interviewed them.' But I'm not thinking ahead, like in three weeks what I'll have on my show, at all....[I]t could be anybody, I'll interview anybody. From a preacher, to a porn star, to a Top 40 band to a total punk band. Just anything. (Nardwuar... 2011)

Nardwuar is known for interviewing a wide range of artists at different stages in their careers, including some of the most successful contemporary popular music artists (like Lil' Wayne and Drake), yet he is always aware of local acts. He recalled his early days with the station, noting that bands would give tapes to CiTR and he would put them on 8-track cartridges so the DJ could play them. "So there was a whole wall of local stuff. CiTR is always prided in playing local stuff. And I think people still get a kick out of hearing their music on CiTR," said Nardwuar. Nardwuar's interviewing and programming practices have also been greatly influenced by the station, both in terms of the resources available in the station space and in terms of the culture that encourages discussion and the sharing of musical taste and knowledge. "When I first came to CiTR," Nardwuar said, "I was only into punk rock or only into garage rock or only into 60s retro rock. That's all that I liked, my blinders were just stuck in that stuff." However, over time, he said he has become aware of "all the great stuff that is out there" and he learned "everything from CiTR." One instance, he recalled:

When I came into CiTR to begin with, there was a band called Wire that everyone was talking about, you know the band Wire? But at that time they were called Wir, W-I-R. They lost an 'E' because they had lost a member. And that was kind of the synth era of Wire. And I didn't know who Wire was, and I then thought, 'I'll go to the record library and I'll listen to Wire.' I was able to get exposed to

records through the CiTR record library. So I everything I learned was pretty much through CiTR. (Nardwuar... 2011)

Again, it is quite evident that campus radio stations are much more than broadcasters or outlets for content. The resources made available at campus stations have a great influence on the individuals who produce content for the stations. One last example that illustrates the ways in which the station provides important resources for the circulation of music is CiTR's DJ training program – in this case, DJ refers to a performer, not a show host. Grunau explained that a number of Vancouver's night club and party DJs have shows at CiTR, and the station has all the DJ equipment needed to run a training program. Grunau said, "A lot of students are always asking for DJs to DJ their parties, except they have no budget. And people are always coming in here to learn how to do that. So we figured that there's a great connection there" (Grunau 2011). Therefore, the station can train DJs to then perform at club events for free and it is a "great way to promote the station and get the word out, and sort of see a need and serve it," added Grunau. The DJ training program is also evidence of CiTR's contribution to the cultural and musical life on campus, providing students and student groups with the means to program music and events.

CiTR – programmers, staff members, and technical volunteers – is both aware of and integrated in Vancouver music-making. The station also demonstrates a commitment to on-campus activity, such as student clubs and student spaces. The longevity of the station is integral to music performance and exhibition in Vancouver, particularly because performance space is often very temporary. That is to say, in Vancouver, venues have had a tendency to close or change locations due to legalities pertaining to noise and

the sale of alcohol, in addition to the fact that the city is quite “young” and currently expanding. “I mean we’re a fairly young city, and it’s being developed very quickly,” said Reed (Reed 2011). He added, “You know, just the changes in my ten years in the city, you can definitely see it. I would say an obstacle, like right off the top of my mind, is having a venue that kind of lasts a while, you know what I mean?” He added, if a venue is around for a while, a “shitty booker” will come in, stop putting on the same sort of shows and will eventually “have a stranglehold over that spot.” Reed was careful to state that he does not feel as though there is a lack of venues in the city, but that “a lot of community building has to do with familiarity, and if you don’t have a single spot or hub to rally around, it can be difficult to build that sense of community.” He explained that he feels as though the “local scene is very tight, and there are a lot of different pockets and different genres...but there’s not factions like, ‘You stay over there, that’s your thing,’ everyone’s generally friendly and supportive.” One space that did have a sense of community within the music scene for a period of time was an illegal warehouse space called the Emergency Room. In Reed’s words, “It was a recording studio, it was a jam space, and a venue where similar bands would play. Touring bands would come in and our local guys would open up. And I feel like that’s the one thing that is sort of lacking, it’s hard to build that community without that one spot.” It is currently difficult to build and sustain a cultural core because of licensing and cost issues that are prevalent in Vancouver. Reed said that “you can have a warehouse space, but in order to be able to make it a legitimate business, it costs one hundred thousand-some-odd dollars.” He told me that he knows “there are people who would be open to running a legitimate business, but they don’t have that sort of money, so a lot of places have to go under the radar and

have to stay illegal” (Reed 2011). These illegal venues eventually get shut down, and, as Reed said, the community dissipates.

Nardwuar offered some poignant comments on performance spaces and places in the city, speaking from experience with his band The Evaporators. He claimed that it is hard get a show booking at “one of the bigger established places like the Commodore Ballroom,” which he noted was listed in *Billboard Magazine* as one of the “greatest ballrooms” in North America, “but no local band is going to headline there” (Nardwuar... 2011). He said that it used to be possible to headline the Commodore Ballroom if you were a “really established local band.” The Evaporators usually rent a hall or play an in-store gig. Nardwuar explained that he prefers playing all-ages shows because he remembers, as a kid, not being able to get into shows. He added that not everyone is into all-ages shows, so they will organize “underground gigs at warehouses where they’ll sell booze.” He said that there are a lot of places to play if you are “a bit creative,” and argued that this is “probably what makes bands even better in Vancouver. Because it’s hard to find a place to play, when you do play, you make it really worthwhile.”

Nardwuar expanded on this idea that the unpredictable location and limited temporality of venues is beneficial for the Vancouver scene. He mentioned the venue Richard’s on Richards, a place downtown that used to host a lot of live music, “but it was shut down because they built an apartment there” (Nardwuar... 2011). However, the venue was not known for booking local bands. At times, they did book Vancouver bands such as Black Mountain, although “they would get a Thursday night show, they wouldn’t get a Friday show,” Nardwuar said. He believes that it is unfortunate that venues close, but on the positive side, these closures force people to find other venues, and this process

of discovering new performance spaces can be exciting and rewarding. At one time, the Commodore was shut down for a few years, and a promoter named Paul Moes was in charge of putting together a show for the California-based punk band NOFX. Nardwuar recalled, “So he booked out the Croatian Cultural Centre, because he’s Croatian. So, NOFX played the Croatian Cultural Centre. And a couple of years later, the Commodore opened up, but because Paul Moes had booked the Croatian Cultural Centre, it was a viable venue.”

Nardwuar illustrates an intriguing point by connecting local “smaller” bands to certain venues, namely the illegal warehouse spaces, and larger touring bands to some of the bigger downtown venues. This idea suggests that a sustained performance space, or lack thereof, is something that affects local independent bands more than bands that have achieved recognition outside the city, the financial means to tour frequently, or the luxury of spending more time producing music and less time performing music. For instance, Reed said that there is a disjuncture between bands at different stages in their careers, or with different philosophies and approaches to music-making. The more inclusive or independent cultural institutions are therefore more important to independent bands and artists. Reed explained:

There are some bands that play the SOCAN [Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada] and music business game really well, and from the get-go they are applying for grants and are registered with SOCAN and playing industry events. Sometimes there’s crossover. A lot of bands apply for grants, but there is a certain segment that really play up the business side, and aren’t really part of the gigging community proper. Some examples, like Hey Ocean!, or We are the City...one other thing I do, I’m a Music B.C. juror, so we sit in and listen to tons of bands that apply for a variety of grants and decide based on certain merits who should receive the money. We go through these and we hear a lot of the same bands. And, you know, that’s neither good nor bad, it’s just

they exist in *this* world, and they sort of play *their* shows. (Reed 2011)

On the other hand, some bands employ an ethos of independence, and this requires a different approach to music-making. Reed continued:

And there's the other bands that are really independent, and maybe just lazy, or prefer that sort of grinding it out on the road, or sleeping on people's floors, and that sort of thing. Like 'We book our own shows, we manage ourselves, we send our own press releases *if* we send out press releases.' But, you know, the magazine I used to work for, *Only*, and I guess before that, *Terminal City*, really had an emphasis on the more, weird, you know, I would say *punk*, DIY in its ideology, not so much in its sound, like straight up punk music. Like I would say weirder stuff gets more attention from *that*, from the DIY community. A magazine like *Discorder*, also in the true college radio sense, is always focusing on the outsiders. (Reed 2011)

Both Reed and Nardwuar demonstrate the importance of independent and inclusive cultural institutions and the irregularity of venues and performance spaces in the city. These institutions are discussed in opposition to larger bureaucratic cultural sponsors, such as SOCAN, which appears to favour bands that have proven their ability to garner national attention. That is, it often takes an already successful song or album to receive funding from these organizations. The significance, then, of a cultural institution like a campus radio station that has longevity in the scene and can provide resources and promotion for new and independent artists cannot be overlooked and understated, particularly when other forms of institutional support are aligned with more established artists. Such a place offers cultural producers and promoters a space to develop their artistic personalities and technical abilities.

Mint Records co-founder and former CiTR staff member Bill Baker has a history of participating in the circulation of music that represents the station's connection to

other cultural institutions in the wider Vancouver music scene, as well as an involvement with the role of the station in fostering further cultural work and production. Both his role at CiTR and the work he went on to produce following his involvement with the station contributes significantly to the legacy of the station and to a popular account of how the station fits within the Vancouver music scene. Today, Baker works as director of music licensing at Mint Records – or, as he told me, at least that is what it says on his business card. “Truthfully, behind the scenes,” the label’s staff does “every job,” he said (Bill Baker, personal interview, July 27, 2011). Baker also works in artist relations, which means he is the person who musicians talk to, and he then delegates tasks to whoever can help depending on the particular situation with the artist. “But, you know,” said Baker, “this is actually our twentieth anniversary this year, and it’s certainly a different, a very different story from back then when we started, but this is sort of what I do now. That’s the short answer.” Obviously, Baker is comparing the significant differences in daily tasks from getting an independent record label off the ground to his current task of ensuring the sustainability and future of the label. Baker and Randy Iwata started the label. As Baker said, the two men were “real record nerds when [they] were teens and in high school,” and although they did not know each other at that point, they had similar interests – Baker cited punk rock and science fiction. Iwata and Baker would later meet at CiTR, where Baker said he “became involved very quickly” at the station, and within a year or so, he was a member of the student executive. He met Iwata at a “Friday Afternoon Brewscast,” which took place once every month on a Friday. The station’s lounge would be closed off, station members would congregate and talk, and there was a vending machine that sold beer. Baker explained, “Randy and I took advantage of this

one Friday at about 10:30 in the morning, and within about half-an-hour we just had this incredible rapport...And we realized that we had been at so many of the same shows and bought so many of the same records and all that kind of stuff.” During their time at the station, Baker said that he and Iwata “made a very good team” and “did almost every job there was to do, except engineering” (Baker 2011).

Baker contextualized the era during which he worked at the station and he described the culture that would shape his future work with the record label. He explained that in the mid to late 1980s, “what people look back on as the legitimate first wave of North American punk had totally burned out by then” (Baker 2011). Baker said that without the advent of the internet, the sense of the music community in Vancouver was “not Canadian so much as Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco. That was pretty much the geographical scene. It was a lot easier to hop in a van and tour eight or ten days down the coast than it was to get eight days across Canada.” Baker claimed that the Vancouver scene was very much influenced by the Seattle sound at that time, particularly into the early 1990s, but there was a bit of a “gap in there where it wasn’t the kind of thing where you could point to what was the hot thing at the time. So it was a really varied and unfocused time in the local music scene, but the radio station was very well-connected.” He added that it was the “perfect environment for a campus station like CiTR, because when there is a hot topic that everyone is talking about, it tends to overshadow a lot of the other things that are equally as valid. And, as diverse as the programming at the station was, so too was the local music scene.” This ambiguity and diversity in the scene became very evident to Baker and Iwata when they set out to start their label. Baker recalled not feeling as though there was a certain sound that the label

had to cater to or foster; he felt as though they had the opportunity to put out any sound that they wanted to. “I guess that was a bit of carry-over from the radio station days, just in the sense that we didn’t feel that sense of ‘Vancouver needs another Sup Pop or Vancouver needs another Alternative Tentacles,’” said Baker. Kaitlin Fontana’s *Fresh at Twenty: The Oral History of Mint Records* (2011) discusses the development of the Vancouver label in the shadow of the burgeoning grunge scene south of the border. In reference to cub, a band responsible for garnering Mint a lot of attention in its early days, Fontana writes, “If Cobain and grunge were the ‘90s yin, then cub’s brand of pop was its yang, the echo of Sub Pop’s Seattle to Mint’s Vancouver” (2011, 77). However, Fontana also explains that while Bill and Randy were at CiTR, they were “on the receiving end of Sub Pop Records releases from the likes of Mudhoney and Nirvana. They looked at any and all releases that crossed their desks, but they paid careful attention to Sub Pop’s output” (2011, 18). Evidently, the scene south of the border was instrumental in serving as a template for how a label operates, although there is a sense that the Vancouver music scene had room to experiment stylistically in contrast to the prominence of the Seattle grunge sound.

The resources and experiences available to Baker and Iwata at CiTR assisted with the establishment of Mint Records. Baker claimed that he learned much more from the radio station than he did from his university education: “I spent so much time at the radio station; it really gave us amazing insight into how the whole music business works from the other side. You know, dealing with the record companies and being serviced with records and all that sort of stuff, and the publicity aspect of it” (Baker 2011). Baker said that at some point, he remembers realizing that he and Iwata had been at the station for

five years or so, though “it seemed like [they] had been there forever” and they “felt that maybe it was time to find something else to do.” “We brainstormed for quite a long time to come up with a location where we could continue our involvement with the local music scene and make use of the skill we had learned, maybe unwittingly, at the radio station,” said Baker. Using the collection of addresses from CiTR, the first thing that Baker and Iwata did after forming Mint was to send a mail-out to all of the campus and community stations in North America. Baker and Iwata sent out a card introducing themselves, despite not yet having signed any artists. “And in many respects,” said Baker, “I’ll say that I owe everything I have achieved, or everything I’ve done in the last twenty years is directly a result of stumbling into that station one day.”

CiTR is part of a larger mythology of music-making in Vancouver, as evidenced by its centrality in the development of Mint and established members of the Vancouver music scene, such as Nardwuar the Human Serviette. The station as a space that facilitates the sharing of resources and musical knowledge is a recurring theme, whether this involves one’s personal discovery of a certain record or band, or the coming together of individuals who later collaborate on future cultural work. Again, the station’s role in circulating local and independent music is more prominent than the role of bands and artists helping the station, although the station certainly benefits from having a rich musical locality to draw from. Given the struggles around sustaining institutional space, or a sense of musical community in the city, CiTR’s position in the music scene is an important one. By leaving campus and setting up broadcast booths at local music festivals, the station does not just make reference to its place in the music scene on-air, but it becomes a physical presence that is able to interact with listeners and music fans. In

this way, the station appears to support Reed's assertion that it should be easy for people to experience the independent local culture in the city. Furthermore, as Reed said, community is often built around familiarity. A station that shares a history with other prominent cultural institutions like Mint, and annual festivals like SHiNDiG and Music Waste, is perceived and recognized as a familiar node in the overall circulation of music in Vancouver.

Canadian Campus Radio and Cultural Production:

Stylus, Discorder, and Two Vancouver-based Compilation Albums

The stories and the examples recalled by the individuals I interviewed in Sackville, Winnipeg, and Vancouver provide insight into the routes by which campus radio stations circulate and promote music in a city or town. Staff members and volunteers possess knowledge of musical communities within their broadcast range, and this contributes to constructing a notion of the city or town's music scene. This knowledge includes the history of venues and record stores, concert programmers, and promoters, and bands or artists who came up through the music scene, often with strong ties to the radio station. However, interviews are shaped by individual experiences and opinions, and thus, they need to be discussed alongside other examples and resources. The connections between campus stations and music scenes are not only found within the stories told by interviewees, they are also very present in cultural productions that are connected to campus stations, which both reflect and create musical activity within a scene. In regards to the three stations I visited, I came across four different objects that are very much

products of the culture of both the stations in question, as well as the surrounding music scene. These objects illustrate the types of music and culture that are central to these stations and music scenes, and help to further make the case that campus stations are very much involved in cultural production beyond the programming and broadcasting of music.

These four cultural products are connected to CKUW and CiTR. I do not touch on Sackville's CHMA in this section because the station's involvement with cultural production outside of the station is primarily through festivals and live music performance, and I have profiled and discussed these festivals above. The four cultural productions connected to CKUW and CiTR include two publications and two albums. The two publications, *Stylus* and *Discorder*, are produced by CKUW and CiTR. Both magazines were introduced and described earlier, but their involvement in reflecting and constructing a notion of the Winnipeg or Vancouver music scene has yet to be elaborated on. Moreover, they are currently the only two regularly published magazines associated with Canadian campus radio stations. The two albums are both compilation records. The first is a co-production between Mint Records and CiTR called *Pop Alliance Compilation: Vol. 2* (2011). The second is *Emergency Room Vol. 1* (2008), which has a pressing of 924 copies, and the album includes a twenty-page booklet of art, text, and photographs that profiles the Emergency Room multi-purpose art and performance space. These objects are significant examples of how campus radio stations are cultural producers beyond the programming of music.

Ted Turner explained that *Stylus* was CKUW's transmitter before the station went FM. Early editions of the magazine were short. Some of the first printings were

essentially folded broadsheets containing the station's program grid for the following two months and a list of the top thirty-odd artists that the station was playing over the span of approximately sixty days. The tone of early editions of the magazine is humorous and informal. For instance, Volume 2, Number 1 from October 1990 has a witty front cover with a large "no smoking" sign, and text that reads "CKUW Would Like To Thank the University For Establishing its New No Smoking Policy. Garnering Us a Great Many New Listeners" (see Appendix E). The University had prohibited smoking in most areas and established a smoking section near the station's on-campus speakers. This edition also has a guide that displays programming running from 8:30 a.m. until 6:00 p.m., Monday to Thursday, and from 8:30 a.m. to "3:00-?" on Fridays ("Program Guide").

Volume 6, Number 1 from September 1994 noted that the magazine is published monthly by the University of Winnipeg Students' Association with a circulation of three thousand, and that the "magazine's primary goal is to promote Winnipeg's local music scene and to act as a vehicle for the work of new writers. *Stylus* acts in coordination with CKUW campus radio and will serve as a program guide for the station" ("Advertising").

According to Volume 4, Number 4 from April 1993, the magazine is published "every two months, four times per school year in order to seriously confuse our advertisers" ("Ad Sales"). This irregular publishing schedule reduces the likelihood of the magazine running advertisements for large businesses that have strict guidelines for advertising and marketing, while simultaneously sustaining friendly and informal relationships with smaller local businesses and student clubs, such as CKUW. The edition from September 1994 included an advertisement soliciting volunteers for the station, stating that "CKUW Wants You! (and your musical taste)." Below, there is a concert calendar for shows

during the month of September at the Royal Albert, and next to it reads “Live Alternative Music” (CKUW 1994).

Like CKUW, *Stylus* is notably present as a component of the overall Winnipeg music scene – in terms of the objects and logos that appear and reappear as one visits cultural institutions and views show posters in the city – and has been since its inception. In the April 1993 edition, a short write-up by Mark Riddell in “The Open Line...” section of the magazine stated that “the Winnipeg music industry is at the very least at an exciting crossroads. To see the confidence and excitement that follows its successes is both encouraging and rewarding” (1993, 3). Riddell claimed that the city’s live music patrons, “whose commitment and sophistication outweigh their relatively small numbers,” deserve recognition for sustaining a vibrant music scene. He added that in conjunction with live music patrons, “a group of local professionals have developed an infrastructure of festivals, clubs, print media, radio, television, record labels, and management agencies that...have worked within a competitive framework to promote the music industry in Winnipeg to everyone’s benefit” (Riddell 1993, 3). Yes, Riddell privileged the people who spend money on live music in the city, but in terms of informing these patrons about upcoming music and album releases, the role of cultural publications like *Stylus* is central in the promotion of live music, and in influencing the spending habits of music fans.

For example, the magazine’s September/October 2000 edition included a lengthy feature on the send + receive festival that illustrates the potential for a print publication to provide readers with in-depth information on live local music. Dickson Binder wrote, “October will see the third instalment of Video Pool’s send + receive: a festival of sound

and as part of the festival's attempt to be a resource for local audio artists and musicians, there are a number of workshops taking place again this year" (2000, 17). The link between *Stylus* (as the provider of this information), the festival, and CKUW is evident in a paragraph that describes one of the workshops structured around a presentation by Christophe Charles, an "internationally exhibited musician and artist," who "will present a workshop on his method of using field recordings in composition. Participants will be encouraged to contribute to a work for broadcast on CKUW 95.9 fm using field recording techniques and performance" (Binder 2000, 17). In a section called "Indie Label Profile," the magazine also profiles record labels in the city. In the May 1999 edition, Alchemy Records is featured and described as a "vehicle to promote Winnipeg DJs and live acts in an attempt to expose other markets to Winnipeg talent" (meme 1999, 24). Steve Conner wrote that the motivation behind starting the label came from the assumption that Winnipeg is a "smaller market and the music doesn't get here as quickly." By the time Winnipeg DJs receive new music, it is already "three months old in some other cities and it has been played to death." Conner also mentioned the prospect of CKUW acquiring an FM license, claiming that the exposure the station would "create for electronic music will be great." (meme 1999: 24). He believed it would "bring new life to the scene" and "help people start to understand the music better" (meme 1999, 24). Discursive associations between the magazine, Alchemy Records, and the station are highlighted in this text, indicating a combined effort to promote an aspect of Winnipeg music that is in a position to benefit from attention and promotion.

In more recent editions of *Stylus*, the production quality and attention to aesthetics has certainly increased, as has the breadth and depth of content. The magazine is still

very much involved in covering musical and cultural activity in Winnipeg. For example, the February/March 2011 edition contained a full-page advertisement for the “Twang Trust Roots-Rockin’ 2011 FunDrive Spectacular,” an event mentioned earlier in this chapter by *Twang Trust* host Stu Reid. The advertisement invited readers to “Be part of the LIVE Studio Audience” (Twang Trust Fundraiser, see Appendix F). The June/July 2011 edition is thirty-six pages long, with full-colour front and back covers. Perhaps this increase in quality decreased the number of magazines printed, as this edition notes a bi-monthly release with a circulation of 2,500. It is also possible that an increased web presence has resulted in fewer printed copies. *Stylus* still serves as “the program guide to 95.9FM CKUW and will reflect the many musical communities it supports within Winnipeg and beyond. *Stylus* strives to provide coverage of music that is not normally written about in the mainstream media” (*Stylus* 2011, 1). Content ranges from concert previews, interviews, album reviews, and features. Examples of advertisements found in this issue include albums available for sale at The Winnipeg Folk Festival Music Store, the upcoming Folk Festival itself, a promotion for twenty-five percent off all used stock at Into the Music, and upcoming concerts at the West End Cultural Centre. All of these retail outlets and organizations are places mentioned by the staff members and volunteers I spoke with at CKUW. The issue begins with an in-depth rundown of upcoming live music, from local and new acts to well-established bands like Dropkick Murphys and Children of Bodom. Interviews in this issue are with Montreal’s Miracle Fortress, Colin Stetson, Sean Nicholas Savage, “the all-female garage rock foursome” The Blowholes (a Winnipeg band at the top of CKUW’s top thirty chart from March 21 until May 15), Winnipeg’s This Hisses, and DJ Kid Koala, who has lived in both Vancouver and

Montreal (Davies 2011, 7). These bands and artists represent a range of both local and national regions. *Stylus* also features a “CKUWho” section that interviews a show host or individual from the station. In this issue, Jon Wilson from *Joke’s On You* was interviewed, a host that broadcasts comedy programming.

A large feature section in the centre of the June/July 2011 issue is called “Sound Off,” “a space for a series of articles that weigh a little more heavily on [the] writers’ opinions and connections to music...” (“Sound Off”). This particular “Sound Off” reflected on Canadian records that might not have been covered by the magazine the first time around or that did not originally receive a positive review. A few examples of albums written about in this section were The Organ’s *Grab That Gun* (2004), Nomeansno’s *All Roads Lead to Ausfahrt* (2006), and Duchess Says’ *Anthologie des 3 Perchoirs* (2008). This feature highlights the centrality of individual taste in student-produced media, as well as a certain level of reflexivity about the role of the publication in shaping listening practices. Perhaps the hype or “buzz” surrounding a particular album at the time of its release elicited an unnecessarily negative review for the sake of providing a dissenting opinion, or perhaps the taste and perspective of the reviewer changed over time. Following this section are previews for both the Jazz and Folk festivals that include paragraphs on a number of the artists playing, followed by ten pages of live show, album and film reviews. The magazine’s commitment to local artists is once again evident in the “Local Spotlight,” where seven different albums by Winnipeg artists were reviewed, including live albums and EPs.

There are numerous associations between CKUW and *Stylus*, such as the publication’s visual presentation of the station’s program grid, and top artists for the

interim between current and preceding issues. The magazine also profiles station DJs and provides interview space for artists that are charting on the station, giving Winnipeg music fans more information about the bands and artists that are active in the city, or groups that are about to perform in the city. This connection is important, especially given the fact that live music patrons who listen to the station or read *Stylus* might be making decisions on which bands to see live based on the attention given to artists featured in the magazine – bands or artists that might be touring for a first album who might not yet have a strong fan base. The magazine also provides venues and record stores with a place to print and promote their concert calendars, upcoming sales, or featured artists. *Stylus* has increased in size and quality, as has CKUW over the years. And more pages provide more space for talking about music and culture in Winnipeg.

CiTR's *Discorder* has been in circulation for almost thirty years. The first issue appeared in February 1983, when the magazine started out as a guide to the station's programming. This inaugural issue contained such items as a list of top thirty singles and a list of top forty albums that were being played by the station. Singles ranged from prominent artists from the United Kingdom like The Jam, to local artists' demo tapes. Promotional material for Zulu Records, upcoming UBC hockey and basketball matches, and a local hair studio were all featured in the issue. The station's program grid and show descriptions were included and an introductory write-up explained that "*Discorder* is not meant to be taken on its own. Chances are, that if this mag is read in its entirety by a non-listener, terrible things might happen; bewilderment, nausea, or even death. For this reason we advise that *Discorder* be cut with 100% pure CTR" ("A guide to CTR..."). As with *Stylus*, *Discorder* emphasized its connection with its sibling radio station from

the start, and the content is witty and informal. The write-up also explained that the reason the station created the magazine was to “improve communication, and isn’t that what radio is all about?” (“A guide to CITR...”).

Jumping ahead, the magazine’s 2010 media kit introduced the publication as “that 28 years and running alternative music championing, local artist boosting, next latest craze spotting, just plain giving it away, sorta bad ass and definitely good-looking (free!) magazine...” Keeping in mind that the media kit is written in a tone that is to be enticing for local businesses and potential sponsors, it emphasizes that *Discorder*’s writers and readers “come from within the scenes they write about, photograph and review” (“A Little About Us”). Black-and-white advertisements range in price from a sixteenth page for fifty dollars to a two-page spread for six hundred. This range gives local businesses of all sizes and budgets (including record stores and venues) an opportunity to advertise with the magazine. *Discorder* prints 8,500 copies per month and distributes to record stores, cafes, venues, and galleries throughout Vancouver and in some spots around Victoria. A number of reader statistics taken from a 2009 reader survey are offered in the kit, including the fact that over half of its readership – 51.4 percent – attends twenty-one or more concerts a year, and that 49.5 percent of *Discorder* readers attend concerts of which half or more of the acts are from British Columbia (“Demographic,” see Appendix G). A concert-going readership certainly influences the magazine’s content, which is heavy in show reviews and upcoming concert listings.

A folded one-page flyer available at the station during my visit, titled “How to Get Involved with *Discorder*,” states that the free magazine is “staffed by a small group of volunteers who work like dogs to produce Canada’s only monthly student radio

publication” (Discorder). The magazine “focuses on local, independent music and arts and is funded partly by advertising but mostly by CiTR” (Discorder). The flyer outlines a number of ways that people can get involved with *Discorder*, from writing show and album reviews, submitting art and photographs, and helping with the production process.

Brenda Grunau explained that having both a radio station and a publication working so closely together can, at times, lead to a bit of confusion in terms of how to allocate time and resources between the two. She emphasized the fact that *Discorder* is the print voice of CiTR, and as station manager, she fills the role of publisher. Additionally, there are five part-time individuals who produce the paper. She said that in the past, there has been a slight cultural rift between the staff of each output, but in recent years people have worked really hard to ensure integration between the two, through initiatives such as weekly office hours and meetings together. “Part of the problem,” Grunau said, “is that there are two different names, almost as though there are two different brands, and we don’t want to compete with each other, so we’re working on changing that over the long term” (Grunau 2011). Another difference between the station and the paper, according to Grunau, is that *Discorder* only covers music, a narrower segment of music than what is represented by the station. However, she said that there is a lot of crossover between the two, and the station’s charts and program guides are a prominent feature of *Discorder*.

At the time of this writing, recent issues of *Discorder* ran about forty pages. These printings of *Discorder* contained more advertisements than the *Stylus* issues that were published around the same time, but this should be expected with a larger city with more small and independent businesses to source from. The April 2011 issue included ads from

a number of venues and stores, including Red Cat Records, Sin City Fetish Night's Annual "Carnival of Kink" at Club 23 West, Scratch Records, Scrape Records, and the Emily Carr University of Art and Design. There was also a full-page advertisement for a ski and snowboard festival at Whistler, sponsored by Telus. This small Telus logo is by far the most recognizably "commercial" ad featured in the issue, and this is likely because Telus is a sponsor of the ski festival. Therefore, the company is not directly advertising in the issue, but rather has its logo appearing through the festival's advertising ventures. This particular issue included a table of contents broken down into three sections, "Features," "Regulars," and "Reviews." The "Regulars" section had a concert calendar, charts, a program guide, and a featured "Art Project." The "Features" section included interviews with Kellarissa, "a long-time local busybody" who "dishes on her daring sophomore set Moon of Neptune, her side-gig as part of Destroyer's live band and the pros of a sunny day in the city," and other acts like Sun Wizard and Elekwent Folk ("Table of Contents"). There are many illustrations in the magazine, representing a variety of styles and techniques, and quite a few are submitted by readers themselves. The "Art Project" section in this issue featured the work of Andrew Pommier, a Vancouver-based artist who has recently spent some time showing his work in the south of France (Charette 2011, 25). Three pages of the issue were devoted to his illustrations, some smaller images from his sketchbook, and two full-page images showcasing his ink and watercolour work. The issue ended with a top fifty albums from the month of March, twelve of which are from Vancouver, and the first spot was taken by the *CiTR Pop Alliance, Vol. 2* compilation (see Appendix H).

The *Discorder* issue that was current and in circulation during my visit to CiTR and Vancouver was a “July+August” edition, which had Babe Rainbow on the front cover (Cameron Reed’s electronic project, Appendix I). The regular “Venews” feature in this issue profiled the “multi-purpose art centre known as the Red Gate,” one of the many Vancouver venues whose future was at stake (Pedri 2011, 7). The author, Jennessia Pedri, wrote that the Red Gate “is a legitimate space for artists, musicians, photographers and filmmakers to create and display art,” and for the past seven years the space “has been a 100 per cent self-funded and self-organized cultural facility dedicated to fostering the boundary-pushing creativity for which the [Downtown Eastside] is historically known” (2011, 7). Despite this, the city had issued a “30-day Order to Vacate,” citing “serious life and safety concerns.” The piece informed readers that venues would continue to face such legislation unless “non-supporters voice their concerns to the City of Vancouver” (Pedri 2011, 7). More on the state of Vancouver venues is discussed below in tandem with the Emergency Room compilation album, but it is important to highlight that *Discorder* provides a space for the discussion of the state of live music and performance venues in the city.

Cameron Reed offered some additional comments that emphasize the role of publications like *Discorder* (and *Stylus*) in influencing listener habits, whether in terms of acquiring albums or attending a live show. He told me that that when he was younger, “in his early twenties in this city,” he was always picking up *Discorder* and “seeing what it said” (Reed 2011). Reed added, “I was an insider, putting on the festivals and playing in the bands, and I wasn’t looking at it as just a fan. But, you see names pop up more often in a magazine like *Discorder* and all of the sudden you’re thinking, ‘Oh, they’re a band to

check out.” And this influence extends to radio hosts like Nardwuar, who told me that he often looks to *Discorder* to see who is featured and to find ideas for potential interview subjects. He gave me the example of Reed’s Babe Rainbow, telling me, ““Oh, Babe Rainbow is on the cover, I should do an interview with him next week” (Nardwuar... 2011). Publications like *Discorder* and *Stylus*, which share certain aspects of the mandates that drive campus stations, report on happenings within the wider music scene. And this coverage is not limited to reviews and previews of live music and recorded music, but also articles and opinions on pressing issues that have implications for local musical activity, such as the closing of performance spaces.

On November 25, 2010, Mint Records announced the release of a limited edition compilation LP with CiTR, the *CiTR Pop Alliance Compilation: Vol. 2*. The write-up, found on Mint’s website, explained that “after a few Top Secret meetings at the Dairy Queen...the news is out, we’re piecing together a benefit compilation with our pals at CiTR 101.9 FM. It features 11 of our favourite Vancouver bands and only 300 waxy 180g LPs will be pressed, silkscreened and numbered by hand” (Mint Records 2010). Proceeds from the album will support the station, and each of the bands on the record donated their songs, some of which are previously unreleased. Rain City Recorders donated mastering time and David Barclay of Nice Snacks provided the artwork. Eleven different bands are included on the record, which are: Apollo Ghosts, My Friend Wallis, Slam Dunk, Role Mach, Kellarissa, Fine Mist, No Kids, fanshaw, Watermelon, Shane Turner Overdrive, and Spring Break. The album release party took place at Vancouver’s Interurban Gallery, which is adjacent to Scratch Records, and featured bands from the compilation, including Slam Dunk, Role Mach, and Shane Turner Overdrive. A preview

for the release party by *Exclaim* called the bands on the compilation “some of the finest players in the Vancouver indie scene” (Hudson 2011).

Included with the record is a small insert that provides information about the album, the station, the label, the artists it features, and the album’s cover art. Duncan McHugh, the album’s curator and host of CiTR radio show *Duncan’s Donuts*, authored a short history of the album in the insert. McHugh wrote that in 2009, before the station’s annual FunDrive, he approached Becky Sandler – who was the CiTR president at the time – and told her that he wanted to put a compilation together that featured local bands that could be given away during the drive. This initiative resulted in a twelve-song CD-R, which was the first and only other volume under the CiTR Pop Alliance. Shena Yoshida at Mint Records heard about this compilation and approached McHugh about doing another compilation, with the aim of “raising the stakes” this time (McHugh 2010). Yoshida informed CiTR that Mint could help release the compilation on vinyl. McHugh, on his role as curator, said, “We hear a lot about bands from Brooklyn, Montreal and San Francisco, but I think Vancouver’s music community is the best around....I was hoping we could take a snapshot of Vancouver’s scene in 2011. Clearly there’s WAY too much great stuff to fit on a single record so the focus here is on pop” (McHugh 2010).

Bill Baker commented on the compilation album from the perspective of Mint Records and explained that the label is happy to get involved with any project that provides a benefit to the radio station without necessarily providing any benefits to the label. This approach follows Baker’s experience at CiTR, in which he said an unwritten rule stated that “you don’t play your own music, whether you’re in a band or whether you have a label” (Baker 2011). Baker added that in the early stages of running Mint, they

could have really taken advantage of, or benefitted from, having relationships with “everybody in a position of influence at the station.” And this approach “extended later into” Baker’s work at the label, where he treated their relationship to the station “at an arm’s length.” Regarding the compilation record, Baker said, “Here’s something where we can flip-flop and take the things that we’ve learned over these years and put them to some use to benefit the station, instead of the other way around.” He stressed that he would “not even one one-hundredth of a percent consider that this was our way to give back, because there is no way to give back what I got out of that place.”

The artist behind the album’s cover art, David Barclay also wrote a short note to include with the insert, titled “Concerning the Cover Art.” This statement read, “CiTR 101.9FM is a college radio station situated on Musqueam land, and which through its existence has been run primarily by privileged white males” (Barclay 2010). Barclay added, “For over 50 years ‘college rock’ has been dominated by an elitist cultural lexicon, reinforced by the institutionalized racism of the post-secondary education system in Canada and the US.” Therefore, Barclay designed a “Northwest Coast-style totem pole” for the front cover, made up of faces of individuals from the station and Vancouver music communities (see Appendix J). He said that the cover is “a deliberate combination of both the uneasiness and the splendour of the station’s contemporary cultural history” (Barclay 2010). He explained the artists and individuals chosen for the totem pole represent CiTR’s encouragement and support of “unlikely artistic voices that have become iconic local anti-corporate, anti-racist figures,” like Joey Shithead of D.O.A., and “important songwriters and musical innovators,” like Dan Bejar of Destroyer and New Pornographers. As well, Barclay said that “CiTR volunteers have made music and their

involvement with the station their life's passion and have become inspiring members of the local and national community," such as Nardwuar the Human Serviette and Christa Min. The note ended with instructions on how to find more information on Musqueam rights to the University Endowment Land. This note is a significant component of the compilation, as it links both the progressive mandate of the station, as well as some of the political and inclusive shortcomings of the station to the compilation album. The compilation is very much a product of the culture that inspires the station and it documents a segment of Vancouver's music scene at a given time.

The Nominal Records website included a brief description of *Emergency Room Vol. 1*, written by Justin Gradin. He explained that the purpose of the record was to "document one of the best alternative spaces currently operating in Canada" (obviously, this description was written before the space was closed) (Gradin 2011). Gradin colourfully described the venue as being "located in Vancouver's rat and drug infested downtown eastside. A literal underground, this basement warehouse is an indestructible fortress of creation, destruction and repair with a philosophy of DANCE or DIE, piss your pants and puke on yourself!!" Gradin also briefly mentioned the history of the venue as a "free, D.I.Y. all-ages noise/performance art gathering in the basement of" the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design parkade. It then moved to a former fish processing factory and continued to "consistently put on some of the weirdest, most elaborate, entertaining and ridiculous art and music shows in Vancouver's recent underground history." The compilation apparently followed "a year of spray-painted walls, bizarre installations and art works, blood, fights, broken glass, punk rock, noise, art, make-outs and more..." (Gradin 2011). Gradin's short description also introduced the booklet that

accompanies the album, which for the most part, is comprised of full-page photographs of bands and artists that have played the venue, many of which are also on the compilation.

A total of eight bands can be heard on the compilation, which are: Defektors, Petroleum By-Products, Vapid, White Lung, Mutators, Twin Crystals, Nü Sensae, and Sick Buildings. For the most part, these bands fit in with a “weird punk” scene that currently thrives in Vancouver, in part because its mobility and simplicity (in terms of equipment, number of band members, and venue requirements) allows these bands to react quickly to closing venues and related issues. An article from September 2008 in *Exclaim*, written by Josiah Hughes, discussed this scene and its relationship to live music in Vancouver. Hughes wrote that Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside “has an oppressive, negative mystique that can drown inhabitants completely if they aren’t careful. On the flipside, it’s the sort of environment that inspires – almost requires – forward-thinking creative output” (Hughes 2008). He added that “greedy promoters and over-zealous cops looking to break up the fun” have shut down venues as fast as they are created. “It doesn’t help that the bars are going through a cultural gentrification,” he said, using the example of the Astoria, a “once seedy punk club” that “has built a new stage and switched its focus to DJ nights.” Mish Way, the vocalist for “messy punk combo White Lung,” one of the bands featured on the Emergency Room compilation, was cited in Hughes’ article, who commented on the situation and said that “they cleaned it all up and now, no more bands. They’ll spend the next few months cleaning coke and lipstick off the toilet stands” (Hughes 2008). Hughes described weird punk as straddling “the line between harsh noise experimentation and pre-punk dirty rock’n’roll. This is reactionary

music, railing against the endless boredom of the city, the ignorance of genre restraints, and the rain-filled dreariness of everyday lives.” Bands and artists operating within this movement, according to Hughes, “have inspired a counter-cultural renaissance by putting on their own shows (often inventing new venues in the process), recording their own demos, and releasing limited, often handmade pressings of their music.” He wrote that the Mutators, another band included on the compilation, are one of the bands spearheading the movement, and he described the group as a “post-punk three-piece who match messy, sometimes skronky guitar parts with combative vocals and frantic drums, at times resembling Black Flag’s wall-of-sound hardcore paired with post-punk’s jittery rhythms” (Hughes 2008).

The article introduced some of the individuals behind the documentation of this music, including Nominal Records and Grotesque Modern, the “parties responsible for the explosive *Emergency Room* compilation.” Justin Gradin, the individual who wrote the description for the compilation quoted above, is also a member of the Mutators and is the head of Grotesque Modern. He was quoted by Hughes, claiming that “there are so many good bands right now, and people don’t want to wait around for something to happen...The whole ‘Fuck it, let’s just do this’ thing is pretty strong here.” The head of Nominal Records, Sean Elliott also contributed to Hughes’ article, stating that “after years of near total disinterest in Vancouver, I saw some bands and, in the case of the *Emergency Room*, a spot that needed to be documented, so Nominal was created” (Hughes 2008).

The prominence of these bands, or rather this genre, in Vancouver, also reflects my experience and exposure to live music in the city while visiting the station. Many of

the shows that I considered going to, in addition to the show I attended at the Biltmore Cabaret, were happening at venues that were repurposed spaces that were not built with a strong consideration for acoustics and live performance. The live sound at these venues is far from exceptional. But, considering the style of the bands and artists performing, a pristine listening environment is not needed. This foregoing of acoustic standards allows for weird punk bands and other related genres to take advantage of performance spaces that welcome live music, even if they only exist for a short period of time.

The show I went to at the Biltmore was well-attended on a Tuesday evening. As mentioned above, it was hosted by *Discorder*, and the magazine's most recent issue was available at a large table in the venue marked by a *Discorder* banner. Support from cultural institutions helps live music circulate, especially live music that can be labelled as independent, underground, or alternative. In the Emergency Room example, a re-appropriated place offered a space for performance, a recording studio, and social connection for members of Vancouver's weird punk scene. The individuals involved in this scene felt it necessary to document the musical and cultural activity taking place around the Emergency Room, and this resulted in the creation of a record label and a compilation record that in turn builds a notion of the scene through circulating recorded music, images, and text. The uneasiness around Vancouver venues and cultural institutions also makes a strong argument for the importance of institutions like campus radio stations and their related cultural productions – objects like the Mint and CiTR compilation record, *Discorder*, and *Stylus*. Campus radio stations are resourceful places with the longevity necessary to really build connections between people and places like venues and record labels. This allows for technical and musical knowledge to be shared

and circulated, in turn constructing community and a notion of a city or town's music scene. This knowledge also transfers from place to place, building musical and cultural connections between and throughout music scenes and the communities within them, as evidenced by the strong links between Dawson City and Sackville. Campus radio stations across the country also facilitate the transfer and circulation of Canadian music in a manner that allows for individuals at radio stations to play and promote Canadian artists on the radio and within a locality, providing context and insight into a band or artist's music. As Nardwuar the Human Serviette told me, "You mail your record to that station, somebody's going to play it, and that person might go on to be a booker at a club, that person might be in a band, that person might help you out with it. Like there's such a great network of people...and people like me can actually get the stuff and play it" (Nardwuar... 2011).

Conclusion

There exists an intricate connection between cultural institutions like campus radio stations and music scenes. The connections between people and places have real applications, as evidenced by the cultural products profiled in this chapter. Stations are thought of in reference to other important sites and cultural products within a notion of the locality's music scene. This is apparent in the stories recalled by station staff members and volunteers, as well as cultural producers. These connections have numerous tangible by-products, such as magazines and records. When an institution like a radio station has a relatively limited range of resources for cultural production – as is typical

with many community or alternative media outlets – partnerships with other individuals or other institutions can be beneficial. For instance, the combined resources of Mint and CiTR, including technical resources and musical knowledge and connections, have resulted in a compilation album and a launch party, as well as the funds raised for the station by album sales. The connections between campus stations and the production, circulation, and distribution of music also emphasize the importance of campus stations as institutions within a music scene. Campus stations are not just programmers of music, reflecting popular taste and interest in certain styles of music. They are places to record debut albums, places to have a show poster made, and places for out-of-town bands and artists to inquire about where the best venues in the town or city to play are located. They share resources and people with other institutions, like magazine publishers, to help maintain the vibrancy and sustainability of live music within a locality. They also share and borrow resources to help document moments in a city or town's musical and cultural history, and this is very central to the ways in which a station's own history and mythology are constructed and shared.

A key finding from my visits to these stations and cities, and the conversations I held during my travels, is that the production of an alternative music culture that makes space for individual taste and expertise functions prominently, outweighing the emphasis on community representation – although community representation is strongly featured in station mandates and philosophies. Individual perceptions regarding institutions and places guided my experience of each locality. Similarly, these perceptions have the potential to navigate one's experience of the locality's music scene, whether through a certain programming style or the sorts of recommendations that are made in

conversations both on and off air. For instance, Schmidt referenced the significance of record stores in Winnipeg, but more importantly, what the station conceives of as a good record store. A good record store, in his mind, is a place where people talk about music, events, culture, and politics. Stu Reid mentioned his ability to play music from a variety of genres, like weird punk, and “somehow justify it as country music...in some weird way, shape or form” (Reid 2011). As an established member of the broadly defined country music community in Winnipeg, Reid is able to apply his expertise and make connections between musical styles and genres for his listeners. The prominence of expertise and experience seems to reproduce a sort of romantic idea about taste as a product of individual character, as opposed to something stemming from the social or from history. Expertise and taste hierarchies, I would argue, are tied to an aspect of community interaction in terms of the importance of discussion and sharing of musical knowledge. However, the production of an “alternative” music culture where taste and expertise thrives also has the tendency to exclude segments of the community. The stations I visited are aware and reflexive of the fact that certain cultural communities are not well-represented on campus radio, but there are also those who do not find themselves on the “inside” of a particular genre or style, despite a discourse of inclusivity and diversity.

On the other hand, the “alternative” culture tied to music programming on campus radio does create alternate places and spaces for challenging dominant cultural and musical boundaries. For instance, CHMA has made performance spaces in places that were previously used for other purposes. The town can now sustain music festivals and offer a place for independent bands touring the east coast to play. Also, recall Robin

Eriksson's take on bluegrass music. She explained to me that when she first started the show, she had a hard time finding bands and artists that did not fall within the dominant "old boys' music" of the genre (Eriksson 2011). Over time, Eriksson has found that more women are playing old time and bluegrass music, and this has shaped the direction of her show and her role in the Winnipeg bluegrass community. This tension between inclusion and exclusion, and the production of an "alternative" music culture within the campus radio sector, are issues that I will expand on in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Alternative Music Culture and Imagined-Community Radio

Early in this dissertation I argue for privileging the social processes that constitute a culture in order to explore the ways that campus radio operates and extends into musical communities within a station's broadcast range. This culture is produced in response to a larger problematic inherent in Canada's wider media and broadcasting environment, which includes a decline in localism and the standardization of programming.

Oppositional and alternative cultural practices react and respond to dominant power structures, and in chapter 2, Raymond Williams's notion of hegemony and alternative or counter-hegemony was introduced to enforce this point. Contrary rhetoric permeates texts that are circulated by campus stations, in station mandates, cultural publications, and in the words of the practitioners whose time and volunteerism sustains the operations of the sector. A station mandate or philosophy is a rhetorical and discursive document that at once affirms acceptance of federal broadcast regulations and at the same time declares autonomy by crafting internal policies that govern one station and one station only. Key features that contribute to a popular perception of the sector include independent or non-profit status, innovative and creative programming, educational and instructive programming, and diversity. Students and community members are encouraged to get involved regardless of experience or prior broadcast training. Notions of the alternative, the local, and the independent establish ideological pathways between and throughout campus radio stations and related cultural institutions and creators within a music scene.

Emphasizing alternativeness and distinctiveness has been at the heart of the development of the campus radio sector and its expansion across the country, and this

paralleled the establishment of its governing policies. Just prior to the licensing of the first student radio stations in 1975, the CRTC published a report titled *FM Radio in Canada: A Policy to Ensure a Varied and Comprehensive Radio Service*, which explained that “since the opening of the FM band in the 1930s there has been a widespread expectation that FM would provide an alternate radio service of higher quality” (CRTC 1975c: 11). The licensing of the sector followed educational radio stations and early radio experiments that took place on university campuses, which gradually became more ambitious in their goals, following a desire to broadcast outside of campus borders to reflect the perceived interests of nearby communities, and to shift beyond a focus on purely “educational” or “enriching” programming. The social and political activism that would propel community media in Canada during the 1960s and into the 1970s was largely influential on the campus radio sector, as was an emphasis on “high-quality” programming that represented the tastes and expertise of an educated student class. Of course, these dual characteristics were not novel or exclusive to the counter-cultural and student movements of the 1960s, they were present throughout early educational radio as well. Stations like CKUA in Edmonton were involved in representing nearby rural and agricultural communities, and the social movements tied to their interests. Programmers at early educational stations began to bring in their collections of recorded music, and content was broadcasted that was reflective of their tastes.

This history precedes the stories recalled by the individuals I interviewed in Sackville, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Interviews offer insight into the routes by which campus radio stations circulate and promote music in a city or town, and the ways in

which campus stations navigate federal regulation. Staff members and volunteers possess strong knowledge of musical communities within their broadcast range, and this knowledge contributes to constructing a notion of the city or town's music scene. The energy or essence of the small radio clubs that existed in basements or dorm rooms before stations began broadcasting on the FM dial is remembered in both a negative and positive light. Some claim that a pre-FM culture set the stage for the contemporary vibe of the station, permeating the studio space to this day. Others are proud that the campus radio in Canada has moved beyond insular radio clubs and into the wider community. The knowledge shared by campus radio practitioners and cultural producers in their respective localities includes stories of venues and record stores, concert programmers and promoters, and bands or artists who came up through the music scene with the station's support. These connections are also present in cultural productions that are produced by campus stations, which both reflect and create musical activity within a scene.

Interviews, however, have their limitations, and thus, I have combined them with other methodological strategies that include the consultation of policy and archival documents from both the CRTC and from the universities and stations I visited, online content such as station mandates and philosophies, cultural objects associated with these stations that include station-produced magazines and compilation albums, and my own observations of musical activity while visiting these localities. Because the Canadian campus radio sector has not been the focus of many academic studies, the combination of these methods has allowed me to effectively shed light on a vibrant and active sample of Canadian campus stations and the musical activity taking place within their broadcast

range. However, this dissertation is a partial history and portrayal of the Canadian campus radio sector. More research could and should be done in this area, especially outside of this music-based focus. I have not profiled the role of campus stations in delivering local news and information to listeners. Campus stations also broadcast spoken-word content that caters to a variety of cultural and ethnic groups in a locality. The significant contributions of campus stations in these areas and others would make for intriguing research projects.

This concluding chapter makes a number of assertions regarding Canadian campus radio culture and the shaping of local music scenes. It discusses the relevance of CRTC policies in juxtaposition to internal station mandates and philosophies, issues of inclusion versus exclusion, notions of alternativeness, and the future relevance and sustainability of the campus radio sector.

One of the questions posed at the beginning of this work asks about the relevance of federal broadcasting policy in structuring the operations of campus stations and in shaping its culture. It is evident from this research that federal policy is a key factor in the discourse surrounding the sector. Policy has developed alongside a realization of the goals of campus broadcasting, and definitions of campus and community radio have become more comprehensive along the way. A single policy now governs both campus and community radio in Canada and it emphasizes the role of these stations in maintaining a level of openness to community members, the broadcasting of local cultural and artistic expression, and the promotion of emerging Canadian talent (CRTC 2010). A shift from the educational function of campus radio, in the instructional sense, is reflected by the fact that the Commission no longer licenses instructional campus

stations. The training of broadcasters, according to the CRTC, can either be done by unlicensed closed-circuit or internet-only radio stations, or by the experience that community-based stations already offer to volunteers. The individuals who participated in this work never emphasized the educational or instructional nature of campus stations. Instead, their comments reflect shifts in policy to ensure musical and cultural communities are represented and reflected by campus radio programming. The reiteration of community involvement and representation by both radio practitioners and policy-makers is evidence of the blurred roles of community-based campus stations as both student and community media. One finding that has emerged from this dissertation is that it is difficult to discern the ratio of student to community listeners. Also, both CKUW in Winnipeg and CiTR in Vancouver have a low percentage of student programmers (although many current community programmers are former students). Both the sector and the policy that regulates it have embraced community involvement, perhaps at the detriment of student participation (though CiTR has recently focused time and effort on increasing student volunteer participation).

New and diverse genres must be emphasized in order for an individual to successfully apply for a music-based program at a campus station. The development and promotion of new and emerging musical styles and genres is also evident in funding initiatives for the sector, where money is rerouted from talent development organizations FACTOR and its French counterpart, MUSICACTION. The Commission's definition of Experimental music now includes the "unconventional and non-traditional uses of instruments and sound equipment to create new sounds and an orchestration of these sounds" (CRTC 2010). Audio-art, turntablism, *musique actuelle*, electro acoustic, and

sound ecology are all mentioned in this new definition. The music communities where these sounds and styles circulate can now connect better with the institutional space of a campus station, due to policies that are indicative of the sector's innovativeness and alternativeness. The current Campus and Community Radio Policy also attempts to ensure that a relative level of diversity is apparent across programmers and programming at a given time, especially in relation to other radio stations in a radio market, as is a commitment to local music. The current policy states that the "cultural diversity present in many Canadian communities places campus and community stations serving those centres in a position to make a strong contribution to the reflection of that cultural diversity, especially by providing exposure to new and emerging artists from underserved cultural groups..." (CRTC 2010). Federal policy maintains that campus stations have access to the airwaves, and the inclusion of funding strategies and the sustainability of the sector within the new policy and the public hearing that preceded it are evidence of this. License renewals are streamlined to make for a relatively easy administrative process, and it requires extreme circumstances for the CRTC to revoke a station's license. The regulatory process at the federal level allows for a level of openness for individual stations to determine how they will fit and function given the fundamental requirements for renewal.

However, the locality in which a station has developed is a much stronger factor in determining the operations of individual stations, and this is the result of federal regulation emphasizing the significant role of campus stations within their local community. This includes everything from the cultural history of a town or city to the people who have been involved with a campus station and their applicable experience in

other realms of music and culture, as well as the cultural institutions that are also prominent within a locality. Each locality is distinct and thus, the sector is not one homogenous culture. Recalling Jean McNulty's government report from 1979, local programming is best understood in relation to the society where it developed, not just in relation to the broadcasting system itself. This assertion still stands today. Three advantages of local programming, according to the report, are the involvement of individuals rather than "professionals," the broadcasting of local information from "alternative sources," and opportunities for artists and musicians to reach a local audience. So while there are evident similarities in the way CKUW, CHMA, and CiTR structure a week of programming, significant differences are apparent. As I summarized earlier, CKUW puts greater emphasis on spoken-word programming that is reflective of the fact that the campus and station is in the inner city of Winnipeg. East Coast music is profiled on CHMA, the only local broadcaster in the small town of Sackville. On CiTR, "weirdness" carries throughout the station's program grid, reflective of the prominence of genres like punk and weird punk in the city's local bands and the performance spaces that quickly come and go. We can see how each station's music-based programming is somewhat different from the others, based on the fact that each city or town tends to support and sustain distinct sounds and styles. By allowing each station to respond to its community, CRTC policy is thus successful in maintaining a relative level of diversity across the sector and its music-based programming.

Pierre Malloy shared some of his thoughts on federal regulation of CHMA. His comments exemplify a disconnection between governance by the CRTC, and how the station operates from an internal policy specific to the locality, and the interests of

volunteers and staff members. “Guidelines are great,” said Malloy, “but when it becomes the difference between twenty-nine and thirty percent, that’s when I’m really like, ‘What’s the point then? Get robots if you want that. It’s ridiculous’” (Pierre Malloy, personal interview, June 3, 2011). Malloy is referring here to Canadian content regulations. He noted that most people hosting a show are playing a lot of Canadian music regardless of regulation, and on-air personalities are always discussing Canadian music. According to Malloy, then, the nature of campus radio is that it is inherently Canadian because its programming largely comes from the surrounding locality. “And then one show happens to play a little less,” said Malloy, “and then all of the sudden their numbers are off.” Malloy stressed the fact that CHMA is more about providing people the opportunity to “talk on the radio and play songs that they want to hear on the radio.”

Malloy also expressed a concern about the policy-making process at the federal level, arguing that it is disconnected from the priorities and concerns of individual stations. He claimed that a lot of decisions are made in “board rooms and fancy offices and in meetings with people who are used to working with people who have lots of money and resources.” These decisions, then, are more in tune with “*that* environment” said Malloy, but “that’s not *this* environment. They’re not seeing the environment they’re making decisions for.” The Commission does not edit or censor CHMA, said Malloy, “but at the same time, there’s a certain lack of freedom that comes from being in the space. Because [CHMA] is very dependent on [the CRTC] for a lot of things...so it’s a weird relationship and a difficult one.” Malloy also noted that music-rights organizations have a tendency to treat campus stations as they would commercial ones. “They want the same money from us that they get from commercial radio,” said Malloy, “and it’s hard to

explain to them that we don't have revenue. There's no revenue coming in other than our membership and we don't sell ads. If we do get any money it's from a grant and that's for a certain project." At the 2011 NCRC conference, the relationship between the NCRA and the CRTC was a topic of debate during a panel that discussed compliance issues between the Commission and campus stations, using CKLN, the former Ryerson University, as an example of a station closing due to non-compliance issues. Some expressed that the NCRA is getting too close to the CRTC, arguing that the campus and community sector needs to be stronger to fight against issues like CKLN having its license revoked due to non-compliance issues, whereas others stressed that a healthy relationship with the Commission is necessary and beneficial. However, this dissertation suggests that the disjuncture between the CRTC and campus stations is healthy, and the CRTC framework appropriately provides a loose structure in which these different local music scenes and their connections to campus stations thrive.

This disjuncture between federal policy and internal governance of individual stations was also a topic that arose during my conversation with Sarah Michaelson. She claimed that CKUW broadcasts from Winnipeg in a very "proud way" regardless of CRTC regulation, hinting that the station meets Canadian content and local music requirements regardless of government policy. Michaelson said that there have been interesting discussions taking place between the NCRA and campus stations about the potential of "Fem-con," or a policy that ensures there is enough female content on the air. This is an interesting point, according to Michaelson, "because women still face a lot of challenges that men don't really face in the music industry; just *getting* recorded, let alone getting airplay" (Sarah Michaelson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). The NCRA's

Resolutions from 2011 define Fem-con as “music which meets two of the following categories: music, artists, lyrics and production by women.” Thus, the NCRA/ANREC recommended that all member stations implement a “percentage threshold minimum of 30% female content (fem-con) with certain genre exceptions defined and regulated by the station’s programming departments” (NCRA 2011). It was then resolved that the NCRA/ANREC include this proposal in their lobbying initiatives with the CRTC. This example represents the fact that the campus sector is aware of issues that need to figure more prominently in policy and governance decisions. Such policies can be, and are, integrated into station mandates, though it would take a lot more work and effort to have them represented nationally in federal regulation.

“Alternativeness” is inherently connected to local programming practices.

Localness is stressed in station mandates, where efforts to represent communities in a station’s broadcast range is recorded for volunteers and staff members to reference on an ongoing basis. The notion of operating within “the local” also distances the culture of campus radio from a homogenization of the sector. Considering these factors, it is certainly possible to conceptualize campus radio as an “alternative” medium regardless of ties to the State. “The local” is a rallying point for asserting alternativeness, especially given broader trends toward centralization and standardization in the contemporary radio industry that have been cited throughout this work. However, emphasizing “the local” and the sector’s autonomy from the State positions campus radio culture close to a notion of individualism. A community-minded approach to programming is referenced countless times in station mandates, on-air banter, and in the interviews I conducted, but so is the influence of individuals in determining the operations and culture of campus stations. As

the previous chapter began to explain, this produces an alternative music culture within the sector that is structured by taste hierarchies, expertise, and in many cases, exclusion.

At a time when most radio stations in a given locality are increasingly organized by economic logic that centralizes and consolidates content, campus radio stations reach out to communities along the lines of commitment to local culture and music. The operations of a campus station within a locality allow for individuals to have a significant voice in the direction of the station, especially if one programs a radio show. Thus, individual interests and perceptions figure significantly.

I must reiterate the scope of my project and my interests therein. The following discussion of the production of an alternative music culture in the Canadian campus radio sector is determined by the fact that I have focused solely on music-based programming at these stations, as well as the musical activity taking place within a station's broadcast range. I have interviewed individuals who are involved with either the operation and management of stations, or its music-based programming. This analysis does not factor in spoken-word programming that may cater to various cultural, religious, and ethnic groups in a city or town. However, the ability for an individual or a group of individuals to strongly determine the scope and scale of a station's programming would be the same for spoken-word content. The accessibility of campus radio allows for this, but in the process of representing certain genres or styles of music, or music from and for a certain culture, others may be excluded.

In the previous chapter, I argue that music-making in a locality requires connections between and throughout people, and this invariably involves their subjective tastes and preferences, particularly when it comes to selecting bands to play on air, to

feature in a magazine, or to include on a compilation album. These individuals propel “independent” and “alternative” cultural productions and institutions like a campus radio station, because it requires cheap labour, or free labour in the case of volunteerism. The reward, of course, is the freedom to express one’s self without pressure to conform to a corporate ethos or the standards of professional media outlets. However, individuals who become central in the circulation of local and independent music also become tastemakers and gatekeepers when it comes to a certain genre of music or music scene. Recall, for instance, Cameron Reed’s explanation of the different venues for different styles of music, or rather different styles of producing and performing music. Granting agencies are inclined to award money to artists who are more aware of the requirements or benchmarks needed to be accepted as worthy of funding, whereas certain publications prefer to feature bands who approach music making with a do-it-yourself ethos.

The reflection of a locality’s diversity through programming is determined by a particular impression of that city or town’s demographics as understood by programmers, volunteers, and staff members at the station, and in the previous chapter I highlight a tension that emerges between individual taste and expertise and the utopian ideal of fully representing one’s community. This tension is implicated in an alternative music culture, where the goal of representing communities is overshadowed by the capacity for an individual to set the terms for what this community representation entails, or rather, what its borders are. Thus, we must be aware of the fact that there exists a process by which some communities are recognized and others are not. According to my visits to these stations and the research I conducted, a number of factors have the potential to contribute to exclusion. First, there are necessary requirements that limit one’s access to university

and student culture. There are class and cultural divisions whereby it is assumed to be the norm for some to attend university, while for others, there is no cultural or familial tradition of attending university. Earlier, Sarah Michaelson explained that someone's family might not have a history of going to university, and though it does not require student status to volunteer at a campus radio station, a person may not feel comfortable enough to walk through the station's doors, or the university's for that matter. She also said that it is her understanding that the majority of those involved with campus radio across the country are white. This is an issue that she said is shifting toward increased diversity, but it is still a factor to consider when contemplating community representation and inclusivity. The stations I visited are aware and notably reflexive of the fact that certain cultural communities are not well-represented on campus radio, but there are also those who do not find themselves on the "inside" of a particular genre or style of music.

The "inside" can apply to physical space, as in actual doors and walls of a campus station, as well as the insider knowledge that allows one to participate and exert influence within a music scene. Many of the people who have contributed to this work cited an initial feeling of anxiety or uneasiness before passing through the doors of their campus radio station. This suggests that campus stations, for some, are believed to be exclusive places where "hip" new music that the majority of people are unaware of thrives. Stations appear credible to listeners due to their commitment to staying on top of the genres or musical styles represented by their programs. However, as both Ted Turner and Sarah Michaelson emphasized, their hesitation to get involved was essentially a result of what they thought the culture of the station *might be*. In reality, the station was a welcoming place where they were able to quickly get involved in multiple aspects of the station's

operations. There is also the requirement that station volunteers learn to use the technical equipment in the studio or broadcast booth. Whether an individual wants to get involved with in-studio production, on-air programming, web maintenance, or another technical aspect at the station, a certain level of expertise is required. Of course, the volunteer training process exists so that this knowledge is passed on, and many stations circulate carefully-crafted training manuals for their volunteers. But this can be a significant hurdle for many volunteers. Brenda Grunau explained that CiTR is now relaxing the technical components that volunteers must master before hosting a show, for instance. Prospective show hosts were once required to produce a demo tape and prove that they could use all the equipment before getting on the air. Now, the emphasis is on learning about the equipment while working in the studio booth, alongside others who have already learned to use the equipment. Again, this is an instance of a campus radio station becoming aware of a particular issue that is limiting inclusivity, and reacting in a way that hopes to remedy the problem.

The idea that music programs act as an “anchor” for a particular genre can help to structure the program grid so that shows airing next to one another sound nothing alike. For instance, at CKUW, new shows must be pitched by highlighting and justifying difference. What, exactly, is a new show going to bring to the program grid in terms of diversity, and how does a potential show distinguish itself from others? The result is a commendable program schedule where one can hear a wide variety of musical styles. Programmers are also able to draw from their own personality and adopt a programming style that is decidedly unique from others. Listeners are encouraged to be aware of the station’s schedule, and tune in to certain shows based on their own musical taste. At

CKUW, they call this “active listening.” A program grid that actively positions distinct shows beside one another is a tactic that challenges the programming flow of commercial radio, whereby the listening experience is much smoother, and shows easily transition between one another and between commercial messages. In Raymond Williams’s in-depth analysis of television broadcasting (and to a lesser extent, radio) in the United Kingdom and United States, the phenomenon of planned programming flow is said to be “the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form” (1974:2003, 86). With programming flow, the notion of an interruption between programs is said to be inadequate, yet retaining “some residual force from an older model” (1974:2003, 90). Programs are still relatively distinct from one another, in that they are different shows with different topics, narratives, or personalities, but there is a behind-the-scenes logic to the schedule that organizes content to retain viewership (or listenership) for an entire sequence. Therefore, an evening’s block of television shows will include trailers for upcoming shows that are aired earlier, and commercials are smoothly integrated between and throughout shows. Placing discrete shows side-by-side, and accepting new shows based on novelty, campus radio stations oppose programming flow. One could argue that campus stations adopt their own flow, whereby the assumption that each program is going to be different from one another anticipates a listening experience that becomes routine. I would respond to this argument by emphasizing the fact that the range of genres heard and programming styles used does not “retain” an audience, or seek to retain an audience, in the same way that commercial or public radio might. For example, a listener who tunes in for music programming may

stop listening if a spoken-word show follows. Not every program is in the same language, so it also requires the ability to understand multiple languages in order to keep listening.

The relative level of diversity of a program grid is shaped by the level of expertise necessary to represent a niche genre or style of music, potentially leading to exclusivity. The hesitation that some soon-to-be volunteers have felt before entering a campus station can be, at least partially, attributed to the sophisticated musical knowledge that many show hosts have. If a radio program is going to be the anchor for a certain genre in a city or town's music scene, the show's host must have exceptional knowledge of this genre. This individual will likely attend shows in the city, and may even organize and promote these shows or play in a band. The social theorist Pierre Bourdieu used the term "cultural capital" to highlight processes of cultural distinction that are tied, in part, to social origin. Society, then, is not just stratified along lines of class and education, two forms of capital required to participate in student culture, but also aesthetic discretion, that is the ability to determine the worth of culture and exert knowledge about cultural work. "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier," argues Bourdieu (1984, 6). Tastes are determined by distinction and discretion, "the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes" (1984, 56). Through strategically collecting, sharing, and distributing cultural goods, cultural capital is accumulated and conveyed.

Related to cultural capital is "symbolic capital," wherein one can consecrate works of art as worthy of another's attention. Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as a "'credit' which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees 'economic' profits" (1993, 75). Demonstrating symbolic capital involves one making a

name for one's self, "a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value, and to appropriate profits from this operation" (1993, 75). In chapter 2, the term cultural intermediary is introduced, specifically Bernard Gendron's use of the term to signify the importance of "discourses of reception" in constructing musical meaning (2002, 155). Individuals who work for the music press or who promote concerts are central to shaping the musical tastes of others. They put their cultural and symbolic capital to work. Recall also Gendron's use of the phrase "cultural accreditation" to explain the "aesthetic distinction as conferred or recognized by leading cultural authorities, which, in the case of performers, means the acquisition of the status of 'artist' as opposed to 'entertainer'" (2002, 161). Those who program music for and from a music community are cultural intermediaries operating between artists and listeners. They are a critical node in the circulation of local and independent music, integral to an alternative music culture. However, expertise and *capital* are required for one to become a representative for a genre or music community.

This dissertation argues that the relationship between campus stations and a music scene is much more than just the programming of music and discourses of reception. Campus radio practitioners are aware of other cultural institutions and productions within a scene and they are often involved in multiple facets of local musical activity, supporting both artists from their own locality and those touring and travelling from elsewhere. Sarah Thornton uses the term "subcultural capital" to apply Bourdieu's ideas to the study of youth club cultures in the United Kingdom. Subcultural capital is not just about conferring status and distinction through a sophisticated understanding of culture, but

also the embedded codes and styles required to participate in a subculture. “Hipness” is a form of subcultural capital for Thornton, and it “confers status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder” (1996, 11). This form of capital is “embodied in the form of being ‘in the know’, using (but not over-using) current slang and looking as if you were born to perform the latest dance styles” (Thornton 1996, 11-12). Depending on how “underground” a particular genre or music community might be, a show host requires subcultural capital in order to attend shows and find out about new music happening in a locality.

In Vancouver, it is apparent that venues open and close on a whim, and insider knowledge is a necessity to find out about live shows, especially when the unlicensed or illegal nature of an event can be quickly shut down by the police. Thornton also distinguishes subcultural from cultural capital by age. She writes, “In many ways [subcultural capital] affects the standing of the young like its adult equivalent,” cultural capital (1996, 11). Thus, there is a sense that age is another factor that limits the inclusivity of an alternative music culture, depending on the genre. The range of ages of the individuals I interviewed for this research does challenge this idea. A wide variety of ages are represented throughout the show hosts on a program grid. Stu Reid at CKUW has been involved with the station for decades, retaining a listenership that favours country music and Reid’s individual take on the genre. However, these individuals typically referenced their youth, or their time as a student, as when they *first* became involved with a station or a show. Their involvement in a music community has involved over time, as has their show. Volunteers and staff members claimed that the sense of exclusion they felt before becoming involved with a station dissipated after they entered

through the station doors, suggesting that a discourse of inclusiveness masks the specific cultural capital necessary to participate. Evidently, it requires a certain level of capital, or combinations thereof – cultural, subcultural, symbolic – in order to break through the aura that surrounds campus radio and alternative music culture. Sophisticated tastes, musical expertise, and a connection to a music community are tied to one's individual character and the social networks one belongs to. A campus radio station is a social network where taste is shaped by individual character and connections with other cultural intermediaries, more so, perhaps, than one's social origin, class, or education.

By emphasizing the range of programming, and the diversity of sounds and styles heard on campus stations, an issue of credibility arises. It appears as though a legitimate campus station must effectively reflect the sounds and styles of a locality's music scene. Moreover, programmers are responsible for developing genres or expanding a genre's boundaries. Both Reid and Eriksson at CKUW highlighted the ways in which their approach to programming has challenged the expectations of their listenership about a certain genre. Over the years, Reid has justified a number of sounds as "country" and Eriksson has programmed a number of women artists on her bluegrass show. Other programs that might be more youth-oriented must also appear credible. Hosts are described in program descriptions as authorities on new and emerging genres, and this requires a certain level of work and cultural capital so that radio programs remain ahead of their listenership. This raises a further question about campus stations that may not appropriately or effectively represent their music scene. Would such a station be thought of as inauthentic or not credible?

Music, however, requires some form of promotion in order to circulate. In the music industry that has developed alongside the “repeating” stage of music – an era whereby, according to Jacques Attali, “Music became an industry, and *its consumption ceased to be collective*” (1985, 88) – promotion typically means commercial advertisements, music videos, and reviews in the music press. Promotion, under this logic, is an economic investment that anticipates a return not just for artists but any number of industry gatekeepers and “middlemen,” once physical copies of recorded music are purchased. I do not intend to suggest that the alternative music culture produced, in part, by campus radio is entirely disconnected from the economic logic, or capital, inherent in what promotion means to the mainstream music industry, but the circulation of music within and throughout campus radio culture is organized, much more so, by cultural capital. Despite the various instances of exclusion and taste hierarchies resulting from the individualist nature of cultural capital, there is a way in which the promotion of music by cultural status provides an alternative to the purely economic model ingrained in commercial radio. Sara Cohen, writing on music scenes, explains that people, and their activities and interactions constitute a scene. Close relationships are formed, some which are close, others that are part of “looser networks or alliances.” These relationships involve the exchange of information, instruments, technical support, and so forth, comprising an “informal economy” (Cohen 1999, 240). Instead of thinking of cultural capital as contributing to the systems of oppression that stratify society, it might be helpful, in this case, to consider the ways that it creates alternative values and methods for circulating music. Individuals – listeners, music fans, radio hosts – are just as much “producers” as artists are. The listening and sharing practices of those individuals

who devote their time to a campus radio station organizes the paths by which music and musical knowledge is shared and sustained, and this happens both inside and outside of the campus station space. Campus stations remain credible through the interactions between radio practitioners, cultural producers, and listeners. By distinguishing itself from purely economic models of circulating music, campus radio culture produces, through a variety of strategically-deployed texts and practices, an alternative music culture where local and independent music thrives.

In Kaitlin Fontana’s oral history of Mint Records, the Vancouver music scene and CiTR figure prominently. She writes, “Within these scenes, however, friendship is holy writ – people help each other get day jobs, trade work for album art and recording space, and generally do what they can to help a musically inclined brother or sister out” (2011, 88). This quote nicely accompanies words and stories from musicians and artists to Mint co-founders Randy Iwata and Bill Baker, which convey an awareness and appreciation of sharing resources, new music, and technical knowhow throughout her book. The space of campus stations is where a lot of this dialogue and interaction takes place. These connections have implications both in terms of how music is broadcast from the station into the wider community, and how the culture of the station actually permeates and moves through the locality. Ted Turner shared his thoughts on why music on campus radio is much more than just broadcasted content from sender(s) to receiver(s):

What makes campus and community radio so special is that it’s really the only place where you can phone someone at two in the afternoon, after hearing something and be like ‘What is that? I have to know what that is, I love that.’ And that person will pick up the phone and tell you, ‘It’s *this*. I got it *there*. Actually, there’s another copy at *this* record store. It costs eight bucks. Oh, you’d probably also like *this*, thanks for calling.’ And you make that human connection. And that’s what’s really missing. You don’t get that

when you download something, you don't get that from a podcast.
(Ted Turner, personal interview, July 7, 2011)

He added a description of how hosts often attach their personalities to the songs they play, using Joy Division as an example. "There is something powerful about someone playing a Joy Division song," said Turner, "and you being able to call and ask that person what it is. And listen to that host tell their story about the first time they heard Joy Division on the radio ten years ago themselves, and how they came across it." Turner emphasized the importance of these points of intersection in peoples' lives, when songs or art becomes powerful and meaningful. The campus radio sector is not just a network of stations that prescribes and promotes hit records to listeners. Rather, it is a collection of spaces that welcome the sharing of music and culture, where personalities shine through programming decisions and discourses.

Beyond the station space, connections are apparent between campus stations and other cultural institutions in a locality. Campus radio stations are resourceful places with the longevity necessary to really build connections between people and places such as venues and record labels, and this is particularly significant in places where and when a reliable cultural institution is pivotal in circulating independent and local music.

Vancouver and its issues with sustaining live performance spaces, and the need to appropriate alternate spaces to accommodate a music festival in Sackville, are examples where campus stations are particularly resourceful. By making performance spaces out of taverns, churches, and theatres, CHMA has helped Sackville to become a place where bands can play a show on their way to Halifax or while touring the East Coast. A local music scene does not just include bands and artists from the locality in question. The

scene includes connections to other spaces and places. As Cohen explains, “scenes are lived, experienced, and imagined by particular groups within particular situations,” and include local, national, and transnational connections (1999, 249). These connections also produce cultural objects, like magazines and records. Within the broadcast range of a given campus radio station, these connections provide alternative methods for engaging with music for listeners, radio practitioners, and musicians, and they help to document moments in a city or town’s musical and cultural history, contributing to the ways in which a station’s own history and mythology are constructed and shared.

The reality of “community representation” in campus radio culture, specifically the alternative music culture it produces, falls somewhere between the way that community representation is outlined in internal policy and in the various ways that communities are imagined by radio practitioners and programmers. Recalling Benedict Anderson’s use of “imagined communities,” introduced in chapter 2, campus radio, then, is more about *imagined* community representation than community representation. Programmers are connected to a segment of an overall music scene through a shared taste culture for which content is broadcast. However, “imagined-community radio” is still very much tied to segments of the local music scene in a way that allows for much more discourse and skill sharing than other radio sectors. In Sackville, the student population is nearly half of the town’s, and thus, the programmers are predominantly students. Alternatively, in Vancouver and Winnipeg, student programmer percentages are quite low. This means that many community members are participating in campus radio, particularly in cities, building connections between the campus and its locality. As was explained earlier, the participation of community members is obviously essential to

“community” broadcasting and a factor distinguishing the sector from private and public radio. There are also notable limitations in terms of how fully integrated a station can be within the community. Campus radio stations are mostly volunteer-run, and the amount of time spent at a station by personnel fluctuates. There are also limits tied to finances and resources. As Ted Turner explained, CKUW is “running radio camps, and has a news department, and...[is] completely happening on the largest scale possible within this community, for what we can do” (Turner 2011). Recall as well the significantly disconnected nature of unlicensed campus radio stations. Radio clubs that included engineering students and professors, or basement and dorm room spaces described as boys’ clubs, have been regarded as former practices that stations are now working to leave behind. Community representation and program diversity has improved over time, and there is no reason to think that this trend will not continue.

Exclusivity within campus radio and alternative music is something that the sector is aware of, and my interview subjects stated a desire to continuing to working on this issue into the future. The “future of the sector” is a topic that many of the participants in this work ended our conversations with. The following comments represent both hopeful and apprehensive projections for the space and place of the sector within the Canadian media environment and cultural/musical industries, broadly speaking.

The future relevance of campus and community radio was mentioned by a few participants who explained that radio listenership is down overall, and cited the recent cuts to arts and culture by the Conservative government in Canada. Sarah Michaelson told me that she is nervous about losing community radio. “The value of radio has gone down for the average listener,” she said, but “we move with the times, in terms of being

able to download the shows after they've been recorded...I think we'd be losing...a certain way of relating to people and connecting" if campus and community radio were to disappear (Michaelson 2011). Michaelson related some of this nervousness to a steady plateau of fundraising pledges over the past few years. The station's main measure of "success" is through their "Fundrive" and how many pledges they receive. A recent plateau, according to Michaelson, has made the station a little nervous. However, she does not necessarily feel as though listenership is decreasing for CKUW, just that the landscape is changing in general. She drew upon her experience working at the CBC, where the trend of cutting funding to television and radio has been apparent. "Radio had really been lashed a couple of years ago," said Michaelson, "and I don't know if it will make a comeback. And they call it radio, but it's really just websites and blog posts, or basically playing an iPod shuffle overnight. And that is *not* radio." She distinguished campus radio operations from some of the initiatives that radio services provided by the CBC, like Radio 2 and Radio 3, have recently implemented, where online content has become much more prominent. Michaelson said, "I love that we have live radio at three in the morning at our station. There are people who are night owls, playing music for other night owls." In the face of this changing radio landscape, CKUW's programming committee has adopted the strategy of serving the community "as much as possible, because there will be no other, with the internet and other things that are so global, there will barely be anything that is local anymore. And that may be our key to surviving as a station...because people will start yearning for local again" (Michaelson 2011).

Program director Robin Eriksson believes that CKUW is losing students' interests on a grand scale, and that this is a trend across the country. She claimed that young

people do not listen to or discover music the same way she did as a teenager. But she said there are still many people both young and old who are interested in “local content, local news, and the local music scene, and they still tune into campus radio” (Robin Eriksson, personal interview, July 6, 2011). “We have to start thinking differently about what our role is,” she added.

At CiTR, redefining what it means to “reach” listeners is an ongoing discussion. Janis McKenzie explained, “We have to deal with a lot of technological change. What does it mean to expand our reach? We used to be concerned whether our transmitter could reach people...and whether people could hear us in their houses or in their cars. And now we still are, but that’s only a percentage of how we reach our listeners” (Janis McKenzie, personal interview, July 12, 2011). For McKenzie, this is both an exciting and terrifying time for campus and community radio, but stations do not have large budgets to throw at these issues. “For the most part,” explained McKenzie, “we’re finding that our old models don’t really hold true, just knowing about ‘cool music’ isn’t going to help us compete in this current marketplace where people can listen to other campus and community radio stations from around the world. I don’t think we used to really think in terms of competition.”

Out of these concerns come a number of innovative approaches to programming and methods for engaging with listeners. Campus radio stations, because of their close ties to music communities and cultural practices, generally have inventive ideas for sustaining relevance in a changing landscape. Ted Turner informed me of CKUW’s digital archive, where all programming is archived for a month after it has been broadcasted. Listeners can download or stream a program if they miss it in real time.

Eriksson added that when the station's archived content "goes down, and when our stream goes down and our podcasts don't record, there is an influx of calls, so we know it's being used. And some shows, when you trace their history of how many [gigabytes] are downloaded, it's huge" (Eriksson 2011). A novel idea that Turner told me about was a potential partnership between *Stylus* and the station, where old archived issues of the magazine would be redistributed with the newly released, and old copies of recorded local music could be re-circulated in a digital format. Turner said:

there was this band Kittens, which was this really loved, rather, local band, three piece band, really noisy and intense and kind of dark, in the mid 1990s – we were thinking, let's tie this back into CKUW. An idea we've wanted to do is to look at our old cassettes and our old vinyl, and digitize that stuff. These are things that have never been digitized, that really don't exist, just a cassettes buried at the back of the station or in a box in someone's basement. So let's take that, digitize it and put it back into the collection. Again, if we're talking about how the development of technology around radio is that someone playing Faust at 4 a.m. isn't *as* special anymore, well maybe, maybe not. But we can do this now, which we couldn't do ten years ago. We can take a cassette made in 1995 from this local band that is absolutely fantastic and is completely lost, and we can recover it, we can put it on air digitally, we can then write about it in the magazine, and say, 'We've taken this and we've put it back on air, and here's the story of that object.' (Turner 2011)

Turner said that these potential collaborations and different ideas demonstrate that campus radio is "definitely not getting stale." He added that CKUW is "coming up with new ideas all the time."

At CiTR, station manager Brenda Grunau believes that online music streaming channels would be great for the sector. She explained, "Say we have a bluegrass channel and it RSS-feeds all the bluegrass shows from across the country. Because what we're best at is our niche programming...we could easily beat the quality and the range and the

amount of music showcased, we could easily beat any satellite channel” (Brenda Grunau, personal interview, July 11, 2011). Making innovative music accessible across the country is something the campus sector could do in this changing landscape, according to Grunau.

These innovative ideas are paired with a certain confidence throughout the sector, in which cultural institutions and shared resources will always be central in the circulation of local and independent music, as will the hard work of individuals who devote their time in exchange for the ability to put their passion for music to use. And this confidence extends beyond any anxiousness around programming and listenership. As Nardwuar said, “I think what makes college radio, or campus/community radio better than anybody doing their YouTubing or podcasting is *that*, look at that library we have there. Look at all the resources and look at all the people hanging out here...Let’s say we were hanging out, I could ask you about that [recent] gig” (Nardwuar the Human Serviette, personal interview, July 8, 2011). He feels that a collection of resources, and the shared discussions and experiences that take place within the station space grant campus radio a certain level of legitimacy that may not be as present elsewhere, but which is also distinct from what is seen as legitimacy in the commercial or public sectors. “Be part of a group and an organization that has some history behind it,” he added, “they can help you get an interview with bands. It also treats people with respect. It isn’t racist, sexist, or homophobic.” Campus stations are now able to share their local music scene with distant listeners, he also explained. “It used to be that you would go to a town and hear a college station and think, ‘Wow, I wish I could keep listening to this,’ but now you can. It can only help that stations can get such a wide reach,” said Nardwuar.

Concern, innovation, and optimism all stem from the passion exuded by campus radio participants in this work and beyond. “We’re just really passionate about campus radio,” McKenzie told me. “It’s harder for me to put my finger on what campus radio is now compared to what it was twenty-five years ago,” she added,

but I still believe independent voices in media are really, really important, perhaps more important than ever. I feel good every single day that I’m involved with CiTR, and to give different groups a voice....We’ve seen some pretty scary things happen, with stations being sold or licenses disappearing. We have to continue to fight really hard for what we do. It’s a challenge because we have to be all things to all people; we have to provide a way for students to have fun and get training and get hooked, because they’re our supporters now and for the future. And we have to continue to provide the really excellent community programming that we do. And sometimes all of that can be a lot to keep in our mind at once, and it can be a tough thing to be fighting on all these fronts. (McKenzie 2011)

Bill Baker echoed McKenzie’s comments, drawing from the past to comment on the future. Baker said, “I came to university...I didn’t really know what exactly I wanted to do. And I like to imagine that my experience with CiTR was kind of that old fashioned version where the extra-curricular aspect, the university experience, is actually what informed my life later on” (Bill Baker, personal interview, July 27, 2011). “So I think it’s a tremendously valuable institution, something like a campus radio station or a film society,” Baker continued, “and, we’ve just recently, or they at CiTR just recently, went through a funding challenge where they were very close to being in financial trouble. I guess it’s similar to how people on a federal level look at arts organizations.” Baker ended our conversation by connecting his current work at Mint back to his days at the station to stress the importance of the experiences one can gain while spending time in a cultural institution like a campus station:

I don't mean to suggest that I'm anybody particularly important, but when I think of all the people that have been positively affected by all of the various artists that we were able to work with, and all the things we've been able to do over the twenty years because there was this kooky, weird, cliquey, gothy radio station that was financed by the student body. I think it's something very precious and something very easy to lose sight of. So, maybe that is my closer for you. (Baker 2011)

The passion of the individuals involved with cultural production and music circulation on a local level is a significant distinguishing factor of campus radio culture, one that is integral in conveying its alternativeness and distinction from other radio sectors. This passion also figures into the discussion of cultural capital above, in that it motivates the collecting, sharing, and creating of music, and it drives support and circulation within alternative and independent music cultures, as opposed to economic incentive. Grunau explained, "One thing we have that a lot of other places don't is a community of people that is locally-oriented. And since we're connected to all the local bands and local venues, we've got this local foothold. So it's a greater reach than say just a blogger. Because essentially, we've got one hundred bloggers, right, they're just on the radio" (Grunau 2011). The force of a campus radio station as a cultural intermediary is strong according to this logic, because it is collective and more diverse than someone operating alone or for a company with a much more limited vision. Brenda explained that because of recent initiatives to branch out into online spaces, she would translate this collective cultural force onto an online platform. "We have a lot of our programmers blogging," Grunau explained, "and a lot of them have websites and their own Twitter and Facebook. So it's almost like we have a hundred networkers all doing their own thing in their

respective community.” “And we might be a bit more unwieldy of an organization, but at least we can provide a license for the community to use,” continued Grunau.

Individual taste is a significant factor in determining the range and scope of sounds heard on campus radio. In reality, the campus sector is a network of imagined-community radio stations, where community representation takes place along lines of participation in music scenes and shared interests in certain musical styles and sounds. Nevertheless, collectively, the coming together of the individuals who produce a campus radio culture within a locality, results in processes of circulating music that are not organized by a purely-economic logic. Rather, passion, taste, and cultural capital are the driving forces in supporting and sharing music that is often independent and local, or representative of some notion of the “independent” and “local.” And while we can debate the merits of a system that circulates music based on status and expertise within a certain music scene, it is clear from these case studies explained in this dissertation that the relationship between campus radio and local music-making provides listeners, radio practitioners, and cultural producers with an alternative to public and commercial radio. Moreover, individual taste and the sharing of musical preference are only becoming more prominent as the flow of digital formats reshapes the music industry, and the emergent cultural process of quickly and easily sharing music challenges the dominant industry model that has thrived alongside mass produced, recorded music. As campus radio looks to the future, tensions and overlaps between the digital and non-digital, and the local and trans-local, both in definition and operation, will be more pronounced. The 2010 policy that governs campus stations notes that “campus and community radio has always played a pivotal role in the development of new and emerging Canadian talent” (CRTC 2010).

Campus radio stations, as places where the sharing of musical knowledge, experience, and expertise has always been central to their function, within the studio space, over the air, and in the wider surrounding alternative music culture, may now be more relevant than ever before.

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Brenda Grunau, in discussion with the author, July 11, 2011, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Cameron Reed, in discussion with the author, July 11, 2011, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Janis McKenzie, in discussion with the author via Skype, July 12, 2011.

Nardwuar the Human Serviette, in discussion with the author, July 8, 2011, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Pat LePoidevin, in discussion with the author, June 3, 2011, Sackville, New Brunswick.

Pierre Malloy, in discussion with the author, June 3, 2011, Sackville, New Brunswick.

Robin Eriksson, in discussion with the author, July 6, 2011, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Rob Schmidt, in discussion with the author, July 5, 2011, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Sandy Mackay, in discussion with the author, June 3, 2011, Sackville, New Brunswick.

Sarah Michaelson, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2011, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Stu Reid, in discussion with the author, July 5, 2011, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Ted Turner, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2011, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Appendix A:
List of Potential Case Study Stations Selected from Total Number of Stations.
Organized by Region and Compiled by Author

	City Pop.	Metro Pop.	Date Established	Institution	Institution Pop.
WEST					
CITR-FM (Van)	578,041	2,116,581	1937	UBC	50,330
CJSW-FM (Cal)	988,193	1,079,310	1955	U. of Calgary	29,860
CJSR- (Edm)	730,372	1,034,945	1983(1946)	U. of Alberta	36,180
CFUV-FM (Vic)	78,057	330,088	1965	U. of Victoria	18,354
CKXU-FM (Leth)	86,659	95,196	1978	U. of Lethbridge	8,230
CFBX-FM (Kam)	86,376	92,882	1980	Thompson Rivers U.	13,172
CENTRAL					
CIUT-FM (Tor)	2,503,281	5,113,149	1966	U. of Toronto	74,760
CHRY-FM (Tor)	2,503,281	5,113,149	1986	York U.	52,290
CISM-FM (Mtl)	1,620,693	3,635,571	1970	U. de Montreal	55,540
CHUO-FM (Ott)	812,129	1,130,761	1975	U. of Ottawa	38,700
CKCU-FM (Ott)	812,129	1,130,761	1975	Carleton U.	24,250
CJUM-FM (Win)	633,451	694,668	1998 (1975)	U. of Manitoba	26,800
CKUW-FM (Win)	633,451	694,668	1963	U. of Winnipeg	9,010
CFMU-FM (Ham)	504,559	692,911	1978	McMaster U.	26,070
CJIQ-FM (Kitch)	204,668	451,235	2001	Conestoga College	?
CKLU-FM (Sud)	157,857	158,258	1984	Laurentian U.	8,800
CFRC-FM (King)	117,207	152,358	1923	Queen's U.	20,550
CFRU-FM (Guel)	114,943	127,009	1969	U. of Guelph	22,080
EAST					
CHMR-FM (St.J)	100,646	181,113	1986 (1951)	Memorial U. U. of New Brunswick and St. Thomas U.	18,172
CHSR-FM (Fred)	50,535	85,688	1981(1950s)		13,166
CHMA-FM (Sack)	5,411		1970s	Mount Allison U.	2,486
CFXU-FM (Ant)	4,236		1969	St. Francis Xavier U.	4,875

*For a more comprehensive list of Canadian community-based campus radio stations, please consult the CRTC's database:
<https://services.crtc.gc.ca/pub/BroadListRad/Default-Default.aspx>

Appendix B: List of Participants

CHMA/Sackville

Pierre Malloy, Station Manager at CHMA

Malloy became involved with CHMA in spring of 1995, after moving to Sackville the previous year. He moved to the town to pursue a job at one of the local newspapers. When it was announced that the company was going to be sold to a larger company, he left, citing the fact that he really likes independent media and has a problem with the corporatization of media. He took the job of station manager in 2003. Prior to this, he worked at CHSR in Fredericton, New Brunswick in the early 1980s, and he had a radio show in the North West Territories during the late 1980s and early 1990s. He has been involved with campus-community radio since 1982. He also ran a video store in Sackville, which gave him some business training in terms of handling staff.

Sandy Mackay, Program Director at CHMA

Mackay says that as much as he's not directly responsible for what's on the air, he is at the station listening all the time, maintaining a constant presence in the space. He is from Whitehorse Yukon, and he came to Sackville to attend Mount Allison University. The most recent show he has programmed at the station is called *Working Fulltime*, a rock 'n' roll show that broadcasts in the morning to "get people out of bed."

Pat LePoidevin, Folk Musician, Former Mount Allison Student and CHMA Programmer

LePoidevin has been a folk musician for about four years as of the time of my visit to Sackville. He recorded his first album, *Blue Tornadoes* in the production studio at CHMA. He is from Princeton, British Columbia, and he came to Sackville six years prior to my visit to attend Mount Allison.

CKUW/Winnipeg

Rob Schmidt, Station Manager at CKUW

Schmidt has been at CKUW since 1996. He was integral in taking the station to the FM dial in 1999, writing also for *Stylus* magazine. He moved to Winnipeg after attending McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Before that, he grew up in Northeastern Ontario.

Robin Eriksson, Program Director at CKUW

Eriksson became a volunteer at CKUW in 2004, after feeling as though she needed to get more involved with the station than just donating money annually. When summer came, a number of hosts went on holidays and Eriksson found herself filling in on air. She

remained on the air and still hosts *Hit the Big Wide Strum!*, an old-time and bluegrass music show. When the program director position opened in 2006, she applied and got the job. She is also currently on the board of the NCRA.

Ted Turner, Outreach and Sponsorship Coordinator at CKUW

Turner first got involved with CKUW in 1990, during his second year at the University of Winnipeg. He started hosting a radio show and then became involved in many aspects of the station, quickly becoming the station manager. He has also been the program director and operations manager. He is now the outreach and sponsorship coordinator and the advertising manager at *Stylus*.

Sarah Michaelson, Host of Stylus Radio and DJ (Mama Cutsworth)

Michaelson became involved with CKUW in 2000 during her first year at the University of Winnipeg. She had been hosting *Stylus Radio* for just over ten years at the time of my visit. She DJs as Mama Cutsworth, and has been for over seven years, playing rare soul and funk music. She also sits on the programming committee for the station and produces *Garageland*, a show that runs every Saturday in June that broadcasts from garage sales in the city. She has also been a producer for CBC Radio One and Two.

Stu Reid, Host of Twang Trust

Reid has been a fan of college radio since the late seventies. After CJUM at the University of Manitoba stopped broadcasting, he vowed to get involved with campus radio if the city ever got it back. He hosts *Twang Trust*, a country music show, and he is involved with the West End Cultural Centre, volunteering also at the city's Jazz Festival. He also works as a graphic designer in the city, producing posters for countless bands.

CiTR/Vancouver

Brenda Grunau, Station Manager at CiTR

Grunau attended university in Winnipeg, and then moved to Toronto to do a Masters in Business with an Arts and Media specialization. She ended up in Vancouver after travelling for a while. She came across the job posting for station manager, and thought it would be a good fit given her prior experience. Since taking the position, she has been rethinking the volunteer training process and improving communications between the station and *Discorder*.

Nardwuar the Human Serviette, Host of Nardwuar the Human Serviette Presents...

Nardwuar has hosted his radio show since October 1987 while a student at the University of British Columbia. His show is now also broadcast on WFMU in New Jersey. A native of Vancouver, Nardwuar also plays in the bands the Evaporators and Thee Goblins. He

also puts out records on Nardwuar Records about once a year. He began doing interviews in the early 1990s, and is now well-known internationally for this after being involved with Much Music for a while. He now hosts his interviews on YouTube and on his personal website, <http://nardwuar.com>.

Janis McKenzie, Chair of the CiTR Board

McKenzie joined CiTR in 1984 or 1985 while an undergraduate student at UBC. She began hosting a show shortly after joining, and became a writer for *Discorder*. She returned to the university for a graduate degree in the 1990s and ended up hosting another show for a few years. Recently, she has been involved with the administrative side of the station, sitting on the board for eight years and chairing for three.

Bill Baker, Mint Records Co-Founder

Baker formed Mint Records about twenty years prior to my visit, with friend Randy Iwata. He is now the Director of Music Licensing for the label. He got involved with CiTR in the early 1980s, and between he and Iwata, the two have done almost every job at the station. He stresses that he got more out of the station than he did his undergraduate education at UBC, and still works closely with CiTR.

Cameron Reed, Musician and Promoter

Reed began promoting shows in 2004 while playing in a punk band based in Vancouver. He has been involved with promoting Music Waste and the Victory Square Block Party. His current musical project, Babe Rainbow, is represented by prominent electronic music label, Warp Records.

Appendix C: High Power Questionnaire Results

RESULTS DEC 11/84

THE HIGH POWER HI-TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Your answers to the following questions will help the High Power Working Group in their quest for increased broadcast power for the station. Please fill out before you have too much to drink (just kidding....)

(18)
completed

1. WHY should CTR go high power?

a. increased signal	— 12
b. expand reception to other areas of the city	— 13
c. increased audience	— 13
d. expand university image into the community	— 13
e. expand membership potential	— 7
f. expand revenue potential	— 7
g. blow CF off the air	— 7
h. other (please specify)	— 6

2. One possibility in the application is limited sponsorship, a revenue generating potential. This would entail a PBS style of advertisement, such as X Show is brought to you by Yummy Dog Food.
 Are you in favour? 15 yes 3 no
 Why?

3. How do you think limited sponsorships would affect our audience? How would they react?

a. they would hate it	— 1
b. they wouldn't give a shit	— 5
c. it might take some time but they'd get used to it	— 11
d. the Squamish Five had nothing on an enraged CTR listener	— 1
e. other (please specify)	— 1

Appendix D: CHMA Program
Grid

CHMA 106.9 FM TY RADIO
2010 PROGRAM SCHEDULE

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN	
6	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS			6
7	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	DAVE FINDLAY & THERESA RICHARDS AROUSAL	D-SKILLET'S MUSICAL BREAKFAST	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	7
8			CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC				8
9		KAT FRASER & JONI FLECK-ANDREWS GOOD MORNING, SCOTT BROWN		LYNDSAY BROWNE THE SOUND & THE FURY	VANESSA BLACKIER & ADRIEL LEVITY ZOMBIE BREAKFAST!			9
10	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	HEIDI GRIFFIN FIR TREES	FERRON OLYNYK THE SWEETEST FEELING	VANESSA RANDALL ONE WOMAN ARMY		CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUES	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUES	10
11	ATTIC LUNCH	ATTIC LUNCH	ATTIC LUNCH	ATTIC LUNCH	ATTIC LUNCH	DRUG TRUTH NETWORK PLANETARY RADIO	EARTHBEAT	11
12						FOOTLIGHT PARADE	THE GREEN MAJORITY	12
1	CHMA'S FAVOURITE WORLD MUSIC	COUNTERSPIN	RADIO ECOSHOCK	PLANETARY RADIO	WINGS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	LONDON BRAVERMAN IN YOUR FACE	1
2		TIME OF USEFUL CONSCIOUSNESS	DECONSTRUCTING DINNER	UN RADIO	THIS WAY OUT		VIVI REICH TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES	2
3		PUTUMAYO WORLD MUSIC HOUR	MIKE LUMSDEN MISTY MOUNTAIN RADIO	SCOTT BROWN ODDS & ENDS	WHAT'S THE WORD		WOODSONGS	3
4	KIRK FERGUSON KULPOP	JAMES GODDARD & SCOTT BROWN AN AFTERNOON COMEDOWN	LUCAS HICKS THE UNPROFESSIONAL SHOW	THE MASSIE HOUR	THE TRAINING SHOW		KING PUP	4
5	JULIEN SIMON WASTELAND	THE MASSIE HOUR	KATIE FORTIER & ROBIN BRAZILL HIPPO IN THE BATHTUB	MARIA BRINE GIGANTIC RADIO	JOHN MCKOY FRIDAY'S WITH JOHN	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	THE BLUEGRASS JAM WITH WILSON MOORE	5
6	CHRIS RICKETTS & CHRIS ROBERTS THE YOUNG MANS CHRIS ASSOCIATION	SEBASTIEN MCLAUGHLIN WHAT THE CAT DRAGGED IN	MARLISS ELLIOT & LIA CHIASSON ORGANIC STATIC	DEMOCRACY NOW	DEMOCRACY NOW	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	6
7	DEMOCRACY NOW	DEMOCRACY NOW	DEMOCRACY NOW	DEMOCRACY NOW	DEMOCRACY NOW	THE BLUEGRASS JAM WITH WILSON MOORE	ALY KELLY & THEO HEFFLER BEDROOM EYES	7
8	PETER LINFIELD THE FINAL FRONTIER	MARC GAUDET KALEIDASCOP NATION	THE TRAINING SHOW	JACK KEDDY BANZAI!	MEAGHAN FISHER POSTCARDS FROM INANIA	BRENDON SMITH SOUNDS FOR STUBBORN EARS	NEIL BONNER SUPER ELECTRIC!	8
9	JOHN MURCHIE & LEAH GARNETT FULL OF PURPOSE	PATRICK LOSIER & TIM WINGATE SONGWRITER FULL CIRCLE	DAVID HUNTER THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	ALEX KEELING SOUNDS OF THE 30'S, 40'S AND 50'S	GRANT HURLEY WHAT A DAY FOR A RIOT	9
10	BARRY COOPER THE COCKTAIL HOUR	SALLY HILL SHAKYFACE	JULIE STEPHENSON HYPERBOREAN SOUND	NIC WILSON RUSSIA PLAYS PIANO	LUKE GALLAGHER ST. ELMO'S FIRE		SHAWN MESHEAU BAGTOWN BLUES	10
11	BETTY LIANG & NEIL BONNER SOMETHING MYSTERIOUS	MARC LEGER FROM HANK TO HENDRIX	COREY ISENER THE COREY HOTLINE	BECKY MARTIN & JESS PALMER TOAST ON THE WALL	DJ BOLIVIA SUBTERRANEAN HOMESICK GROOVES	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	GOODNIGHT WITH DAVID WHITE	11
12		MARIA BRINE SCREAM TEST	KWESI OTOO LOUNGE ELEMENTS	LINDA RAE OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT			KENT BLENKHORN & STEVEN SUTCLIFFE A TOAST TO THE COAST	12
1	CHRIS WEAVER THE MONDAY NIGHT SPECIAL	KYLE VEYSEY STRICTLY HIP-HOP	NIALL BURYK P.H. BALANCE	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	JAMES GODDARD SOUNDS OF THE LATE LATE-COMERS FOR TEENS	1
2	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	SOME ASSEMBLY REQUIRED	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	RADIO GOETHE	CHMA'S FAVOURITE HIP-HOP	2
3	CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK	CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK	CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK		CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK	CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK	CHMA'S FAVOURITE ROCK	3
4	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	CHMA'S FAVOURITE INDIE MUSIC	4
5	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	5
6	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	CHMA'S FAVOURITE BLUEGRASS	6

STUDIO PHONE 364-2222 WWW.MTA.CA/CHMA



PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

CHMA 106.9 FM
CAMPUS & COMMUNITY RADIO

SYNDICATED PROGRAMS

DEMOCRACY NOW

Democracy Now! is an international, daily, award-winning news program hosted by journalists Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzalez that provides listeners with perspectives rarely heard in corporate-sponsored media, including those of independent journalists, and ordinary people around the world affected by U.S. foreign policy.

COUNTERSPIN

CounterSpin is a weekly show, hosted by Janine Jackson, Steve Rendall and Peter Hart that exposes and highlights biased and inaccurate news.

TIME OF USEFUL CONSCIOUSNESS

Time of Useful Consciousness, hosted by Maria Gilardin, is an excellent compendium of long-format speeches, interviews and readings on compelling suppressed issues of the day. Investigative, informative and interesting, TUC is alternate news at its best.

PUTAMAYO WORLD MUSIC HOUR

The world's first commercially syndicated world music radio show now heard internationally on more than 170 commercial and non-commercial stations, including CHMA 106.9FM.

RADIO ECO-SHOCK

Radio EcoShock offers a variety of Green news, features, and Indie music, with reports on endangered species, toxic technologies, deforestation, smog, climate change, nuclear weapons and reactors, overfishing in the oceans, and more.

DECONSTRUCTING DINNER

Deconstructing Dinner was created to dispense and discuss current food issues. Make more educated choices about what you eat.

PLANETARY RADIO

Each week, Planetary Radio visits with a scientist, engineer, project manager, advocate or writer who provides a unique perspective on the quest for knowledge about our solar system and beyond.

WORLD OF POSSIBILITIES

An award-winning, one-hour weekly radio program on public affairs. It seeks to build bridges across boundaries of background and belief and discover solutions to longstanding challenges through penetrating conversations with pragmatic social innovators, leading policy analysts and big-picture thinkers on key national and global issues.

SOME ASSEMBLY REQUIRED

Some Assembly Required features work by a variety of artists who work with bits and pieces of their media environments, giving something back to the cultural landscape from which they so enthusiastically appropriate.

WINGS

An all-woman independent radio production company that produces and distributes news and current affairs programs by and about women around the world.

THIS WAY OUT

"This Way Out" is the award-winning internationally distributed weekly LGBT radio program, currently airing on over 175 local community radio stations around the world. The half-hour "magazine"-style program tackles news and issues important to the LGBT community.

WHAT'S THE WORD

What's the Word is the ultimate companion for the English major (or the average English speaker!)

BIONEERS: REVOLUTION FROM THE HEART OF NATURE

Cutting-edge solutions to major environmental challenges and crises, along with broader social approaches for ecological and cultural restoration

DRUG TRUTH NETWORK

Drug Truth Network is dedicated to exposing the fraud, misdirection, and wastefulness of the war on drugs.

FOOTLIGHT PARADE

Showcasing the best of Broadway and Hollywood – songs from the turn of the 20th century to today.

RADIO GOETHE

Radio Goethe presents the best in European electronica. The driving beats of the newest groups are the audio setting for a fantastic voyage into the mind of host Arndt Peltner. Tune in, and let out your inner dance beast.

EARTHBEAT RADIO

Earthbeat's co-hosts Daphne Wysham & Mike Tidwell bring you an hour of groundbreaking environmental news and interviews live from Washington. Focusing on a different climate change related theme each week, the hour is devoted to the latest news from the front lines of the climate crisis.

THE GREEN MAJORITY

The Green Majority is a radio program produced at CIUT in Toronto, Canada aimed at raising awareness about Canadian environmental issues, connecting listeners with their environmental communities and encouraging green values, philosophies and lifestyles.

WOODSONGS

Michael Johnathon's Woodsongs is a worldwide multi-media celebration of grassroots, Americana music. Get ready to explore the beautiful world of folk, bluegrass, songwriting, literature, worldwide radio and concerts.

KING PUP

The KingPup Radio Show blends tongue in cheek humor and live acoustic country music performances, performing the tradition of local country music radio programs that flourished throughout rural America during the 20's, 30's and 40's

LOCAL PROGRAMS

ATTIC LUNCH

Your daily news, sports and all things Sackville update. Tune in every Monday to Friday at 11 am and noon to hear rotating hosts discuss current events and spin new and old music. The perfect lunch companion.

THE MASSIE HOUR

Japanese exchange students practice their English and introduce us to new music.

THE TRAINING SHOW

Tune in to hear brand new programmers test their radio chops.

JAMES GODDARD – SOUNDS OF THE LATEST LATECOMERS FOR TEENS

Tune in every week as host James Goddard brings you an eclectic mix of noise, hip-hop, avant-whatever, pop and handy tips for teens.

KIRK FERGUSON – KULPOP

The best of new world electronica and dance music, spun with the expertise of long time DJ, Kirk Ferguson.

JULIEN SIMON – WASTELAND

Pop culture can sometimes seem like a barren wasteland, but Julien manages to create life from the nothingness. Listen to the genesis and gain strength from the sharing.

KATIE FORTIER & ROBIN BRAZILL – HIPPO IN THE BATHTUB

A dose of English lit with an oft-changing, quirky soundtrack, and two lovely ladies. Catch Katie and Robin for an hour of bathroom fixtures and African mammals.

PETER LINFIELD – THE FINAL FRONTIER

Back in action after a brief hiatus, Peter reminds us to push the boundaries with new music and fantastic nerd-chat. A show for those still wary of Klingons.

JOHN MURCHIE & LEAH GARNETT – FULL OF PURPOSE

Art talk and casual conversation, punctuated by the occasional guest. John and Leah are the disembodied voices you hear at night.

BARRY COOPER – THE COCKTAIL HOUR

Host Barry takes you through his extensive music library with great music from the US, UK, and of course Canada. Kick back and grab a drink.

BETTY LIANG & NEIL BONNER – SOMETHING MYSTERIOUS

Your weekly dose of random with Betty and Neil. Their show is a black hole; it will suck you in.

CHRIS WEAVER – THE MONDAY NIGHT SPECIAL

Fantastic new music with personable and intelligent host CBW. Combining great tunes with themed album appreciation, the Monday Night Special is special indeed.

KAT FRASER & JONI FLECK-ANDREWS

GOOD MORNING, SCOTT BROWN
Get your Tuesdays going with Kat and Joni and their fun, up-beat selection of indie rock tunes on "Good Morning Scott Brown".

JAMES GODDARD & SCOTT BROWN

AN AFTERNOON COMEDOWN
Worn out from the hustle? Let the Afternoon Comedown nurse you back to health with an hour of smooth jazz from Scott and James.

SEBASTIEN MCLAUGHLIN – WHAT THE CAT DRAGGED IN

Awesome weekly interviews and great music combined with Sebastian's intelligent Sackville commentary.

MARC GOUDET – KALEIDOSCOPE NATION

See the world through a different lens. Host Marc invites you into his world of unique music and intelligent conversation.

PATRICK LOSIER & TIM WINGATE – SONGWRITER FULL CIRCLE

Patrick and Tim bring the best of traditional East Coast songwriters to the radio. For lovers of folk, rock, and folk-rock.

SALLY HILL – SHAKYFACE

The operatic Sally has created a show that is fun, beautiful and evokes a creative vibe. Mellow out with Shakyface.

MARC LEGER – FROM HANK TO HENDRIX

The best classic tunes from some of the best blues, folk and rock musicians in history. From Hank Williams to Jimi Hendrix and everything in between.

MARIA BRINE – SCREAM TEST

Do you like music, comic books, and horror films? Is Bela Lugosi your ideal man? If so, meet up with Maria for a Scream Test. It's a date.

KYLE VEYSEY – STRICTLY HIP-HOP

Host Kyle spins hip-hop better than any other show on local or even satellite radio. Classic records plus your favourite MCs in one fully uncensored late-night hour of strictly hip-hop.

DAVE FINDLAY & THERESA RICHARDS – AROUSAL

Wake up, it's lovin' time! For romantic advice set to a passionate up-beat soundtrack look no further than Wednesday mornings.

HEIDI GRIFFIN – FIR TREES

Baby co-hosts, good vibes and down home album appreciation. Heidi G. knows what you need on Wednesday mornings.

MIKE LUMSDEN – MISTY MOUNTAIN MUSIC

Grandma's home cooking, Mom's favourite music and your lovable host. Mike brings the magic of the misty mountain home.

LUCAS HICKS – THE UNPROFESSIONAL SHOW

He might be a self-proclaimed amateur, but host Lucas delivers a show of witty banter and indie rock like a pro.

CHRIS ROBERTS AND CHRIS RICKETTS

THE YOUNG MAN'S CHRIS ASSOCIATION
Join Chris and Chris for an hour of Chris talk. News, events and music all discussed with an edge only a Chris can provide.

DAVID HUNTER – THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER

Canada's Next Prime Minister lives right here in Sackville. Tune in for political content and great music.

JULIE STEPHENSON – HYPERBOREAN SOUND

Each week Julie showcases music that is new to the her and hopefully to you as well. An exploration through Canadian content new and old.

COREY ISENON – THE COREY HOTLINE

If you're feeling blue and need a guy to talk to, Corey's your man. He'll play whatever he feels like, but don't worry; it's always good.

KWESI OTOO – LOUNGE ELEMENTS

Join host Kwesi as he brings everything that is good from the background to the forefront. From nuJazz to neverFunk and dubstep, all get play on Lounge Elements.

NIALL BURYK – P.H. BALANCE

Niall keeps your radio balanced with a mix of acid rock and equal parts bass beat. Tune in for music that is anything but neutral and inert.

D-SKILLET'S MUSICAL BREAKFAST

Bacon, eggs, orange juice and radio, all part of D-Skillet's complete musical breakfast. Great morning chatter with music for the struggle.

LYNDSEY BROWNE – THE SOUND AND THE FURY

For those who like their music curious with sound, host Lyndsey presents an eclectic mix-up of the crème de la crème of the past 50 years.

FERRON OLYNYK – THE SWEETEST FEELING

Host Ferron brings you an hour of 60s era soul and r&b, combining Motown and Atlantic hits with lesser known gems. Bring the love back into Thursdays.

SCOTT BROWN – ODDS AND ENDS

Whatever host Scott is in the mood to play is sure to be an exciting variety of new and old, Canadian and international artists. Weekly jams with everything from Wilco to Daft Punk.

MARIA BRINE – GIGANTIC RADIO

Host Maria makes your wimpy clock-radio seem gigantic. Big sounds, big talk, big news, gigantic radio.

JACK KEDDY – BANZAI!

After 23 years Banzai! is still going strong. Host Jack brings classic rock back to MTA.

NIC WILSON – RUSSIA PLAYS PIANO

The Russians are coming! The Russians are coming! Nic will help you fend them off with smooth jams and extensive musical (and Soviet) knowledge.

BECKY MARTIN & JESS PALMER – TOAST ON THE WALL

Everyday is a holiday when you're Jess and Becky. Tune in to 'Toast on the Wall' to discover new ways to celebrate every day.

LINDA RAE DORNAN – OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT

Let Linda bring you into the world of audio art with a full hour of original compositions as well as examples from across the world.

VANESSA BLACKIER & ADRIEL LEAVITT – ZOMBIE BREAKFAST!

Vanessa and Adriel bring you debates, advice, and upbeat music for today's zombie minority. Tune in to Zombie Breakfast – radio that's good for your braaaaains.

VANESSA RANDALL – ONE WOMAN ARMY

Discover the force of female voices united across the airwaves, with Vanessa. Listen for a grass-root female singer/songwriter wake up call.

JOHN MCKOY – FRIDAYS WITH JOHN

Your weekly email commentary show. Great Friday music and interesting themes combined with some of the best new pop music.

MARLISSIE ELLIOTT & LIA CHIASSON – ORGANIC STATIC

Marlisse and Lia know exactly what you want at the end of the week. With independent music and the sweetest radio voices, they are your boombox champions.

MEAGHAN FISHER – POSTCARDS FROM INANIA

A real music lover, Meaghan attempts to provide snapshots from each different genre. Along with intelligent commentary, she is sure to be your radio hero.

LUKE GALLAGHER – ST. ELMO'S FIRE

Strange new sounds and unique insights on music you may not have heard before. Luke endeavors to introduce and educate.

WILSON MOORE – THE BLUEGRASS JAM

The one and only Wilson Moore continues to bring us the best of bluegrass, twice a week on CHMA.

BRENDON SMITH – SOUNDS FOR STUBBORN EARS

Open your ears. Brendon can seduce you with sound and leave you begging for more. Your ears won't be stubborn for long.

ALEX KEELING – SOUNDS OF THE 30'S, 40'S AND 50'S

The best pre-rock recording that most radio has forgotten. Extensively researched and prepared by Alex, one of the most knowledgeable hosts on CHMA.

LANDON BRAVERMAN – IN YOUR FACE

Host Landon gets in your face every Sunday to give you the best in new international and Canadian indie music, plus interviews with special guests.

VIVI REICH – TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES

Experience the unconventional and provocative sounds of industrial and that fast break beats of drum and bass. Let Vivi be your guide to mechanical noise. Don't forget your hardhat.

ALY KELLY & THEO HEFFLER – BEDROOM EYES

Don't stare too long because Aly and Theo can see right through to your soul with their bedroom eyes. Fun music and cheerful friends on a Sunday afternoon.

NEIL BONNER – SUPER ELECTRIC!!

Every week, host Neil chooses sixty minutes of fresh music from across genres and eras. Unless you like things that are boring and non-awesome, Super Electric!! will be a surefire hit.

GRANT HURLEY – WHAT A DAY FOR A RIOT

If you don't remember the 60s, you should start here. All the classics plus a touch of indie thrown in for taste.

SHAWN MESHEAU – BAGTOWN BLUES

Sackville's best blues, programmed by a knowledgeable bluesman and local legend, Shawn.

DAVID WHITE – GOODNIGHT WITH DAVID WHITE

With the best of oldies soul and current NHL talk, David White ends your weekend right.

KENT BLENKHORN & STEVEN SUTCLIFFE

A TOAST TO THE COAST
Raise your glass to the best of East Coast music. Rock, pop, folk and everything else, Kent and Steven celebrate East Coast music.

Appendix E: *Stylus* Cover, 1990

stylus

Volume 2
Number 1
October
1990
Free



CKUW Would Like To
Thank the University
For Establishing its
New No Smoking Policy

Garnering Us a Great Many New
Listeners

Appendix F: Twang Trust Fundraiser Advertisement

TWANG TRUST
ROOTS=ROCKIN'
2011 FUNDRAISE
SPECTACULAR!

F E A T U R I N G

HATCHER-BRIGGS

with special guest appearances by
COLIN BRYCE KERI LATIMER SCOTT NOLAN

Giveaways!
Prizes!
Annoying Pledge-Drive Pitches!



BROADCAST LIVE ON CKOW - 95.9FM!

Wednesday, February 16
6:00 - 8:00 PM
The Lo Pub
 330 Kennedy St. at Ellice

Be part of the LIVE Studio Audience!



www.twangtrust.ca

Appendix G: *Discorder* Media Kit, Demographic



DEMOGRAPHIC

WHO TREND-SETTING MUSIC-LOVERS AGED 19 TO 35.

READERS// 14,875/MONTH

AGE//



80% - 19 TO 35
12% - 36 TO 45

EDUCATION// POST-SECONDARY (SOME OR ALL)

NEIGHBOURHOOD//



28% - MAIN STREET/CAMBIE STREET
25% - DOWNTOWN
21% - COMMERCIAL DRIVE
15% - UBC

HOW AN EXTREMELY LOYAL AND ENTHUSIASTIC READERSHIP.

YEARS READING DISORDER//



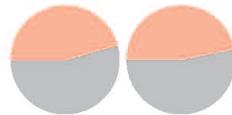
47.4% - 3 TO 10 YEARS
26.8% - 11 TO 25 YEARS
22.7% - 1 TO 2 YEARS

SPREADING THE WORD//



51.5% - SHARE A COPY WITH
2 TO 5 OTHER READERS

READER FREQUENCY//



44.3% - READ EVERY ISSUE
45.3% - READ EVERY OTHER ISSUE

PAGES READ PER ISSUE//



52% - ALL OR MOST

WHAT ELSE DISORDER READERS ARE BIG-TIME BUYERS OF THE ARTS.

GOING TO CONCERTS//



51.4% - 21 OR MORE PER YEAR
41.2% - 5 TO 20 PER YEAR

BIGGEST MUSIC RELATED EXPENSE//



39% - GOING TO SHOWS
32.8% - BUYING ALBUMS (CD'S/VINYL)
15.2% - BUYING MUSIC ONLINE

SUPPORTING LOCAL//



49.5% - HALF OR MORE OF CONCERTS
ATTENDED FEATURING LOCAL (BC) ACTS
22.7% - QUARTER TO HALF

OTHER FAVOURITE WAY TO SPEND MONEY//



24% - EATING OUT/COFFEE SHOPS
22% - BOOKS/MAGAZINES
19% - FILMS

Appendix H: CiTR Charts

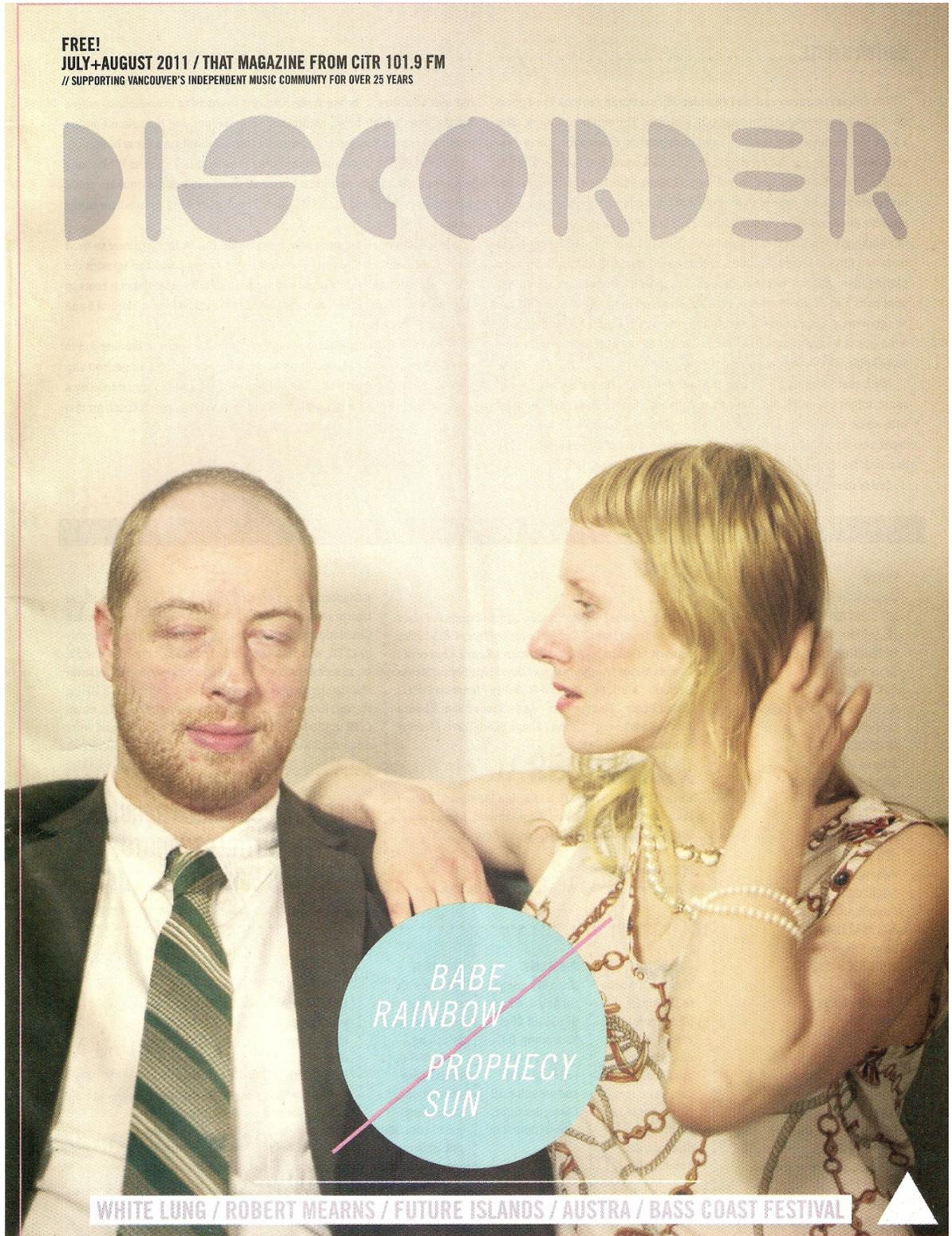
// CiTR 101.9 FM CHARTS

STRICTLY THE DOPEST HITZ OF MARCH

#	ARTIST	ALBUM	LABEL	#	ARTIST	ALBUM	LABEL
1	Various*+	<i>CiTR Pop Alliance Compilation, Vol. 2</i>	Mint/ CiTR 101.9 FM	26	Buck 65*	<i>20 Odd Years</i>	Warner (WEA)
2	Colin Stetson*	<i>New History Warfare Vol. 2: Judges</i>	Constellation	27	The Rural Alberta Advantage*	<i>Departing</i>	Paper Bag
3	The Oh Wells*+	<i>The EP That We Love</i>	Independent	28	Yuck	<i>s/t</i>	Fat Possum
4	Dum Dum Girls	<i>He Gets Me High</i>	Sub Pop	29	The Good Lovelies*	<i>Let the Rain Fall</i>	Independent
5	Kurt Vile	<i>Smoke Ring For My Halo</i>	Matador	30	OK Vancouver OK*+	<i>Houses</i>	Greenbelt Collective
6	Geoff Berner*+	<i>Victory Party</i>	Mint	31	The Luyas*	<i>Too Beautiful To Work</i>	Idée Fixe
7	Destroyer*+	<i>Kaputt</i>	Merge	32	La Sera	<i>s/t</i>	Hardly Art
8	Brave Irene*+	<i>s/t</i>	Slumberland	33	Mogwai	<i>Hardcore Will Never Die, But You Will</i>	Sub Pop
9	Braids*	<i>Native Speaker</i>	Flemish Eye	34	The Wailin' Jennys*	<i>Bright Morning Stars</i>	True North
10	PJ Harvey	<i>Let England Shake</i>	Island	35	The Smith Westerns	<i>Dye It Blonde</i>	Fat Possum
11	Drive-By Truckers	<i>Go-Go Boots</i>	ATO	36	Eve Hell and the Razors*	<i>When the Lights Go Out</i>	Hell Fi
12	The Babies	<i>s/t</i>	Shrimper	37	Deerhoof	<i>Deerhoof vs. Evil</i>	Polyvinyl
13	Bright Eyes	<i>The People's Key</i>	Saddle Creek	38	Channels 3 and 4*+	<i>Christianity</i>	Gilgongo
14	Beans	<i>End It All</i>	Anticon	39	White Suns	<i>Walking In the Reservoir</i>	Ug Explode
15	Wanda Jackson	<i>The Party Ain't Over</i>	Third Man	40	Cowpuncher*	<i>s/t</i>	Independent
16	Adele	<i>21</i>	XL Recordings	41	Ghostface Killah	<i>Apollo Kids</i>	Def Jam
17	Mother Mother*+	<i>Eureka</i>	Last Gang	42	Exene Cervenka	<i>The Excitement of Maybe</i>	Bloodshot
18	Esben And The Witch	<i>Violet Cries</i>	Matador	43	Lia Ices	<i>Grown Unknown</i>	Jagjaguwar
19	Iron and Wine	<i>Kiss Each Other Clean</i>	Warner (WEA)	44	N.213/Reflektions*+	<i>Split</i>	Needs More Ram
20	Dizzy Eyes*+	<i>Let's Break Up the Band</i>	Hardly Art	45	Isaiah Ceccarelli*	<i>Bréviaire d'épuisements</i>	Ambiances Magnetiques
21	The Tranzmitors*+	<i>It's Not Your Call b/w You Get Around</i>	Dirtnap	46	The Radio Dept.	<i>Passive Aggressive: Singles 2002- 2010</i>	Labrador
22	Kellarissa*+	<i>Moon of Neptune</i>	Mint	47	Bruce Cockburn*	<i>Small Source of Comfort</i>	True North
23	Joane Hétu*	<i>Récits de Neige</i>	Ambiances Magnetiques	48	Lykke Li	<i>Wounded Rhymes</i>	Atlantic
24	Miesha and the Spanks*	<i>Gods Of Love</i>	Transistor 66	49	Akron/Family	<i>Akron/Family II: ... of Shinju TNT</i>	Dead Oceans
25	Six Organs of Admittance	<i>Asleep on the Floodplain</i>	Drag City	50	J. Mascis	<i>Several Shades of Why</i>	Sub Pop

CiTR's charts reflect what's been played on the air by CiTR's lovely DJs last month. Records with asterisks (*) are Canadian and those with a plus (+) are Vancouver based. Most of these excellent albums can be found at fine independent music stores across Vancouver. If you can't find them, give CiTR's music coordinator a shout at (604) 822-8733. His name is Luke Meat. If you ask nicely he'll tell you how to find them. Check out other great campus/community radio charts at www.earshot-online.com.

Appendix I: *Discorder* Cover, Babe Rainbow



Appendix J: *CiTR Pop Alliance* Cover Art, by David Barclay



Appendix K: Approved Summary Protocol Form, Consent Form, and Sample Interview Guide



Summary Protocol Form (SPF)

University Human Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research – Ethics and Compliance Unit: GM 1000 – 514. 848.2424 ex. 2425

Important

Approval of a *Summary Protocol Form* (SPF) must be issued by the applicable Human Research Ethics Committee prior to beginning any research involving human participants.

The University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC) reviews all Faculty and Staff research, as well as some student research (in cases where the research involves more than minimal risk - please see below).

Research funds cannot be released until appropriate certification has been obtained.

For faculty and staff research

Please submit one signed copy of this form to the UHREC c/o the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit, GM-1000. Please allow one month for the UHREC to complete the review.

Electronic signatures will be accepted via e-mail at kwiscomb@alcor.concordia.ca

For graduate or undergraduate student research

- If your project is included in your supervising faculty member's SPF, no new SPF is required.
- Departmental Research Ethics Committees are responsible for reviewing all student research, including graduate thesis research, where the risk is less than minimal. In Departments where an ethics committee has not been established, please contact the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit.

- In cases where the student research is more than minimal risk (i.e. the research involves participants under the age of 18yrs, participants with diminished capacity, participants from vulnerable populations or participants from First Nations), an SPF must be submitted to the UHREC, c/o the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit, GM-1000, by the Course Instructor/Supervisor on the student's behalf.

Instructions

This document is a form-fillable word document. Please open in Microsoft Word, and tab through the sections, clicking on checkboxes and typing your responses. The form will expand to fit your text. Handwritten forms will not be accepted. If you have technical difficulties with this document, you may type your responses and submit them on another sheet. Incomplete or omitted responses may cause delays in the processing of your protocol.

Does your research involve

- Participants under the age of 18 years?
- Participant with diminished mental or physical capacity?
- Aboriginal peoples?
- Vulnerable groups (refugees, prisoners, victims of violence, etc.)?

1. Submission Information

Please provide the requested contact information in the table below:

Please check ONE of the boxes below :

- This application is for a new protocol.
- This application is a modification or an update of an existing protocol:
Previous protocol number (s): _____

2. Contact Information

Please provide the requested contact information in the table below:

Principal Investigator/ Instructor (must be Concordia faculty or staff member)	Department	Internal Address	Phone Number	E-mail
Charles R. Acland (PhD supervisor)	Communication Studies	7141 Sherbrooke St. W. CJ. 4.419 Mtl, QC H4B 1R6	514-848- 2424 ext.2558	craclan@alcor.concordia.ca
Co-Investigators / Collaborators		University / Department		E-mail
Leslie Shade (PhD Supervisor)	Concordia, Communication Studies		lshade@alcor.concordia.ca	
Brian Fauteux (PhD Student)	Concordia, Communication Studies		brian.fauteux@gmail.com	
Research Assistants		Department / Program		E-mail

3. Project and Funding Sources

Project Title:	Sounds, Scenes, and Structure : The Space and Place of Canadian Campus Radio
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In the table below, please list all existing internal and external sources of research funding, and associated information, which will be used to support this project. Please include anticipated start and finish dates for the project(s). Note that for awarded grants, the grant number is REQUIRED. If a grant is an application only, list APPLIED instead.

Funding Source	Project Title	Grant Number	Award Period	
			Start	End
SSHRC	From Closed-Circuit to the Internet : The Development of Canadian Campus Radio	767-2009-1693	Sept. 2009	Sept. 2012

4. Brief Description of Research or Activity

Please provide a brief overall description of the project or research activity. Include a description of the benefits which are likely to be derived from the project. Do not submit your thesis proposal or grant application.

The research activity for which this form pertains contributes to Brian Fauteux's PhD dissertation. The dissertation focuses on the development of campus radio in Canada, with a focus on the relationships between government broadcasting regulation and station mandate, as well as the relationships between campus radio stations and local musical activity. The research will centre on three case-study stations (in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Sackville), in order to explore the similarities and differences between stations in large, medium, and small towns or cities, which broadcast from large, medium, and small universities. Anticipated benefits from this research include the contribution it will hopefully make towards understanding the Canadian radio broadcasting environment as a whole. Campus radio is under-researched; given the amount of scholarly attention that public and private radio broadcasting in Canada has been given. As well, this research will illustrate how through relationships with local music and culture, Campus radio

contributes to cultural and musical diversity, particularly in relationship to broader technological and economic developments in media (i.e. the decentralization of content through digital and satellite radio, as well as industry consolidation).

5. Scholarly Review / Merit

Has this research been funded by a peer-reviewed granting agency (e.g. CIHR, FQRSC, Hexagram)?

Yes Agency: SSHRC

If your research is beyond minimal risk, please complete and attach the Scholarly Review Form, available here:

No <http://oor.concordia.ca/formsandreferenceddocuments/forms/researchethicsandcompliance/>

6. Research Participants

a) Please describe the group of people who will participate in this project.

Participants will be radio station hosts and volunteers, both past and present. Other potential interview subjects will include musicians or artists that might have a relationship or noted history with a given station. Given that station volunteers are typically undergraduate students or older, all participants will be over the age of eighteen.

b) Please describe in detail how participants will be recruited to participate. Please attach to this protocol draft versions of any recruitment advertising, letters, etcetera which will be used.

The current station manager at each case study station has been contacted. He or she will help in finding interview subjects, based on the interest of each individual participant (that is, interest in participating in this study).

c) Please describe in detail how participants will be treated throughout the course of the research project. Include a summary of research procedures, and information regarding the training of researchers and assistants. Include sample interview questions, draft questionnaires, etcetera, as appropriate.

Participants will be treated as integral contributors to the research. Because this project focuses on writing about the development of a particular type of community media, it is important than

members from this community contribute to the story. Research procedures will therefore be relatively informal, likely involving some email contact from a distance, and then face-to-face interviews during the time spent visiting each city and station (about three to five days at each one). Research questions will be tailored to the individual, structured around their role at the station or within in the music scene, but some examples of topics include: how and why he/she chose to get involved with a station; individual perception of the station's operation, particularly in relation to other stations in the same radio market; ideas concerning both the past and future of campus radio; as well as his or her involvement with local musical activity (i.e. is he or she a musician?; does s/he frequently attend concerts and/or participate in any other cultural activities in the area?).

7. Informed Consent

- a) Please describe how you will obtain informed consent from your participants. A copy of your written consent form or your oral consent script must be attached to this protocol. *Please note: written consent forms must follow the format of the sample consent form template provided for you at the Ethics and Compliance webpage*

Informed consent will be obtained by having participants read and sign a consent form (see attached sample consent form). For any interviews or correspondence conducted online, for which the individual will not be eventually met in person, the consent form will either be mailed, including a postage-paid envelop, or scanned and emailed. For the latter, participants can either print, sign, and return the form, or sign it electronically and return via email.

- b) In some cultural traditions, individualized consent as implied above may not be appropriate, or additional consent (e.g. group consent; consent from community leaders) may be required. If this is the case with your sample population, please describe the appropriate format of consent and how you will obtain it.

N/A

8. Deception and Freedom to Discontinue

- a) Please describe the nature of any deception, and provide a rationale regarding why it must be used in your protocol. Is deception absolutely necessary for your research design? Please note that deception includes, but is not limited to, the following: deliberate presentation of false information; suppression of material information; selection of information designed to mislead; selective disclosure of information.

None.

- b) How will participants be informed that they are free to discontinue at any time? Will the nature of the project place any limitations on this freedom (e.g. documentary film)?

Participants will be free to withdraw participant at any time, up until two weeks after the last interview. This will be made evident in the consent form, and participants will be informed verbally. The two-week waiting period is to give participants time to withdraw should they need to, yet allows the research to continue, avoiding any large complications that might arise from a participant withdrawing during the writing or completion of the dissertation.

9. Risks and Benefits

- a) Please identify any foreseeable risks or potential harms to participants. This includes low-level risk or any form of discomfort resulting from the research procedure. When appropriate, indicate arrangements that have been made to ascertain that subjects are in “healthy” enough condition to undergo the intended research procedures. Include any “withdrawal” criteria.

Potential risks or harms to participants are not at all likely. Participants will be provided with the option to withdraw, in case time commitment becomes an issue for a participant, or if a participant decides that he or she is uncomfortable being quoted in a dissertation.

- b) Please indicate how the risks identified above will be minimized. Also, if a potential risk or harm should be realized, what action will be taken? Please attach any available list of referral resources, if applicable.

It will be ensured that participants are comfortable throughout the entire process, and they will be made aware that they are contributing to a research project that concerns the media system that they are evidently very involved with. A participant can participate as much or as little as she or he wishes.

- c) Is there a likelihood of a particular sort of “heinous discovery” with your project (e.g. disclosure of child abuse; discovery of an unknown illness or condition; etcetera)? If so, how will such a discovery be handled?

No.

10. Data Access and Storage

- a) Please describe what access research participants will have to study results, and any debriefing information that will be provided to participants post-participation.

Participants will be given access to as much information that they request. The dissertation proposal will be available to participants so that they know where the research is coming from, and why the researcher is interested in this subject. Copies of the final project will also be made available to the participants and case study stations.

Research participants will also be kept up to date on any public appearances of the study results (for instance, conference presentations, peer-reviewed publications) through their optional inclusion in

private email notifications. During the study, short debriefing sessions will follow each focus group and interview, wherein the overall objectives of the project will be outlined.

- b) Please describe the path of your data from collection to storage to its eventual archiving or disposal. Include specific details on short and long-term storage (format and location), who will have access, and final destination (including archiving, or any other disposal or destruction methods).

The final project will be deposited and archived as a Concordia dissertation at the Concordia Library, as well as in Library and Archives Canada (as with all theses and dissertations). Of course, this format includes the contextualized data. Digitally-recorded interviews will be transcribed into word-processing software. The audio files, as well as the transcribed documents will be copied and stored in the offices of the Co-Investigators, stored under closed lock and key, for a period of ten (10) years, upon which they will be destroyed. The actual interview transcripts and other related research that pertains to this proposal will also be backed up on the personal hard drives of Brian Fauteux. He will have access to the entire data pertaining to this proposal, and the general public will have access to the contextualized data in the form of the dissertation. If a participant requests data from the interview transcripts, it will be forwarded it to them. As well, interview and contextual interview transcriptions and fieldnotes may be included in the write-up of research results for conference presentations and peer-reviewed journal articles, and as appendices to the final project.

11. Confidentiality of Results

Please identify what access you, as a researcher, will have to your participant(s) identity(ies):

<input type="checkbox"/>	Fully Anonymous	Researcher will not be able to identify who participated at all. Demographic information collected will be insufficient to identify individuals.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anonymous results, but identify who participated	The participation of individuals will be tracked (e.g. to provide course credit, chance for prize, etc) but it would be impossible for collected data to be linked to individuals.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pseudonym	Data collected will be linked to an individual who will only be identified by a fictitious name / code. The researcher will not know the “real” identity of the participant.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Confidential	Researcher will know “real” identity of participant, but this identity will not be disclosed.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Disclosed	Researcher will know and will reveal “real” identity of participants in results / published material.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Participant Choice	Participant will have the option of choosing which level of disclosure they wish for their “real” identity.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please describe)	

- a) If your sample group is a particularly vulnerable population, in which the revelation of their identity could be particularly sensitive, please describe any special measures that you will take to respect the wishes of your participants regarding the disclosure of their identity.

N/A

- b) In some research traditions (e.g. action research, research of a socio-political nature) there can be concerns about giving participant groups a “voice”. This is especially the case with groups that have been oppressed or whose views have been suppressed in their cultural location. If these concerns are relevant for your participant group, please describe how you will address them in your project.

N/A

12. Additional Comments

- a) Bearing in mind the ethical guidelines of your academic and/or professional association, please comment on any other ethical concerns which may arise in the conduct of this protocol (e.g. responsibility to subjects beyond the purposes of this study).

I have a responsibility to accurately reflect the involvement of my participants, as well as the information they provide me with.

- b) If you have feedback about this form, please provide it here.

13. Signature and Declaration

Following approval from the UHREC, a protocol number will be assigned. This number must be used when giving any follow-up information or when requesting modifications to this protocol.

The UHREC will request annual status reports for all protocols, one year after the last approval date. Modification requests can be submitted as required, by submitting to the UHREC a memo describing any changes, and an updated copy of this document.

I hereby declare that this Summary Protocol Form accurately describes the research project or scholarly activity that I plan to conduct. Should I wish to add elements to my research program or make changes, I will edit this document accordingly and submit it to the University Human Research Ethics Committee for Approval.

ALL activity conducted in relation to this project will be in compliance with:

- *The Tri Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Human Subjects*, available here:
<http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/english/policystatement/policystatement.cfm>
- **The Concordia University Code of Ethics: Guidelines for Ethical Actions**

Signature of Principal Investigator: Charles Acland

Date: December 2, 2010

Note that SPF's with electronic signatures will be accepted via e-mail

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN: “Sounds, Scenes, and Structure: The Space and Place of Canadian Campus Radio.”

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Brian Fauteux, PhD Candidate in Communications at Concordia University (514-248-7677, brian.fauteux@gmail.com)

A. PURPOSE

I have been informed that the purpose of the research is as follows: To describe and illustrate the role of Canadian campus radio, both presently and in the past, within the Canadian radio broadcasting environment as a whole. This research focuses on the relationships between government broadcasting regulation and station mandate, as well as the relationships between campus radio stations and local musical activity

B. PROCEDURES

Research will be conducted through email, as well as by face-to-face interviews. Interviews can take place at a variety of settings, so long as it is comfortable for the participant. Interview subjects will be asked a series of questions about their involvement with a campus radio station and/or a music scene. Participants will be allowed to stray from the questions, as interviews will be informal and follow more of a conversation format. It is understood that follow-up questions may be asked by email or phone.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

Subjects will be quoted in a dissertation, and, most likely, published articles or a book. There are substantial benefits to a subject’s participation, as participants are the ones involved with the media system that I am researching. Their contribution is integral towards illustrating the space and place of campus radio within the Canadian media environment.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation up until two weeks after my final interview, without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study can either be:
 - A) NON-CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., my identity will be revealed in study results), OR;
 - B) CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., my identity will not be revealed, but rather a pseudonym will be used throughout the research and any published work to follow)
- I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

If at any time you have questions about the proposed research, please contact the study's researcher:

Brian Fauteux
Department of Communication Studies
Concordia University
1018 boul. St-Joseph E.
Apt. 1
Montreal, QC
H2J 1L1
brian.fauteux@gmail.com

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Research Ethics and Compliance Advisor of Concordia University at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at ethics@alcor.concordia.ca

Sample Contextual Interview Guide - *Brian Fauteux*

The purpose of these interviews is to compare and contrast the thoughts, ideas, and opinions of participants, with that of the findings generated from archival research and content analyses. Therefore, interviews will be primarily supplemental, but they may point to other areas of interest that had not yet been considered.

Interview questions will fall within three general themes. However, participants will be encouraged to discuss additional topics or issues that they might feel are important and pertinent to the study.

The three general themes are listed below, each followed by a few sample interview questions.

1) *Personal involvement with the station*

- How and/or why did you become involved with the station?
- How long have you been involved with the station?
- Do you have any stories that stand out as particularly interesting or significant during the course of your involvement with the station?
- To the best of your knowledge, what have been some key moments in the station's history?
- How do you feel the station operates (in terms of structure, hierarchies, organization, effectiveness) on a daily basis?
- Are you often working on your own, or do you often work with others? If the latter, in what capacity?
- Do you ever encounter any obstacles or difficulties during your work with the station? If so, what might they be?

2) *Involvement, or non-involvement, with local musical activity (outside of the station)*

- Are you involved with any other musical activities in the area? If so, what might they be? And, please do elaborate on this.
- Do you frequently attend concerts in the area? If so, what kind of music or bands do you like to check out?
- What sort of relationship does the station have with other cultural institutions in the area? Such as record stores, venues, and so forth. Is it important for the station to have strong ties to these institutions? Why or why not?

3) *Thoughts on the station's relationship to the broader Canadian media environment, and related issues*

- How would you compare this station to other radio stations in the area?
- What does the future of campus radio look and sound like?
- What is the role of campus radio within the Canadian media environment? Has this role changed at all during the course of your involvement with the station? Should it change? If so, how?
- What do campus stations do well? What don't they do well?