CURATING CANADIANNESS: PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING, FUSION PROGRAMMING, AND HIERARCHIES OF DIFFERENCE

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ABSTRACT

"Fusion programming" is an approach to music broadcasting that was employed by the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) during the early years of the twenty-first

century. It's understandable as a response to systemic and systematic pressure to be

"more multicultural." It was about the artistry of musicians and entertainment of

audiences, but fusion programming also served a didactic purpose for producers and

listeners, participating in the production, elaboration, reinforcement, and/or

deconstruction of existing cultural systems. Producing fusion programming involved

bringing a minimum of two musicians/musical groups from different genres, languages,

styles, scenes, and cultures into the same CBC-sponsored venue for the expressed

purpose of performing together and discussing the challenges of collaboration.

Performances, in many cases, were posited as "multicultural," "cross cultural," or "a

collision of cultures," and conversations framing the music often referenced diversity,

multiculturalism, and difference, effectively mapping musicians' positionality within

Canadian society and geography.

        This study uses "ethnographically grounded" content analysis of archival

broadcasts (principally via radio) of fusion programming to raise questions about the

discursive limitations of multiculturalism imposed by the ways in which policy concepts

were operationalized during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Beginning with

the principles, rights, and responsibilities defined in the Multiculturalism (1988) and

Broadcasting (1991) Acts, I use case studies drawn from centres across Canada and

broadcast via multiple CBC platforms and media lines in order to explore the CBC as a

system of communication. I then focus on *Fuse*, the longest running example of fusion

programming, examining how approaches to mediation and curation both celebrate and

silence particular voices. I suggest that that while cross-cut with contradictions and

resistance to totalizing narratives—particularly when the experiences of live audiences

are taken into account and regional variants of fusion programming are considered—

fusion programming privileged a very limited understanding of "Canadianness." Instead

of promoting an understanding of multiculturalism based on principles of social

construction and integration into a shared civic culture based on liberal humanist

principles, production contexts and assumptions about what counts as normal

functioned to shore up the status quo; the potential for a more equitable sense of

belonging embedded in existing legislation remains limited by existing discursive

realizations.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: CURATING PUBLIC CULTURE (OR, A SUMMARY OF METHODS AND THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS)

> In a complicated and perverse world, action which is not informed with
> vision, imagination, and reflection, is more likely to increase confusion
> and conflict than to straighten things out. (Dewey 1917:7)

"Fusion programming" (my coinage) is an approach to broadcasting that emerged at the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) during the first decade of the twenty-first

century. It can be understood as a response to systemic and systematic pressure to

make the CBC's music programming "more multicultural"; as a category of

programming, it provides an example of how a core principle of social organization in

Canada (i.e., multiculturalism) was mobilized for the consumption of variously

conceptualized "Canadian" audiences.[1] The CBC's fusion programming was about the

artistry of musicians and the entertainment of audiences, but tacitly served a didactic

purpose, participating in the production, elaboration, reinforcement, and/or

deconstruction of existing cultural systems.

In this dissertation, I'm asking how these broadcasts of fusion programming

aligned with priorities defined in Canadian cultural policy (i.e., the Multiculturalism Act

[1988] and the CBC's mandate as defined in the Broadcasting Act [1991]). My queries

are about gaining a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between music,

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[1] I.e., this study does not presume the existence of a singular monolithic audience, but acknowledges that the Canadian population is diverse in many different ways. Likewise, audiences are understood in a variety of ways by the producers and hosts who address them.

citizenship, policy-making, and the social function that this public broadcaster—the

CBC—performs in an increasingly globalized world. I approach these questions by

assessing correlations between policies (i.e., what existing laws and policies say and are

intended to do) and products (i.e., content that contributes to the discursive realization

of policy principles). In other words, I am interested in the "cultural work" of curated

broadcasts of music and conversation in relation to an established super-structural

framework (cf. Swidler 2001). As a line of inquiry, this involves (1) analysis of the social,

political, and demographic conditions that intersect in Canadian multiculturalism; (2)

consideration of the structure of the CBC and its function *vis à vis* its mandated role in

Canadian society; and (3) examination of specific approaches to mediation that

contribute to the production of Canadian audiences and contribute to discourses about

the nature of Canada's social hierarchies. My queries are historical, touching on a range

of initiatives undertaken from the turn of the century until 2012, when many of CBC

radio's recording spaces and mobile studios were decommissioned. But, while the study

is historical, it's primary theme—the nature of Canada's social diversity—remains

relevant to current (as of 2017) political debates.[2]

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[2] As exemplified in the 2015 federal election campaign's unprecedented focus on ethical and cultural issues, Canada's status as a multicultural nation is far from settled. Polarizing rhetoric—what political philosopher Charles Taylor calls "block thinking" (2007)—continues to inflect understandings of national belonging. Tensions about the nature of Canada's social landscape are exemplified in acts of violence and bigotry ranging from a pepper spray attack on Syrian refugees on 8 January 2016 to the debates surrounding the wearing of the *niqab* that occupied politicians and much of the Canadian populace for much of the summer of 2015, and, more recently, from the mass shooting that took place in a Québec City mosque on 29 January 2017 to the ripple effects of the election and inauguration of US President Donald Trump. For a more extensive discussion of the relevance of this work to current debates, see Draisey-Collishaw (forthcoming).

With these questions in mind, I'd like to return to my definition of fusion programming, the conditions that supported its adoption, and why I understand the broadcasts analysed in this dissertation as relevant to interpreting Canadian social relationships and cultural policy. Fusion programming involved bringing a minimum of two musicians/musical groups into the same CBC-sponsored venue for the expressed purpose of performing together and discussing the challenges of collaboration. CBC production teams recruited musicians from differing scenes, with distinctions drawn along genre, generation, or geographic lines. Sometimes musician differences were explicitly ethnocultural: hosts named the performances as "multicultural," "cross cultural," or "a collision of cultures." Conversations framing the music often referenced diversity and multiculturalism (or, at the very least, involved extensive discussions of variously conceptualized differences), and tended to include some sort of mapping of musicians' positionality within Canadian society and geography. Fusion programming often featured musicians playing their own music, performing in collaboration, creating/improvising new works, and, frequently, covering tunes composed by other Canadian and/or influential to Canadian musicians.

Why are details of a programming concept employed by the CBC more than a decade ago worth recalling? Fusion programming is situated within a particular phase and enactment of a policy process that has been in effect and disparately realized since the 1970s—and arguably since the early years of the twentieth century (Diamond 2000). As the discourses that order understandings of national belonging are not stable and

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given for all time, this historical teleology is useful for understanding what this dissertation attempts to accomplish. Archival recordings of content broadcast over a variety of CBC media lines (e.g., television, radio, satellite, new media) to variously conceptualized audiences provide windows into a major public institution, enabling scrutiny of the structures that shape production, the nature of conceptualized audience(s), and the values and relationships normalized through broadcasts of arts content. Though some CBC producers involved in the production of fusion programming were reluctant to frame their efforts in terms of a response to specific pressures to be "more multicultural," it is difficult to separate their approach from the historical moment in which broadcasts were situated: the policy climate of the time supported approaches to production that did a particular type of "cultural work" (cf. Swidler 2001).

By "policy climate," I'm referring to interrelated political, cultural, and social systems, and the norms, mores, and priorities that are communicated through those systems. When referring to the policy climate of a particular historical moment, I'm referencing that "something in the air" that former Montreal-based producer Sophie Laurent described as resulting in both conscious and unconscious awareness of the negotiations that are going on within systems (interview, 20 September 2012). Indeed, while later in this chapter I will cite global power shifts and federal policy moves as fostering a flurry of cultural production around conditions of social plurality, "that something in the air" was also being elaborated through CBC-initiated policies and programs focused on diversifying the broadcaster's institutional profile and

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programming.[3] As actors working in service to the Canadian public, the ways in which producers engaged the systems in which they were embedded—how they thought creatively about how to abet top-down controls and grassroots challenges, or, for that matter, when they engaged the existing discursive field without conscious awareness— are important variables in an ongoing policy process.[4]

      This introductory chapter is organized into two main parts that address, respectively, the theoretical and the methodological contexts for my research. In the first section, I describe the policy framework that defines multiculturalism as a legal reality in Canada. More than an elaboration of policy documents, this section is about the development of multiculturalism in Canada in dialogue with sociopolitical conditions. It's also about the mechanisms that enable and limit imagination of a shared social reality. Shore and Wright argue:

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[3] The CBC's strategic plans and annual evaluations from 2005 to 2008 are indicative of acute awareness of Canada's changing demographic profile and the necessity of a system-wide response in order to correct for imbalances. The 2005–2006 Annual Report, for example, lists CBC Television's Express Diversity Program and CBC Radio's New Voices strategy. These programs included changes to hiring practices, story selection, and inclusion of new voices and perspectives. Cross-cultural initiatives (i.e., projects that involved both French and English services) were used to foster understanding and introduce alternative perspectives between linguistic communities, and Espace Musique—in a move that former vice-president Richard Stursburg framed as a prequel to the restructuring of Radio Two (2012:236)—broadened its offerings to include a "multiplicity of musical genres through such initiatives as partnerships with events in cultural communities" (CBC|Radio-Canada 2006b:48).

[4] Accountability to the public is underscored in the production of annual reports to the federal government of Canada (via Heritage Canada) "On the Operation of the *Canadian Multiculturalism* Act." These reports included descriptions of the relevant federal legislation and working definitions of legal principles; statistical information about the CBC and its content productions; and responses to a series of questions about the specific ways in which the CBC answered legislated priorities (e.g., see Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Société Radio-Canada 2005, 2006, 2009). These reports weren't prepared by individual producers, but produced by members of the senior management team. Nevertheless, the reports point to their being active consideration of the linkage between the activities of the broadcaster, the laws of Canada, and responsibilities to the public.

A crucial dimension of policy is … the way it is imagined, and such imaginaries can be thought of as moving through time and space. In this sense, policies can be studied as contested narratives which define the problems of the present in such a way as to either condemn or condone the past, and project only one viable pathway to its resolution. (Shore and Wright 2011:13)

Policies and the discourses they engender, in this sense, are moving targets, constantly developing and responding to the cultural needs of particular moments. Drawing on theorizations of discourse and the productive capacity of broadcasting and communication, this first section is about connecting foundational principles of social organization in Canada with theorizations of intercultural encounter and the ways in which those concepts are expressed and made consumable in the CBC's music programming.

Notably, though my questions speak to Canada's social priorities and the particularities of broadcasting in Canada, my focus is on music programming and non-lexical forms of communication. Canadian Media Research blogger and former CBC researcher, Barry Kiefl points out that music is (and always has been[5]) "an essential feature of radio." He continues, explaining that music

can be listened to while performing other tasks, is our companion at work, play and almost all activities. Music envelops our lives, whether it is on the radio, TV, CDs, iPods, in the movies, the concert hall, church or on a street corner. No one has ever quantified it but we spend a very large proportion of our waking lives with music either in the

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[5] On 24 December 1906, Canadian inventor Reginald Fessenden aired the first radio broadcast, which opened with a recording of the aria, "Ombra mai fu" by GF Handel, followed by a live performance of "Oh Holy Night."

foreground or background. Music is one of our psychic stables,
perhaps as necessary as language.[6]

Citing results from a 2011 survey of approximately 900 anglophone respondents, Kiefl

suggests that at least 50 percent of Canadians listen to the radio for music and that

almost 50 percent of radio listening time is devoted to consumption of music.[7] Yet

despite the prevalence of music in broadcasting, its capacity to communicate—or,

indeed, what it communicates—remains relatively neglected. As a musician and former

music educator, I am particularly conscious of music's capacity to engender visceral

ways of knowing—of knowing oneself, of knowing Others—through encounter with new

sounds and musicians (cf. Kun 2005). The complexities of voicing, the inherent

relationality of sounds, sources, and receivers, and the weighty baggage of cultural

symbolism attached to particular musics all interact, inflecting experiences and

understandings of our respective social worlds in ways that are sometimes difficult to

recognize and name (cf. Small 1998; Kun 2005; Pilzer 2012:9–10). Studying radio from an

ethnomusicological perspective that accounts for configurations of sound (music and

conversation) in dialogue with patterns of representation, then, offers a more nuanced

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[6] Barry Kiefl, 21 February 2012, "Why Do People Listen to the Radio? (Part 1)," *Canadian Media Research: Trends and Truth in Canadian Media*: http://mediatrends-research.blogspot.ie/2012/02/why-do-people-listen-to-radio-part-1_21.html (accessed 15 November 2016).
[7] Kiefl notes that his cited results come from the Canadian Media Research Inc. (CMRI) Media Trends Survey. As of 2011, this survey had been conducted for ten consecutive years, including responses from over 15,000 Canadians. This survey is not sponsored by a particular industry, nor is it affiliated with a media company. Barry Kiefl, 20 August 2012, "Why Do People Listen to the Radio? (Part 3)," *Canadian Media Research: Trends and Truth in Canadian Media*: http://mediatrends-research.blogspot.ie/2012/08/why-do-people-listen-to-radio-part-3.html (accessed 15 November 2016).

reading of the capacity of broadcast content to shape understandings of the listener's

social world.

From theorization of the broadcaster's capacity to produce its audience through

forms of address, the second section of this chapter is about situating the issues

examined in this dissertation in wider theoretical and methodological perspective.

Contextualizing my field site in Shore and Wright's (1997; 2011) anthropology of policy

and Yanow's (2011) call to consider the consequences of conceptualizing the field in

terms of a policy's trajectory, I explore the parameters of my field site in terms of

Marcus's (1995) strategically situated (single-site) ethnography—a conceptualization

that attempts to understand something about a system through the specifics of a site. I

describe the objects that comprise my study: regionally produced examples of fusion

programming from varied locales across Canada that were created between 2000 and

2012, and *Fuse*, a nationally broadcast radio series that was realized between 2005 and

2008. The regional "mini-studies" (see Chapter 3) provide a broad overview of

production priorities in the first decade of the twenty-first century, demonstrating

tensions in the definition of diversity, the variety of ways in which sonic encounter was

conceptualized, and the means by which general principles of policy were variously

abetted and contested in localized contexts. My analysis of *Fuse*, in contrast, puts issues

of representation, voicing, and mediation under the microscope in order to examine the

assumptions and naturalized worldviews privileged in the broadcaster's encodings of

encounter (see Chapters 4–7).

A final caveat is needed before coming to the theoretical and methodological principles that have shaped this dissertation. The nature of and need for public service broadcasting (PSB) is contested territory; though these debates are tangential to this study, the vulnerability of the institution does need to be acknowledged. Particularly in the wake of successive neoliberal governments that have actively worked to dismantle the CBC through polarizing rhetoric, regular cuts to the broadcaster's annual budget, and partisan appointments to the broadcaster's board of directors, there are questions about the sustainability of public broadcasting in the Canadian mediascape. This study, focusing on the period preceding the most punitive cutbacks, proceeds from the assumption that Canada's geography, regional diversity, small population size, requirement of dual language programming, and limited funding base combine to create a broadcasting environment that justifies intervention to ensure equitable coverage and a reasonable level of diversity in content and opinion. Rather than questioning the viability of the institution of public broadcasting, what my research does is raise questions about best practices, critically engaging the cultural work that the broadcaster does in regional and national contexts by offering a comparison of mandate and programming outcomes. Though answering the question of how the role of the broadcaster might continue to evolve to engage the needs of twenty-first-century audiences is beyond the scope of this project, assessment of the (recent) historical role

of the CBC provides a foundation for moving discussions about content production and

broadcaster responsibilities forward.[8]

1.1 PRODUCING MULTICULTURAL CANADA

1.1.1 Multiculturalism as policy and discourse

Multiculturalism was adopted both legally and as a popular element of the Canadian

national imaginary during a period of rising immigration levels (the 1970s and '80s). New

Canadians increasingly could trace their origins to non-European locales with dramatic

consequences for the nation's ethnoracial profile.[9] Initially, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott

Trudeau's 1970 introduction of multiculturalism into Canadian politics was about

building recognition of difference and focused around support for symbolic forms (e.g.,

funding of heritage languages, ethnic festivals, etc.). This initial "symbolic stage" of

multiculturalism gave way to attempts to correct for structural inequalities through legal

and institutional mechanisms during the 1980s (Kobayashi 1993). In 1982, Canada's

multicultural reality was defined in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Canada's

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[8] Though now dated, a discussion paper published by the Public Policy Forum, an independent, not-for-profit organization that brings together representatives from private and public sectors to discuss and advise on issues of public important, summarizes many of the specific challenges that face public broadcasting—and the CBC in particular—in the twenty-first century (see Neville 2006).

[9] Settlement of the Prairies during the early twentieth century, for example, was led by immigrants from the United States (principally of European extraction), Eastern Europe (e.g., the Ukraine, Poland), and Scandinavia. After the Second World War, immigration from Europe continued to be the main source of newcomers. Significant changes in Canada's immigration policy in 1967, however, decreased the importance of Europe as a population source for Canada; a point system was introduced, minimizing country of origin or racial background as selection criteria and prioritizing recruitment of immigrants with professional and skilled labour qualifications (Li 2000).

constitutional framework) and, in 1988, it was elaborated as federal policy in the Multiculturalism Act.

During the 1990s and into the early 2000s, there was significant emphasis in Canada on the development of multicultural policy and programs (i.e., in cultural geographer Audrey Kobayashi's [1993] terms, the "structural" stage of multiculturalism). Momentum behind this move emerged in the 1990s in response to critiques of existing programs and failures to overcome persistent structural inequalities. Note, too, that the early 1990s were marked by profound changes at both international and local levels: the end of the Cold War meant major shifts in international relations; emerging telecommunications and internet technologies accelerated the pace of globalization in conjunction with the arrival of more affordable means of international travel; and, at the same time, a globally felt recession challenged mid-century models of state-interventionism and supported the rise of neoliberal regimes.[10] While the late 1990s were marked by a generally felt economic upswing and apparent restabilization of global power systems, the events of 9/11, the ensuing American-led War on Terror, and, more recently, the rise of the so-called "Islamic State" with its associated terrorism and forced

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[10] Political philosopher Will Kymlicka similarly locates a surge in philosophical debates about issues of ethnicity in the early 1990s, citing as prompts the collapse of communism in 1989 and the rise of ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe in its wake; backlash against immigrants and refugees forced to flee to western liberal democracies; increasing political mobilization of Indigenous peoples at the United Nations; and the threat of secessionist movements within various western democracies (1998a:143–144).

migrations have been ongoing destabilizing forces, inflecting understandings of civic and

national belonging.[11]

Swidler (2001) suggests that such "periods of unsettlement" are marked by an

investment in the production of culture. She develops this point, stating that "people

create more elaborated culture where action is more problematic," and that "culture

then flourishes especially lushly in the gaps where people must put together lines of

action in relation to established institutional options. Culture and social structure are

thus, in the widest sense, reciprocal. People continue to elaborate and shore up with

culture that which is not fully institutionalized" (2001:132). Culture, in this sense, is not

simply the ideas, customs, symbols, and artifacts of particular social groups, but the

tools, repertoires, and narratives that people adopt to interpret and explain the

circumstances and institutionalized systems in which they are entrenched. In 1995, the

Canadian federal government passed a new Employment Equity Act to support more

equitable access to employment and advancement in Canadian workplaces, and in 1996,

Heritage Canada launched new programs focused on social justice, civic participation,

and identity. At the same time, the Secretary of State announced the establishment of

the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. In 2002, the Canadian government established

"Multiculturalism Day" and, in 2005, the federal government announced that CDN$56

million would be invested in implementing Canada's "Action Plan Against Racism"

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[11] Though Canada was not at the epicentre of these particular conflicts, it would be a mistake to dismiss the influence of these events within Canadian borders.

(Dewing and Leman 2006:8–9).[12] The passage of new legislation, in other words, is implicated in the production of culture, responding to, but also generating momentum in, public discourses about the nature of diversity, globalization, nationality, and multiculturalism.

As a state-mandated organization, Cormack and Cosgrave describe the CBC as having the "unenviable job of making the state and nation disappear into play and pleasure" (2013:13), mobilizing principles of law into consumable forms that support shared understandings of a national reality. Citing Pierre Elliott Trudeau's now-famous assertion that the state has no place in the bedrooms of Canadians, they suggest this enunciation of public and private domains marks an important shift in the relationship between the apparatuses of state, national populations, and understandings of citizenship. Trudeau's words, more than depoliticizing homosexuality, acknowledged the changing role of pleasure—of consumption—in constituting Canadians' understandings of themselves as citizens (2013:4). They explain:

> Canadians *learn* their desires—those desires are not innate. Indeed,
> we suggest that there is a particular *Canadian* style or type of desiring.
> But while desires are not natural, they certainly come to seem that
> way. Our discussion must then also answer the question of how
> certain pleasurable objects or practices come over time to seem
> natural or inevitable. This holds for national identity itself. A national
> identity is an accomplishment; moreover, it is one that is achieved

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[12] These policy developments within Canada paralleled international policy moves, including the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992); the Council of Europe's 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities; the Organization of American States' 1997 draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and a series of best practice norms on minority/Indigenous rights adopted by UNESCO, International Labour Organization, and the World Bank (Kymlicka 2007).

> across the range of interactional and societal locations and levels, from the personal, the everyday, and the institutional and organizational, to the level of the state. (Cormack and Cosgrave 2013:9)

Accounts of broadcasting in Canada often focus on the centrality of communications technologies in the development of national narratives (e.g., Prang 1965; Thomas 1992; Goldfarb 1997), with Maurice Charland (1986) going so far as to coin the term "technological nationalism" to characterize the intertwined relationship between Canadian identity and communications infrastructure.[13] Cormack and Cosgrave's analysis provides a counterweight to this tendency, shifting the focus from medium of transmission to the cultural work of that medium—to the didactic role of the broadcaster, to the meanings generated through the interaction of content producers and consumers, and to the fluid ways in which Canadians learn and assert their identity(s). Their work also suggests the complexities of systems: by linking consumption to nationhood, Cormack and Cosgrave (2013) acknowledge the overlaps and dialectic influences between the domains of politics, economics, and culture in constituting social formations (cf. Hall 1986).

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[13] The relationship between communications technologies and nationalism in Canada is clearly expressed in narratives of Canada's foundation. During the nineteenth century, the Canadian nation was produced not just by an act of British Parliament, but in popular imagination by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. During the 1920s the railway not only physically connected Canada's dispersed populations, but became its unifying voice by transmitting the first trans-Canadian radio broadcasts (Berland 2009; Vipond 1992). By the 1930s, radio was an established element of the nationalist agenda, functioning as a symbol of identity with the power to "galvanize otherwise diverse and disparate people" (Edwardson 2008:7). Thus when Prime Minister R. B. Bennett introduced Canada's first broadcasting act in 1932, he wasn't just introducing a policy that accounted for the technical limitations of the broadcasting technologies of the time or addressing the challenge of servicing a country that is geographically vast and demographically dispersed: he was imbuing broadcasting technologies with a national purpose.

In a paper advocating the relevance of public service broadcasting in twenty-first-century Britain, Stuart Hall suggests the significance of the relationship between broadcaster, audience, and the articulation of social relationships. He argues that Britain—like Canada—was never a homogeneous nation; that the public broadcaster didn't simply reflect "the complex make-up of a nation which pre-existed it, it was an instrument, an apparatus, a 'machine' through which the nation was constituted. It *produced* the nation which it then *addressed*: it *constructed* its audience by the ways in which it represented them" (italics original, 1993:32). This contention of the productive potential of broadcasts rests on an understanding of national cultures as "systems of representation":

> We should think of this less as the production of a distinctive voice and more as the construction of a 'discursive formation'. One needs the word 'formation' to suggest how these different 'voices' were arranged and placed in relation to one another, with its central and its more marginal parts, within a subtle set of hierarchies, relationships of dominance and subalternship—that is to say, through the discursive structuring of difference and the exercise of cultural power. (Hall 1993:32)

Hall's usage of "discursive formations" builds on that originally described by Michel Foucault in "The Order of Discourse" (1981) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). Foucault explains that there are unvoiced rules and categorizations assumed as natural elements of knowledge—invisible but powerful forces that shape the terms of our associative lives. Discourse, he stresses, is never "transparent or neutral" (1981:52), but instead exists to protect structural inequalities through delegitimizing and stigmatizing perspectives that threaten the established order. He later elaborates,

> Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation* (1972:38).

Discursive formations contain within them conflicts and potential for change, but are nonetheless hierarchical, reinforcing the dominance of established identities and subjectivities, and ultimately shaping the perceived nature of reality within societies.

Writing on the relevance of Antonio Gramsci's writings to analysis of race and ethnicity in the postcolonial conditions of the late twentieth century, Hall suggests that Gramsci's key insight may have been his resistance to totalizing and reductive understandings of politics, economics, and class conflicts. Interpreting Gramsci, Hall explains:

> There is no homogenous "law of development" which impacts evenly throughout every facet of a social formation. We need to understand better the tensions and contradictions generated by the uneven tempos and directions of historical development. Racism and racist practices and structures frequently occur in some but not all sectors of the social formation; their impact is penetrative but uneven; and their very unevenness of impact may help to deepen and exacerbate these contradictory sectoral antagonisms. (1986:23–24)

Hall's (1986, 1993) approach to the concept of discursive formations—and the one taken throughout this dissertation—pushes this idea of unwritten rules, unities, contradictions, and finite limits to the nature of social reality(s) overtly into the realm of identity politics. According to Hall's (1993) usage, the qualities of the sounds—and for my purposes, the silences—heard in broadcasts and the ways in which voices exist in

proximity to each other are all aspects of the discursive formation, both shaping and challenging the nature of the national public produced through address of the imagined audience.

There is a "chicken-and-egg" relationship, in other words, between the discursive formation of national societies the production of culture. Choices of words, arrangements of voices, objects of humour, topics that are censured or censored: in the context of a public broadcaster, these are all curatorial decisions that model, challenge, and/or reinforce existing hierarchies, simultaneously enabling and limiting listeners' capacities to recognize, to learn, to consume the social structures in which they are embedded—or, in the more future-oriented terms of political philosopher Will Kymlicka, determining "the boundaries of the imaginable" (1998a:154). A single word, song, episode, or even series of programs, though, does not constitute a discursive formation; instead it's the cumulative experience of conversations, observations, interactions, and, increasingly, media saturations that shape understandings of our discursively ordered reality—what Michael Warner describes as the "concatenation of texts through time" (2002:416). My study of fusion programming, in other words, is about examining a moment in an ongoing process—about decoding the structures and assumptions that are embedded in discourses—in order to understand the unvoiced rules and categorizations that are privileged in its particular "encodings" (Hall 1980) and their correspondence with existing cultural policies.

1.1.2 Interpreting reality: Tensions, contradictions, and positionality

Hall's now-classic description of encoding/decoding suggests that, rather than

broadcasting being a unidirectional communication process in which the sender creates

a message that is passively received, communication is more akin to circulation loops

that are "produced and sustained through articulation of linked but distinctive

moments" (1980:128). These "linked moments"—that is, the encoding and decoding of

messages—rely on construction and interpretation of discursive forms for

communication to happen. Though Hall's discussion centres on televisual signals, which

use a complex combination of visual, aural, and iconic signs to convey meaning, his point

is relevant to other communications systems: communication is an interpretive process

in which the encoder attempts to prefer certain connotative meanings through selection

of particular signs and symbols that the decoder then translates. What this means in

terms of the discursive formation of multicultural Canada—of the CBC's production of

the public through forms of address—is that there are embedded tensions and

contradictions based on the varied perspectives of producers, musicians, and listeners,

and the different media lines over which content is transmitted.

In his case study of the CBC's news coverage of the constitutional debates

surrounding the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords,[14] Kyle Conway applies and

elaborates Hall's theory of articulation, asking,

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[14] Between 1980 and 1982, the Constitution of Canada was transferred from London, the seat of British parliament, to Ottawa, the seat of the Canadian federal government. This transfer meant that amending the Constitution no longer required extra-national approval (i.e., British parliament no longer had a say in Canadian constitutional law), but the failure to negotiate amendment terms that were acceptable to all provinces meant that patriation was controversial, ultimately exacerbating tensions between French and

How did the politics of national identity shape journalists' institutional roles? How did journalists' institutional roles in turn shape their stories? Similarly, how did viewers' identities shape their political views, and vice versa? How did viewers' resulting attitudes toward Meech Lake and Charlottetown … affect journalists' stories?" (2011:11–12).

These questions emphasize "points of mutual influence" between artifacts, production, reception, and context—that is, they direct attention to the dialectic nature of a discursively formed reality (2011:11). Figure 1.1 depicts my adaptation of Conway's "circuit model" of communication to the specifics of this study of fusion programming. Where Conway focused on journalistic coverage of constitutional debates, I consider musical performances staged around the concept of intercultural encounter. And while Conway emphasized a specifically political dimension in his consideration of production and the circumstances of reception, my perspective includes the overlaps between politics, culture, and the social function of the arts.

So far my focus has been defining the sociohistorical context for this study: the conditions and policies that have given rise to Canadian multiculturalism. Moving forward, artifacts—that is, archival copies of broadcasts and related records of fusion programming—become tools for exploring conditions of production, reception, and for further reflecting on sociohistorical contexts and their implications for meaning making. The limits of my data prevent me from weighing each of the four elements depicted in

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English Canada. In 1987 and 1992, the federal and provincial governments of Canada attempted to negotiate the necessary conditions for the province of Québec to accept patriation. The results of these ultimately failed attempts were, respectively, the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords.

the circuit model evenly. Reception, in particular, is an elusive variable that is notoriously difficult to reliably assess.[15] Instead of relying on unequally available responses to the studied content, I have focused on statistical data concerning audiences and general population demographics to contextualize my comments about their natures.
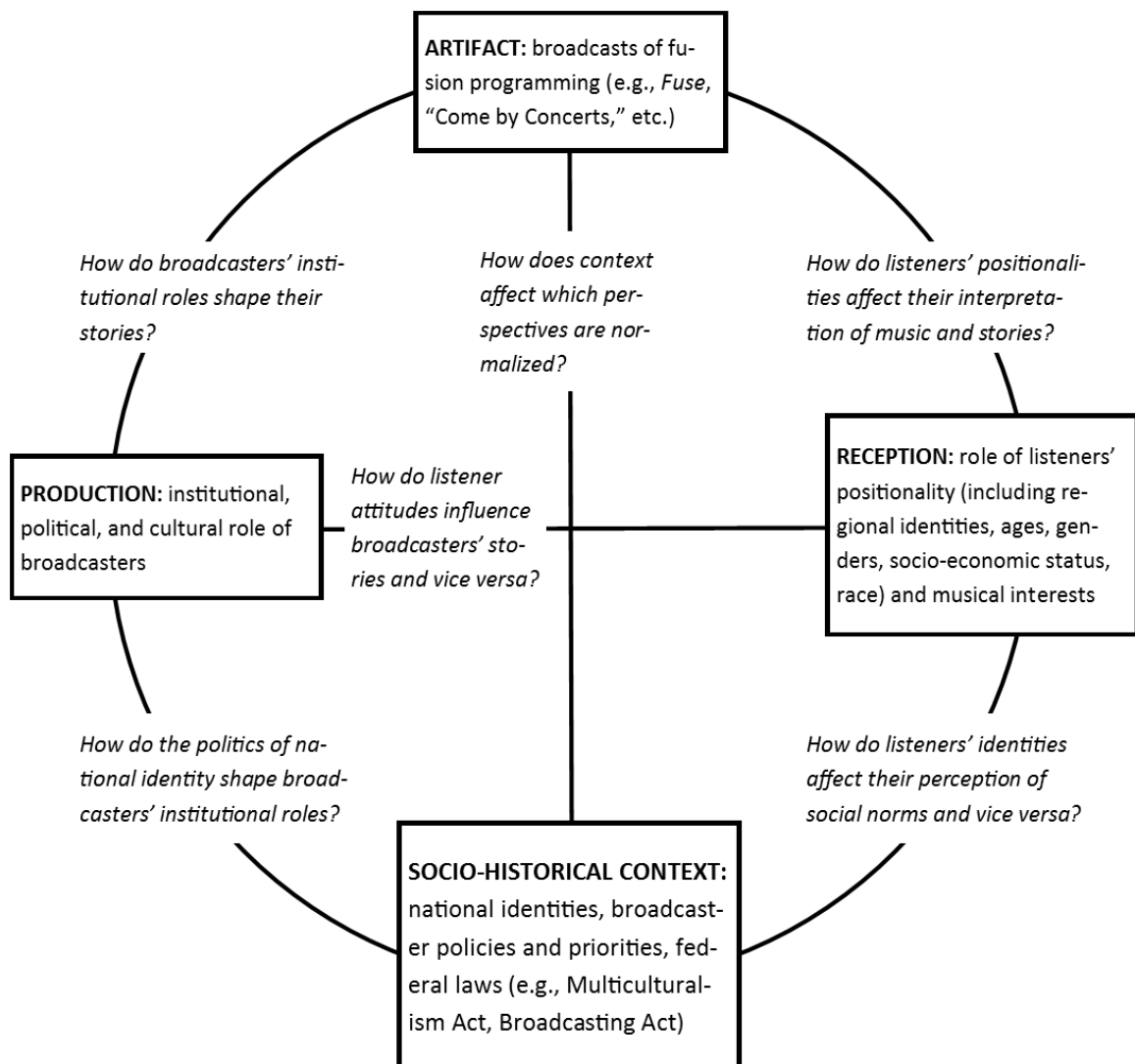
Figure 1.1: Adaptation of Conway's circuit model of communication (2011:12).

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[15] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the challenges of audience research.

The purpose of continually shifting my analytical gaze between artifacts produced for variously conceptualized audiences, the circumstances of production and reception, and sociohistorical contingencies, is to explore the silent exclusions that structure understandings of sociocultural belonging. In describing the discursive formation of social reality, I'm not suggesting the existence of a singular understanding of that reality. Formations contain within themselves contradictions and tensions that are the necessary result of the varied positionalities of implicated texts and subjectivities.[16] In exploring various "layers" of a particular "concatenation of texts" (Warner 2002:416), my goal is to make visible the limits of the formation in the spaces of overlap as a means for better understanding how actors embedded within the existing system variously abet or challenge the status quo (cf. Hall 1986).

1.1.3 Musicking hierarchies of difference: Music as discourse

The CBC can be understood as a system of communication that includes a variety of media lines and programming types that range from current affairs, news, and talk genres to the arts and music. Scholarly attention has tended to focus on these former genres—types of broadcasting that have a recognized potential to influence the

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[16] Gramsci's notion of hegemony is relevant here. Hegemony refers to the period of stability following a crisis. These moments are the product of active construction and alignment of all the dimensions of the social formation (not just economic), and must be actively maintained. Their end is marked by a new period of crisis (Hall 1986:15). Hegemony is not about a simple winning out of a powerful group, but accounts for strategies of coercion and consent, and the competing alliances that result in more marginal groups consenting to their domination. This isn't about an absolute winning out of one group over another, but about a relational rebalancing. Because Gramsci doesn't focus only on issues of economics, his definition of the state expands from "an administrative and coercive apparatus" to an entity that is "educative and formative," enabling consideration of how power is aligned and consent won in a variety of domains (cf. Hall 1986; Story 2006; Dundes 1999).

worldviews of audiences. John D. Jackson (2002), for example, published a case study of

the CBC's *The Ways of Mankind* series, demonstrating that the discussion format it

followed combined with its theme of cultural relativity to support nascent

understandings of multiculturalism in mid-twentieth-century Canada. Emily West's

(2002) study of *Heritage Minutes* and *Canada: A People's History*, two turn-of-the-

twenty-first-century docudrama series produced by the CBC to narrate Canada's history,

reveals that, while the intent of these series was promotion of a collective

understanding of Canadian narratives, the result was prioritization of a particular

federal-nationalist version of citizenship that alienated certain national minorities.[17]

Conway's examination of biases in the journalistic coverage of *The National* and *Le

Téléjournal*, the flagship television news shows on CBC and Radio-Canada, respectively,

points to the tendency toward "synecdochic representation" (i.e., a type of

representation in which the part fails to represent the whole because of strategic

omissions) (2009; see also 2011). And Derek Foster's (2009) analysis of "Factual

Entertainment" (aka, reality television) suggests the capacity of formats to

communicate, offering a more fluid definition of what it means to be Canadian than

found in traditional models of broadcasting. Indeed, as a genre, its resistance to cultural

nationalist themes may be at the root of some critiques. Notably, while the themes and

approaches of all of these studies are echoed in this dissertation (e.g., identity politics,

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[17] West's commentary focuses on omissions of women's groups and First Nations groups in the coverage of the 1992 Constitutional Referendum.

Canada as a multicultural nation, minority representation), Foster's analysis specifically

points to the meanings embedded in non-verbal content. In similar fashion, arts

programming also warrants close attention as it holds incredible potential to

communicate beyond words, sometimes reinforcing and sometimes shifting or inflecting

the order of discourse realized in content.[18]

"Musicking," the term sociologist Christopher Small uses to describe

participation of any sort in a performance event, is one means by which reality is

reproduced (1998:9): the means by which particular discursive formations find

expression. By articulating complex relationships between people, places, and sounds,

musicking brings those relationships into relief, allowing them to be modelled,

reinforced, and learned through varied modes of participation. Based on Berger and

Luckmann's (1966) classic definition of the social construction of reality, Small explains:

> [Reality] is composed of learned sets of assumptions about the
> relationships of the world, and it is those, overlapping and varying,
> that constitute the pattern of meanings that hold together groups of
> human beings, whether large or small, from empires and nations to

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[18] Unlike its journalism and talk programming, the CBC's arts content has received comparatively less critical attention. Exceptions to this tendency include: Patricia Cormack and James F. Cosgrave's (2013) *Desiring Canada: CBC Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures*, a series of case studies that examine Canadian culture products and what they produce/satisfy—namely a state of perpetual desire for pleasurable consumption that stands in for a fixed sense of national identity, functionally masking the power of the state in the everyday lives of its citizens (see also Cosgrave and Cormack 2008); Eaman (2015) addresses the history of literary programming on the CBC and departures from pioneering approaches to broadcasting literature; Rehberg Sedo's (2008) comparative study of book club programming on the CBC and the UK's Channel 4 considers how audiences use cultural content as a means of negotiating social status; in *Prizing Literature*, Gillian Roberts (2011) explores the role of literary prize-giving (including the CBC's *Canada Reads* competition) in authenticating hyphenated Canadian identities; and, in the official context of the Lincoln Report (2003) on Canadian broadcasting in the twenty-first century, members of the parliamentary committee acknowledged the unique cultural work of the MacKenzie Brothers comedy duo in aiding English Canadians to recognize themselves as belonging to "the Great White North" (94).

associations, clubs, families and bonded pairs. How we acquire that sense of what is reality is a dialectical process between, on the one hand, the experience and the inborn temperament of each individual and, on the other, the perceptions of the various social groups to which he or she belongs. (1998:131)

Using the example of a western symphonic orchestra concert to demonstrate the analytical capacity of musicking, musical performances are assessed according to how they express the values of a specific social group. From seating arrangement to the segregation of performers, and from audience to inclusion of a foyer for socializing outside of the concert hall proper, experience of the formalized nature of this sort of concert-going enacts hierarchical relationships designed to demonstrate the prestige and power of particular participants.

Concert halls are designed to reinforce how people are supposed to behave—how listeners are to listen, how musicians are to serve the genius of the composer and conductor, and how support personnel are to provide for the needs of audiences without entering the sanctified performance area. The performance space is constructed with particular relationships and understandings of normative behaviour in mind, simultaneously encouraging desirable behaviours while "closing off the possibility of behaviours of a different kind" (Small 1998:20). Small selects the symphony concert as a target for his analysis partially because he is confident that the majority of his readers will be familiar with the experience of such events, but also out of interest in demonstrating that there is nothing natural about the western concert experience—there is nothing that makes dressing up, listening in silence, and celebrating the genius

of a dead white composer inherently proper. Instead, these actions serve a purpose for certain members of western society; the concert experience is meaningful to participants precisely because it has the ability to bring into existence and reaffirm naturalized relationships between self and the rest of the world (cf. Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1992). Small contends that "those taking part in a musical performance are in effect saying—to themselves, to one another, and to anyone else who may be watching or listening—*This is who we are*" (1998:134).

Small's example of a symphonic concert experience speaks to a very particular social ordering, though the principles he describes translate to other configurations, both live and mediated. Louise Meintjes, for example, has noted the capacity of mediated forms of musicking to model and mirror sociopolitical hierarchies, but her analysis also points to the productive tensions within existing systems and their potential to strategically challenge the status quo. In *Sound of Africa! Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio* (2003), Meintjes describes recording studios as spaces of interiority that, through their physical construction, poetic inscription, and division of knowledge, are privileged as creative zones. These are, for example, spaces to which access is unequally distributed through control of schedules, access to technologies, and the know-how to use those technologies. Through an ethnographic exploration of Downtown Studios (a subsidiary of Gallo Africa)—a space that, because of its history and the networks in which it is embedded, is arguably the most significant recording studio in Johannesburg—Meintjes elaborates how the studio has been fetishized, addressing

how the interiority of the space, the technologies, and artistic creation construct the various levels of the studio organization as objects of desire; access to these increasingly exclusive domains—from waiting rooms, to studios, to sound booths—becomes the mechanism for exclusion based on language, gender, race, class, and the urban/rural divide. Individual roles or identities may be shaped through participation in live performance events, broadcasts, or studio recording spaces, but they are not prescribed. Musicians and technicians within Meintjes's studio space, for example, challenge the status quo of social relations through mastery and manipulation of sound production and recording technologies. And while live performance events (e.g., Small's symphony concert) articulate relationships that can be read as general statements of collective identity, individuals make choices about how to position themselves in relation to the collective: "The 'who I am' … is to a large extent who he or she chooses to be or imagines him or herself to be" (Small 1998: 134). Following Hall's contention that broadcasters produce the nations they address through the discursive reality privileged in content and voicing (1993:32), audiences perceive "the 'who I am'" relative to the social order normalized in broadcasts: social order is (re)produced through the symbolic positioning of musicians, and through modes of audience address and representation.

Like Small's theorization of musicking and Meintjes's descriptions of social ordering within studio spaces, Jody Berland (2009) draws attention to the capacity of music to have a more-than-aesthetic cultural function, directing consideration to the meanings embedded in forms of mediation. Drawing on case studies of pianos, radio,

television, the internet, and satellite imaging, Berland explores the ways in which these

so-called "cultural technologies" take mediating roles in the negotiation of relationships

between humans, space, empire, and technologies. In the case of music and radio,

> Cultural technologies of sound mediate between the production of
> music and the production of us as audiences, and between such
> audiences and the heterotopias we inhabit. These mediations are
> articulated to diverse spatial scales and social agendas. (2009:196)

Changing sound technologies complicate listener relationships with places, creating

bifurcated/hybrid options for experiencing listening spaces that are influenced by global,

national, local, industrial, and natural concerns.[19] She points out that Canadians are

among the highest consumers of music in the world and that, while recording industry

regulation has allowed for a "delocalizing" effect,[20] public radio attempts to counter this

trend by generating content that is distinctive to particular audiences and places. Yet

even with this attention to regional specificities, satellites, webcasts, and podcasts

complicate radio's historical nature as a local medium. The case studies of regionally

generated fusion programming elaborated in this study, particularly those contained

within Chapter 3, point to the idiosyncrasies of production for variously conceptualized

audiences and, indeed, the problems of translating programming created for local

audiences to an undifferentiated national audience. Berland points out that the ideal of

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[19] In a related vein, Susan Douglas (2004) frames her monograph, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*, an "archaeology of listening practices" in the twentieth century, contending that radio has been primary technology of the period for teaching people how to listen. That it, types/styles of radio programming and the social function that programming plays in a given era conditions the ways in which people respond to and interact with sound.

[20] Berland calls this delocalizing effect the "semiotic depletion of meaning from place" (2009:195).

public service and specifics of the CBC's mandate result in a greater emphasis on

territoriality and the project of producing citizens through purposeful localization of

content. My case studies point to the practical challenges of this agenda.[21]

1.1.4 Consuming multiculturalism: Fusion programming and theories of contact

So far I have described the principles of social organization that are defined in Canada's

constitutional laws and cultural policies, the role of discourse in shaping perceptions of a

shared social reality, and music as a form of discourse. In particular, I've focused on the

role of the broadcaster in "producing" the nation through the discursive reality

privileged in content and approaches to addressing audiences. Recalling Cormack and

Cosgrave's assertion that Canadians learn their identities through pleasurable

consumption (2013), fusion programming can be understood as one means by which

principles of multiculturalism—in this case, quite literally, an obligation to "promote the

understanding and creativity that arise[s] from the interaction between individuals and

communities of different origins" (Multiculturalism Act 1988:3[1][g])—were

operationalized and made consumable for audiences. In this section, I look at concepts

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[21] The literature review presented in the previous section includes very little material that specifically targets the intersection of music and broadcasting. This has tended to be an undertheorized area of scholarship, though there are indications that this is changing. In autumn 2016, Oxford University Press released *Music and the Broadcast Experience: Performance, Production, and Audiences*, bringing together contributions from media scholars, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists to demonstrate "a range of productive theoretical and methodological approaches to music broadcasting in different contexts, laying the groundwork for more comprehensive accounts in the future" (2016:6). The editors of the volume, Christina Baade and James Deaville, include a lengthy introduction of key theories and concepts, intended to lay the groundwork for interdisciplinary dialogues and developments in the study of music and broadcasting. Though this is a ground-breaking text of clear relevance to the topic of this dissertation, its recent publication means that its methods and theories are only engaged in cursory fashion throughout this dissertation.

used to reflect on intercultural contact (e.g., hybridity, interculturalism, contact zones)

as the basis for understanding the meanings and relationships articulated through music

broadcasts.

Conditions of contact are not exactly a new phenomenon—people have been

travelling and trading for at least as long as there are written records. What is new is the

pace of globalization and the proliferation of theories about the nature of contact and

power (e.g., Appadurai 1990; Clifford 1992; Karim 2007). In the latter decades of the

twentieth century, significant attention, particularly from historically subaltern voices,

was directed to the theorization of hybridity and the meanings resulting from varied

forms of intercultural contact: terms like "syncretism," "bricolage," "creolization,"

"hybridization," and "fusion" were debated, defined, and reinscribed in attempts to

understand the intricacies and politics of cultural production in globalizing contexts.[22]

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[22] In folklore studies, this preoccupation was exemplified in the release of a dedicated issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* (Kapchan and Strong 1999), with contributing authors variously approaching the notion of hybridity through historical and philosophical studies (e.g., Stross 1999; Wade 2005), via grounded contemporary investigations (e.g., Hale 1999; Samuels 1999), and from western-, third-, and fourth-world perspectives. In (ethno)musicology, publications on the topic ranged from *Subcultural Sounds* (Slobin 1993) to *Western Music and its Others* (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000) and *Beyond Exoticism* by Timothy Taylor (2007, see also 1997). Other relevant takes on hybridity in music include: Meintjes 1990; Diamond 2011a, 2011b; Robinson 2012; Fellezs 2011. And, often serving as the springboard for these more discipline-specific takes on culture(s)-in-contact, were wide ranging approaches in cultural and literary studies, including: Bakhtin and Holquist's *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981), Bhabha's theorization of the third space in *The Location of Culture* (1994), Young's critiques of postcolonial theory in *Colonial Desire* (1994), and Pratt's descriptions of "contact zones" in *Imperial Eyes* ([1992]2008). Indeed, re-release of several of these titles as "classic" texts in their respective fields, in itself, is telling of the extent to which the complex issues surrounding situations of contact, systems of hegemony, and the politics of culture remain unresolved. Theorizations of the variety of forms of fusion, hybridization, and a host of other articulations of musical contact and encounter abound, making assembly of a comprehensive listing of sources an overwhelming task. The sources cited here are ones that have been particularly influential to my understanding of the processes and relationships at stake in situations of encounter and exchange.

Though often formulated with very specific and frequently emancipatory meanings in mind—syncretism and creolization, for example, speak to specifically Latin American and Caribbean contexts, and bricolage references countercultural qualities that lack resonance in official circumstances—these concepts have "travelled" widely and been adopted as the basis of quasi-universal theories of identity and subjectivity, often with the loss of their original counter-hegemonic qualities.[23]

Indeed, fixation on the objects and symbols generated through such negotiations may obscure the intersubjective nature of the processes of encounter and meaning making (cf. Stanyek 2004). Total avoidance of these terms, however, is impossible in the context of case studies of broadcasts that were actively framed as experiments with difference—with "merging, marrying, and mashing up" musicians in new and unique ways (Amanda Putz, episode 1-4). For the purposes of this study, then, I have used terms like "fusion," "collaboration," and "mixture" to describe witnessed processes—and to label a category of programming—because such terms seemed to hold more meaning than "hybrid" for the musicians and producers with whom I corresponded. Brinner (2009) makes a similar observation in his analysis of the Israeli–Palestinian music scene. He uses the term "fusion," despite its industry baggage and commercial connotations, to describe both music and music making because it resonated with the subjects of his study in a way that "hybridity" did not.

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[23] Based on his analysis of antiracism discourses in Guatemala, Hale (1999) argues that theories of hybridity tend to be grounded in the particular places and specific struggles from which they arise, and that, as a result, concepts don't effectively "travel" to alternative contexts.

While referencing the title of CBC's longest running example of this type of programming, "fusion" also emphasizes the dynamism of moments of encounter in a way that "hybridity" may obscure (Brinner 2009:215–16; cf. Stanyek 2004). And, indeed, this dynamism is what some producers explicitly sought to objectify in broadcasts. In the case of the multi-season series, *Fuse*, producer Caitlin Crockard explained that the production team settled on the title because it shifted the focus from "a cheesy blend of two things that don't really belong together" to the action and energy of moments of sympathetic resonance between musicians (interview, 2 September 2015). *Fuse* hosts Amanda Putz and Alan Neal,[24] similarly, invoked images of lighting, sparking, and igniting a fuse—energy-oriented metaphors—by bringing together disparately oriented performers into a shared space. At the beginning of episodes, conceptual pronouncements enunciated in a tone that conveyed the excitement of on-air "live, right before your ears" (Amanda Putz, episode 2-1) risk-taking, discovery, and adventure simultaneously elaborated a process and the nature of its target audience: musical processes and performances were contextualized with conversations about the featured musicians, their art and their influences, and the challenges of collaboration across sometimes vast musical, social, political, and/or ethnocultural differences. Success, Caitlin Crockard implied, involved the presence of an undefinable energy that elevated ordinary performances by individuals to extraordinary convergences of normally

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[24] Seasons one, two, and four were hosted by Amanda Putz, who, at the time, was a relatively new voice to the CBC and also the host of the regional arts magazine, *Bandwidth*. Alan Neal, an established voice in the CBC Ottawa's regional current affairs coverage, took over hosting duties from Putz for season three.

separable creative subjectivities (interview, 2 September 2015). Though rarely

acknowledged on-air, this notion of fusing includes a range of outcomes from explosive

reactions and wild-fires to sparks that quickly fizzle out.

In thinking about encounter, I am interested not only in the empirical details

(e.g., where the encounter occurred, how it was arranged, the movements of actors

before and after the point of contact), but also in the more qualitative characteristics of

the interaction. As a linguistic theory, "contact zones" speak to the importance of

communication (for my purposes, both musical and verbal) as a site of encounter and

the potential for dialogue to engage structures of power in unexpected ways (Pratt

[1992]2008).[25] In the analytic terms of this study, this means looking at what is being

said and/or performed both explicitly and implicitly: considering which voices dominate

sonically and temporally, the use of comedic inversion, and what points are singled out

for repetition and replication. As a space of intercultural convergence in which actors

meet, ostensibly, for the first time, the improvised nature of the encounter is significant,

giving scope to the imaginative capacities of involved actors as they speak, perform, and

listen in potentially new ways. In practical terms, assessment of the improvised and

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[25] Mary Louise Pratt defines "contact zones" as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" ([1992]2008:7). Though Pratt is speaking more specifically to the extreme disparities of colonial and postcolonial environments, her focus on linguistics is useful for interpreting the interactions witnessed in fusion programming: contact languages are improvisatory and develop when members of differing language groups have to communicate on a consistent basis. Rather than assuming the dominant group's conquest over previously historically and geographically separate groups as the characteristic determinant of ensuing interactions, the sustained co-presence of individuals suggested by the linguistic reference connotes the interactive and improvised nature of such encounters. Contact zones acknowledge disparities in power, but do not assume a straight-forward "winning out" of one group over another; negotiations involve subversions, parodies, and the possibility of alternative voicings.

imaginative nature of the encounter means attention to differences: analysis of the ways

in which actors depart from conventions—that is, alterations to a naturalized worldview.

These diversions from the conventional—of playing in a new scale, drumming in a

different meter, or hearing a new timbre—create possibilities for conceptualizing the

social world in alternative ways (cf. Kun 2005).

1.2 THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF POLICY AND THE MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY: LOCATING THE FIELD

1.2.1 Following the policy: Sociopolitical contexts

Shore and Wright (1997, 2011) describe the "anthropology of policy" as an approach

that contrasts conventional methodologies in policy studies that assume policy

processes to be linear in nature—simply technologies of governance (i.e., top-down

mechanisms for social control). In contrast, an anthropological approach sees policies

and their products as overtly political and ideological. They are a means of studying

social structures and mechanisms of power and governance. This approach is

interpretive: policies have the potential to be interactive and to be realized in disparate

ways with contrasting effects given changing social, political, and cultural contexts.

Political scientist and policy ethnographer Dvora Yanow (2011) emphasizes that

anthropologists are not alone in recognizing "policy process' messiness and the

complexities, ambiguities and contestations of policy meanings" (304): policy

ethnographers have been taking an interpretive and situated approach to policy since

the 1970s. She does acknowledge, however, that an anthropological perspective

provides a way around the disciplinary constraints of the existing field of policy studies.

An anthropological take encourages the possibility that a policy might be understood as

a continuous process of contestation across a political field—a mechanism for social

change, but with effects that vary over time, context, and, I would add, through

interpretation and operationalization. Moreover, this approach isn't only about legal

documents and official statements, but takes into consideration the work a policy does

and what that work says about the policy itself (Yanow 2011:304–5).

More particular to this dissertation, my interest is the nature of Canadian social

relations as defined in the Multiculturalism Act (1988) and operationalized within a

variety of interrelated policy mechanisms by the CBC: I am interested in what realization

reveals about production processes and the policies themselves. In her ethnography of

the BBC, Georgina Born notes,

> Fieldwork makes it possible to explore the differences between what is
> said in publicity or in the boardroom and what happens on the ground
> in the studio, office or cleaning station. It is by probing the gaps
> between principles and practice, management claims and ordinary
> working lives—between what is explicit and implicit—that a fuller
> grasp of reality can be gleaned. One of the marks of social power is
> how it enables those who hold it to determine the very framework of
> what can be said and even thought in a given social space. To
> understand any organisation, it is therefore imperative to uncover not
> only what is insistently present, but the characteristic absences and
> rigidities—what cannot be thought, or what is systematically
> 'outside'." (2004:15)

Tracing the mechanisms through which a super-structural element of policy circulates is

about following a "path" from concept to realization. The path followed in this

dissertation considers policy tools that range in scope from the Multiculturalism Act

(1988) and related provincial level legislation (e.g., Government of Newfoundland and

Labrador 2014) to parliamentary reports on the history, interpretation, and potential

revisions of the Multiculturalism and Broadcasting Acts (e.g., Lincoln 2003; Dewing and

Leman 2006; Dewing 2011). These tools also include the CBC's strategic planning

documents and annual reports (e.g., CBC|Radio Canada 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2008), their

Journalistic Standards and Practices Manual (CBC 2005) and less formal articulations of

annual production priorities by employees, and annual reporting on the operation of the

Multiculturalism Act within the CBC (e.g., Canadian Broadcast Corporation/Société

Radio-Canada 2005, 2006, 2009). My access to the inner machinations of the

broadcaster was considerably more restricted than the observational opportunities

granted to Born at the BBC: while I spoke with producers, hosts, and musicians, there

wasn't the same potential for immersion in production and management environments.

Moreover, there are important structural distinctions (e.g., the geographic dispersion of

regional production centres) that necessitated alternative approaches to studying the

CBC as a system of communication. These varied articulations of policy, then, became

points of navigation—tools for identifying gaps and identifying "what is systematically

'outside.'"

Yanow (2011) calls on anthropologists to consider that "space is not only

geographic" and asks what the outcome might be of considering the networks through

which policies move as field sites. Such an approach is inherently multi-sited and takes

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into consideration the processes, actors, and discourses that frame the varied ways in which policies are manifested. Yanow is not the first to suggest the benefits of a multi-sited approach as an answer to the disciplinary constraints imposed by anthropology's preoccupation with field sites. During the mid-1990s, anthropologist George Marcus (1995, 1998) began writing about multi-sited research as a response to empirical changes in the world that have, in many cases, made accounting for cultural production from the perspective of a single locale a futile project: local contexts are too embedded in global flows to be strictly separated. Broadly speaking, multi-sited ethnography attempts to account for systems on a grander scale than is necessarily possible from the perspective of a single site. Methodologically this suggests several possibilities, including the "strategically situated (single site) ethnography," an approach that "attempts to understand something broadly about the system in ethnographic terms as much as it does its local subjects: It is only local circumstantially, thus situating itself in a context or field quite differently than does other single-site ethnography" (1995:111).

Recall, too, that policies operate within a field of discourse, responding to conditions of the past while simultaneously privileging particular outcomes in the future (Shore and Wright 2011:13; cf. Acland 2006). That is, they are not external forces on systems and, as such, applications and interpretations are subject to revision and negotiation over time in dialectic relation to, for my purposes, conditions of production and reception, and artifacts that reflect varied operationalizations of the policy (cf. Conway 2011; see Figure 1.1). This is where the specifics of my study are situated—

where I understand an ethnomusicological examination of a very specific

operationalization of a policy process (i.e., fusion programming produced for both

regional and national audiences) to contribute to broader dialogues about constructions

of social reality, the nature of culture, and methodological approaches to the study of

policy.

1.2.2 Regional and national programming: Symptomatic artifacts

Like Yanow's (2011) call to follow the networks through which policies move and

Marcus's (1995) strategically situated single-site ethnography, this study follows a

concept—a specific realization of a principle of Canadian cultural policy in radio music

programming—in an attempt to trace how principles of multiculturalism are

operationalized by cultural institutions. The "field" resists quantification in geographic

terms, touching down in various CBC broadcast centres across Canada, dwelling

particularly in the Ottawa Broadcast Centre's Studio 40, but more consistently occupying

incorporeal broadcast spaces and digital archives. By nature, radio and music exist in the

present, but this presentism was exacerbated by the youth of many of the featured

performers[26] and institutional instabilities that have resulted in multiple waves of

restructuring at the CBC within a ten year period. Consequently, my field of study is an

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[26] Many of the performers featured on *Fuse*, for example, were at emergent stages in their careers. While a proportion of these musicians have continued to work in the music industry, many have also moved on to other professional domains. The economics of being a "professional" musician in Canada mean that there is a high attrition rate, with young performers working for a period of time to achieve a degree of material success before moving on to new performing projects or alternative professions that offer a greater degree of fiscal security (cf. Mecija 2013).

historical space more so than physical place.[27] In fact, it's telling that the majority of my

interactions with broadcasters and musicians were via emails, Skype conversations, and

Google Forms;[28] while there were face-to-face meetings with broadcasters and

musicians (sometimes even in CBC owned and/or occupied buildings), physical co-

presence was more of a happy accident than necessity of research (see Chapter 2 for a

discussion of methods and approach).

While I began with the assumption that all fusion programming was, more or

less, similar, I have since realized that the institutional vastness of the CBC and the

geographic dispersion of the Canadian population impose important distinctions at the

programming level. During the period of this study, the CBC operated two television

networks (one English and one French), four radio networks (two English and two

French), Radio Canada International, seven specialty services, satellite radio services

delivered via Sirius, and an online content portal that was of growing consequence in the

Corporation's daily operations (see Armstrong 2010). I'll return to the structure of the

CBC in Chapter 2, but for now it simply needs to be acknowledged that the CBC is a vast

and complex institution, with services distributed between regional offices and

centralized national-level broadcast centres, and administration divided between

English- and French-language management teams based, respectively, in Toronto and

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[27] Indeed, the physical place in which *Fuse* was recorded has been transformed as part of the restructuring of the CBC. Purpose-built for music broadcasts (e.g., programs like *Studio Sparks*, *Canada Live*, *Bandwidth*, and *Fuse*), Studio 40 has since become the home of *Power and Politics* (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015).
[28] Google Forms is an online program that generates surveys and supports data collection. See https://www.google.com/forms/about/ (accessed 1 February 2017).

Montreal. The complexity of the organization and distinctions in content produced for

regional versus national versus platform-specific audiences beg a series of questions

relevant to the nature of the programming under consideration here: Was the

programming produced for a regional audience? Was this national programming rooted

in representation of a particular region? Was the programming aimed at specific age,

gender, and/or class demographics? Is the political work of expressive culture

foregrounded or downplayed depending on the platform for program delivery? Or was

this programming intended to represent the unspecified Canadian and speak to a self-

consciously cosmopolitan/transnational audience?[29] These distinctions have implications

for the types of cultural work—the social function—of the presented art. Indeed,

understanding the assumptions and production priorities that shaped audience address

is critical for assessing how cultural product aligns with cultural policy.

Broadcast between July 2005 and September 2008, *Fuse* was a uniquely

expansive example of nationally broadcast fusion programming. Divisible into four

distinct seasons totalling seventy-five individual episodes, *Fuse* was initially broadcast on

Radio One as summer replacement programming, eventually becoming a staple of CBC's

national non-classical live performance programming (see Appendix C for a complete list

of *Fuse* broadcasts). On its own, *Fuse* lacks context for interpreting distinctions in

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[29] In a similar vein, Conway asks, "How do they [public broadcasters] reconcile their historical nation-building mandates with the new ways they must speak to audiences with widely divergent world views? Is it possible to bridge the gaps between viewers with different backgrounds or even to help them understand how their counterparts in different regions, speaking different languages, understand the important events of the day?" (2011:3).

address and representation, or assessing the significance of fusion programming as a "symptomatic" response to the policy climate of the time. In this regard it parallels Conway's (2011) case study of the journalistic coverage of the constitutional debates leading up to the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. Conway describes the CBC's coverage as being "symptomatic"—not representative—of larger debates. By drawing this distinction he is pointing to the dialectic relationship between context, production, reception, artifact, and discursively formed reality: "Journalists were influenced by the broader debates taking place, and their coverage in turn influenced those debates. However, journalists covered only a subset of the broader debates—how could they do otherwise?" (2011:9). As an hour-long program that was broadcast weekly with divergent levels of penetration within variously configured communities, *Fuse* could not represent Canadian society in its totality. However, as an artifact that is symptomatic of the policy climate of the period, *Fuse*—and fusion programming more generally—is useful for elaborating the naturalized assumptions privileged in encodings of the discursive field.

Though still not "representative" (see Conway 2011), reading *Fuse* in relation to a larger series of regional case studies enables consideration of the CBC as a system of communication with a variety of programming tools that are more or less appropriate depending on contextual considerations. This necessary context is provided through examples of programming produced in St. John's, Halifax, Montreal, Calgary, Vancouver, and the North (see Chapter 3). These mini case studies point to distinctions in

representation, financing, mediation, preparation, purpose, and broadcast platform that

relate to/reflect whether programming was conceptualized as being for a regional or a

national and, potentially, international audience. In the regional case studies, target

audiences were generally clear cut. As well, differences in production value,

assumptions about audience knowledge, and shortcomings of representation were

relatively easy to recognize, assess, and, especially in the case of one-off broadcasts,

even excuse. *Fuse*, by contrast*,* was a program with an identity crisis—an "orphaned

hybrid."[30] The lack of clarity about its purpose and the nature of its target audience

supported opportunities for experimentation, but also implicated the cultural work the

program ended up doing (see Chapters 4–7 for extended discussions of *Fuse*). Taken

together, this series of fusion programming case studies enables me to ask questions

about (1) the social function that curated music programming performs; (2) arts

programming as a response to a policy cycle that was initiated decades earlier; (3)

narrations of normalcy and disruptions to privileged codings of identity; and (4)

misunderstandings of multiculturalism as hierarchies of difference.

1.3   A SUMMARY OF PARTS

My interest in the type of programming discussed throughout this dissertation stems

from a personal engagement with music as a form of encounter and relational

knowledge. But this focus also acknowledges the partiality of my perspective and the

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[30] Caitlin Crockard labelled *Fuse* an "orphaned hybrid," referencing its status as music programming on news- and talk-dominated Radio One (interview, 2 September 2015).

structural factors that sometimes inflect potential for uninhibited and equal sharing between musicians and audiences. As a performer trained in the western classical tradition, I have sought out opportunities to work with performers, composers, and artists with other specialties—disciplinary and cultural—as a means of engaging and learning about the world in which I live. The results have sometimes been positive, supporting intimate exchanges and access to alternative perspectives. On other occasions barriers have been shored up, leaving me feeling exposed and inadequate to the challenge of communication across widely varied worldviews. As an educator, I've considered the implications of Canada's prioritization of multiculturalism for my approach as a pedagogue and performer. What are my responsibilities for acknowledging and making accessible alternate perspectives on the nature of music and the society that produces it? The public service mandate of the CBC and its national reach provide a means of broadening my view from the specifics of my practice to the didactic function of the arts in society more generally. Studying fusion programming is a means of building on these personal experiences of intercultural musicking and contemplating of the multicultural framework in which I was reared, educated, and learned to be a performer and citizen.

This dissertation is composed of eight chapters that address, respectively, my methodological tools and priorities, the CBC as a system of communication comprising regional-, national-, and platform-specific content, and fusion programming's participation in the discursive formation of an essentialized and hierarchical version of

"Canadianness." From the general historical, theoretical, and methodological context of this introduction, the focus of Chapter 2 turns to the specifics of my approach, describing how I approached studying a system through localized case studies and content analysis. I begin by explaining the challenges of doing historical research in the institutional context of the CBC. I then move on to outline my adaptation of Pegley's (2008) model of ethnographically grounded content analysis to a study of radio programming and to describe my integration of elements of quantitative analysis into a qualitative study of the social function of music broadcasting. While subsequent chapters are oriented to the analysis of specific artifacts according to the priorities and methods described here, my gaze is constantly shifting to account for wider sociohistorical contexts and the circumstances of production and reception (cf. Conway 2011).

Chapters 3 and 4 serve complementary purposes; they elaborate the mandate, structures, and policies that shape content generation at the CBC. The mini case studies presented in Chapter 3 demonstrate a particular and systemic response to conditions present during the first decade of the twenty-first century—conditions that emphasized changing demographics, regional diversity, and communication about Canada's multicultural reality. The specifics of these examples demonstrate distinctions in approach according to local conditions, but are also revealing of the range of interpretive challenges that accompany programming for regional versus national audiences, and the issues of translation that emerge when the parameters of the

conceptualized audience become blurred. As well, these regional case studies provide an important counterpoint to the analysis presented in subsequent chapters, demonstrating localized adaptations and resistance to dominant approaches to narrating diversity (cf. Hall 1986). Chapter 4 further expands on distinctions in audience conceptualization through an account of *Fuse*'s development and circumstances of broadcast, suggesting connections between contextual considerations and content.

Though Chapters 3 and 4 emphasize structural conditions, elaborating the CBC as a system of communication, I also devote some attention to the intentions and meanings coded in fusion programming in order to introduce the tropes and trends that are the focus of the remainder of this dissertation. Inherent in fusion programming is the notion of encounter—the confluence of unique trajectories for the purpose of negotiating differences. Speaking specifically to the unique nature of radio listening, communications scholar Susan Douglas elaborates the connection between the imaginative potential of encounter and understandings of the individual in relation to the nation when she explains that radio works "most powerfully inside our heads, helping us create internal maps of the world and our place in it, urging us to construct imagined communities to which we do, or do not, belong" (2004:5). Indeed, the idiosyncrasies of usage and interpretation of sound in particular localities and among specific communities are frequently the focus of ethnomusicological inquiry. But while listeners potentially have creative control over their personal narratives, this potential is tangential to the point being made here: the possibility of oppositional decodings

distracts from reading the tacit assumptions—the understandings of social normalcy—coded in the ways that the broadcaster conceptualizes and communicates with the audience.

In her 2011 study of literary prize-winners and their reception in Canada, Gillian Roberts uses theorizations of hospitality to analyse how a series of "hyphenated Canadians" negotiate and transgress dominant notions of Canadianness. She acknowledges that the dominant construction of Canadianness remains white and anglophone, dependant on the "wresting of the host position from Aboriginal peoples by French and English colonizers and the subsequent defeat of the French by the English" (2011:9) and later quotes Indigenous author Lee Maracle's demand that Canadians "get out of the fort and imagine something beyond the colonial condition" (2004:206). This call to action, however, first requires that "the fort" be recognized and its terms of existence challenged (cf. Maracle 2004). Chapters 5 through 7 are about doing just this. I narrow my focus to *Fuse*, elaborating the results of my "ethnographically grounded content analysis" in an attempt to sketch the metaphorical walls of the fort by exploring the gap between structural multiculturalism—the legal and ideological equity afforded individuals living within Canadian borders—and the discursive formations that shape the terms of our shared social reality. The analysis presented in these three chapters is based on the CBC's program logs for the entire series and the sixty-two archival recordings to which I was granted access. Given the amount of content represented by this sample and constraints of space, it's impossible

to provide a full accounting of each of the analysed episodes. My comments, instead, are about trends observed in the series as a whole, though grounded with specific examples that variously challenge or lend weight to my observations.

Cumulatively, Chapters 5 through 7 are about relationships: the relationships between musicians, sounds, and extant discursive formations; and the relationships between musicians, audiences, and their mediator. In Chapter 5, I consider issues of form, specifically addressing the ambiguity of definitions of fusing, varied approaches enacted by musicians, and the homogenizing influence of standardized mechanisms for narrating a disparately achieved objective. This part of the case study is theorized relative to the existing literature on hybridity and cultures in contact, also considering the role of discursive binarisms in containing and depoliticizing difference. In Chapters 6 and 7, my focus shifts from specific performances to the positionality of implicated actors, focusing on the broadcaster's mediating voice. The first of these chapters, following Born (2004:15), is about exploring not "what is insistently present" but the silences and partial perspectives—"the characteristic absences and rigidities"—that order perceptions of social normalcy (2004:15). And in Chapter 7, my gaze shifts again from what is obscured to what is present, addressing patterns of representation on *Fuse* and in Canada more generally, and the discursive strategies that ordered the "Canadianness" of particular sounds, people, and places.

In these chapters, I'm suggesting that social relationships/normalcy/belonging are to some extent modelled and/or contested through the inclusions, exclusions, and

interactions presented on-air. It mattered, in other words, that audience members had

the potential to hear bits of themselves/their traditions/their music described as

specifically Canadian (or otherwise). Consider, for example, a recent editorial published

by Julion King (a Toronto-based concert promoter and owner of Canadian Reggae World)

in the online magazine *Now* (2016):

> Reggae is viewed as indigenous to Jamaica. [A lot of people] don't care
> that I've been here for 40 years or that reggae music has been here for
> over 50 years, made by Canadians paying our taxes. I have me seven
> children who are Canadian-born, and we're still not viewed as
> Canadians.
>
> I can't tell you the number of times back in the day that we submitted
> music to Canadian Music Week and NXNE for consideration to perform
> at the festivals. Here we are saying, "Okay, let's join the Canadian
> music scene." Most times, I never even got a response. You start to
> wonder what these things are for. If you look at the Canadian music
> scene, they ain't spending money on anyone, so that way, you can't
> say, "Racism!" They don't promote any fucking music in Canada, but
> what [little] they do promote still makes me feel like a long-lost
> outside cousin.

King's comments point to a visceral connection between music, representation, and

understandings of belonging. They also point to structural conditions and the unequal

availability of resources (cf. Nakhaie 2006). The marginalized status of the music that

King claims as his, translates to his understanding of hierarchies of belonging within the

Canadian social imaginary. My point? That an absence of representation, particularly

when a radio program is framed as representing the diversity of Canadian music,

suggests silent exclusion.

Taken together, the case studies presented in this dissertation elaborate the gap

between structural multiculturalism and popular understandings of multiculturalism as a

coding for "not white." These examples problematize the ways in which similarity and

difference, centres and peripheries, or, more holistically, notions of belonging, are

expressed through discursive slippages that privilege a normative reading of

Canadianness that is both exclusive and invisible to the beneficiaries of its terms.

Exclusions, it's important to emphasize, are not necessarily active or evenly distributed;

hierarchies of "Canadianness" and belonging are constructed through a variety of

"unconscious" mechanisms (including travel narratives, networks of alliances, and,

perhaps most significantly, the broadcast format itself). To this end, it's important to

acknowledge the intentions of content producers. Unlike many of the regionally focused

programming examples presented in Chapter 3, *Fuse* was created within a policy climate

that prioritized "being more multicultural"[31] but was not a programming tool for actively

addressing Canada's changing ethnocultural profile. In very practical terms, this means

that while there was sometimes lip service to representing "Canadian talent" and

diversity, and to engaging musicians across their differences, the focus (as was

consistently pronounced during season one) tended to be on singer-songwriters, and,

more generally, on emergent popular musics. While it is unfair to critique programming

for not achieving objectives it was never intended to fulfill—there's nothing inherently

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[31] Several producers observed that in recent times (i.e., since 2008 when plans to restructure Radio 2 were implemented and concurrent with the growing power of the Conservative Party of Canada) multiculturalism is less frequently on the agenda (Glen Tilley, interview, 15 June 2012; Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012).

wrong with broadcasting a show about a particular type of popular music—*Fuse* tapped

into discursive tropes that were a product of the policy climate in which it was created.

It is to this slippage between intent and rhetoric that my criticisms are directed.

Chapter 2
METHODOLOGY: ENGAGING THE CBC ETHNOGRAPHICALLY

In Chapter 1, I described this dissertation as a strategically situated (single-site) ethnography—a study that, rather than being bound by the specifics of a field site, follows a concept in an attempt to understand something about social systems and cultural institutions (cf. Marcus 1995; Yanow 2011). In this case, I explore programming that emerged at a time when there was systemic and systematic pressures within CBC's Music Department to make programming "more multicultural" in order to deconstruct the discourses this policy climate engendered. I ask how fusion programming reflects the CBC's vision of diversity in Canada and how national or regional that vision is. Tracking fusion programming across the CBC's many centres and media lines is revealing of the shape and function of a major Canadian cultural institution, but also supports exploration of the broadcaster's role in (re)producing social centres and peripheries.

While the notion of the strategically situated single-site ethnography prompts attention to systems, it also demands engagement with the specificities of sites. Conway's description of the circuit model of communication encourages attention to the field in exactly this manner (2011:12). In describing his model, I explained how continually shifting my gaze between artifacts, sociohistorical contexts, the circumstances of production and reception, and the dialectical connections between these four "nodes" (see Figure 1.1, p. 20) enables consideration of the nature of the culture produced through a specific realization of a policy.

Chapter 2 builds on these methodological models to describe my approach to research, including the parameters of the field, the people implicated in its networks, and the archival resources that are the focus of my research. As an object of study, fusion programming demands attention to the sociohistorical conditions that supported its realization; the systems through which programming was created and disseminated; and detailed parsing of the meanings mobilized in its discourses. My methods reflect these different levels of analysis, addressing systems, histories, and demographics broadly while also considering the significance of particular configurations of words and voices on air.

Kip Pegley's comparative study of music videos broadcast on MuchMusic and MTV provides an important conceptual model that is capable of knitting together the layers that intersect in my research. In elaborating her methods, Pegley explains:

> This is a quantitative/qualitative exploration that spills over the expected boundaries of both empirical, statistical interpretation and ethnographic probing. But such a mapping allows me to bring new issues into focus as I examine the powerful intersections/overlaps/contradictions of race, gender, and nationality and how they intersect societal power structures. (2008:16)

By consciously moving between texts (i.e., musical/visual performances) and the cultural systems in which they are embedded, Pegley attempts to understand how particular media products inform, shape, and challenge constructions of social reality. Her "ethnographically grounded content analysis," in other words, is an approach designed to deal with the methodological and interpretive pitfalls of traditional content analyses—a methodology that is quite typical of media studies and that functions by

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"implement[ing] a set of procedures in order to draw inferences from a text" (Pegley 2008:13). Likewise, the closely defined procedures of content analysis infuse the subjective positioning of the ethnographic researcher with a degree of objectivity. My approach to studying fusion programming at the CBC started and ended with "ethnographic probing" of contexts and concepts that were more quantitatively addressed through a carefully considered set of tools that coded fusion programming content.

This chapter, accordingly, starts and ends with my attempts to anchor my analysis of fusion programming in an ethnographic context. I begin by describing the challenges of doing research at the CBC, including access to artifacts (e.g., archival copies of broadcasts, policy documents, and other ephemera relating to production) and the sociohistorical circumstances in which production was situated. Much of the discussion in this section focuses on gathering the data sources that are the focus of my research and the interviews that provide an interpretive framework for my analysis. These early encounters with producers and programs were opportunities to learn about the structure of the CBC, the motivations of broadcasters, and the potential for ideas to travel—both within the broadcaster and throughout Canada.

From this description of the ethnographic elements of my research, I then turn to the tools employed for analysing broadcasts: more specifically, my adaptation of Pegley's (2008) approach to content analysis to the research questions defined for this study. Notably, while much of my commentary in the second half of this chapter is

specific to *Fuse*, the concepts and processes that I describe were developed, tested, and refined through application to the mainly regional case studies that are the focus of Chapter 3. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of issues of representation and musician demographics, and the limits of my engagement with this particular population. While my analysis, at times, relies on quasi-quantitative assessments of patterns of representation, this study depends principally on a qualitative methodology.

2.1 RESEARCHING MEDIA HISTORY: PRODUCTION CONTEXTS, INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES, AND ARTIFACTS

As it currently exists, Canada's broadcasting system is governed by the Broadcasting Act of 1991 (see Appendix A). Though outlining the full scope of this legislation is tangential to the objectives of the current study,[32] the ethical prerogatives and structural conditions that are foundational to the system[33]—and the role of the CBC within that system—are worth noting. The broadcasting system is owned and controlled by Canadians; operates primarily in English and French; enriches the cultural, political, social, and economic structures of Canada; and encourages Canadian expressions through programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, and art.

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[32] The full complexity of the broadcasting system and the specifics of its regulation are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Details, however, are available from Armstrong (2010) and Salter and Odartey-Wellington (2008).

[33] The first formal report on broadcasting in Canada was commissioned in 1928 and its findings published in 1929. The Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird 1929) acknowledges the challenges posed by Canada's geographic vastness and demographic dispersion, and recommends responding to these conditions by establishing a national public broadcaster with a dedicated broadcasting director for each province. Subsequent Royal Commissions and incarnations of broadcasting legislation have attempted to address these complexities through provision of complementary—and sometimes contradictory—mandates for commercial, public, and educational broadcasters.

This system reflects the equal rights, linguistic duality, and multicultural nature of

Canadian society (including the special place of Aboriginal groups), and makes maximum

use of Canadian resources (Dewing 2011:3).

More importantly (at least for the purposes of this dissertation), the

Broadcasting Act goes beyond stating the national public broadcaster's special mandate

to provide programming that "informs, enlightens and entertains." Section III of the Act

is devoted to describing the role of the CBC in the Canadian broadcasting landscape,

outlining the basic management structure of the CBC, defining the Corporation's

relationship to Parliament, detailing the financing of the Corporation, and specifying the

CBC's social and cultural mandate. In terms of content, the mandate directs that the

broadcaster "be predominantly and distinctively Canadian," contribute to a "shared

national consciousness and identity," and "reflect the multicultural and multiracial

nature of Canada"—specifications that provide a clear indication of the society building

agenda assigned to the CBC.[34] Directives on reflecting and serving both national and

regional audiences, reflecting the needs of official language communities, and being

available throughout Canada, as well, are relevant to understanding the physical

structure of the CBC. The CBC comprises two parallel structures, the CBC and Radio

Canada, operating, respectively, in English with its headquarters in Toronto and in

French with its headquarters in Montreal. Other than the occasional intercultural

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[34] This mandate, in other words, is a manifestation of the core principles of Canada's legislation on multiculturalism.

project,[35] these two parts of the organization rarely interact and their respective heads report independently to the CEO and President. Though I touch briefly on examples of intercultural projects, the focus of this dissertation is the CBC's English-language services.

As a cultural organization committed to reflecting Canada and its regions, the structure of the CBC broadly parallels the structure of the Canadian state. The national network provides the overarching framework, supplying shared programming to audiences across Canada and coordinating representation of Canada's many regions. Supplementing this central service, in 2006 there were twenty-seven regional offices that provided for the distinctive needs of audiences in different parts of the country (CBC|Radio-Canada 2006a:13).[36] These two layers of the organization are related but separate: there are points of contact between the two structures (e.g., network producers and regional managers), but each layer is supported by dedicated personnel who rarely have cause to move between the two domains.

The dispersed structure of the CBC, while providing for specific regional production needs, poses considerable challenges to research. Until budgets cuts in 2013 forced the discontinuation of such services, most regions maintained their own separate

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[35] In the context of the CBC, "intercultural" refers to the two linguistic cultures of the Corporation (i.e., English and French). "Intercultural projects" are initiatives that bridge these two halves.
[36] The prioritization of regional and national voices within the system is somewhat subject to swings in policy and financing. Indeed, Conway identifies cuts made under Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative government as the impetus for investment in regional programming development and strategic repositioning within the Canadian mediascape (2011:54–55, 161–164). More recent cuts sustained under Steven Harper's Conservative government have had precisely the opposite effect.

archives of past programming, though quality and accessibility tended to rely on

interested individuals rather than a consistent model of record keeping. There was not,

in other words, a centralized mechanism for accessing records of programming for the

entire system.[37] The ephemeral nature of radio and the journalistic principles that are

central to production, moreover, do not necessarily prioritize record keeping: emphasis

is on currency, not history. This attitude is a spillover from print journalism (recall the

adage, "today's news is tomorrow's chip paper"), but also reflects practical constraints.

In the early years of radio, recording mediums (e.g., wax cylinders and acetate discs)

were expensive and bulky to store; live broadcasting was, in a very real sense, the only

practical means of providing audiences with a constant flow of content. Reel-to-reel

recording first came into use during the late 1920s and '30s, expanding possibilities for

pre-recorded broadcasts and archival recordings. The expense of the tape, the length of

the broadcast day, and the capacity of storage facilities, however, limited the possibility

of archiving programming: tape was typically used and reused, and few records of

programming were kept by broadcasters themselves. Furthermore, as the preferred

mediums for recording have changed over the CBC's eighty year history, the availability

of playback technologies has influenced archiving practices, sometimes resulting in vast

swaths of material simply ending up in dumpsters when technologies become too

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[37] The CBC's primary English language archive is located in the Toronto Broadcast Centre, but it does not necessarily contain information about programming produced and broadcast from other regional centres. Indeed, my attempts to access past programming schedules via the archives in Toronto during the August 2016 yielded only partial results and the advice that I contact other regional centres for further information.

outdated and storage facilities too overloaded (Glen Tilley, interview, 15 June 2012). In

other words, attitudes toward production and preservation have developed in dialogue

with structural limitations, and, though digital technologies have enormously increased

storage capacity, historical conditions still influence the priority assigned to archiving.

Further complicating the possibility of conducting historical research is a

lingering aura of institutional opacity. Though a crown corporation, until 2007 the CBC

was not governed by the terms of the Access to Information Act (1985).[38] At an

institutional level there was a general reluctance to relinquish the privacy that this

exclusion afforded, ultimately culminating in Information Commissioner Suzanne Legault

taking the CBC to court in 2010 and winning a decision that forced the CBC to provide

her with unredacted copies of a requested body of documents. The CBC's failed attempt

to appeal this decision in 2011 ultimately has resulted in a greater degree of compliance

with the terms of the Access to Information Act. In my experience, however, there

remains a tendency to invoke exemption 68.1, which allows the CBC to withhold any

information relating "to its journalistic, creative or programming activities, other than

information that relates to its general administration" (Government of Canada 1985).[39]

On a practical level, this combination of structure, history, and attitude means that the

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[38] The Access to Information Act (1985) is the legislation granting public access to information under the control of a federal government institution.

[39] This reticence may also relate to notions of creativity cultivated by content producers. Many of the broadcasters with whom I spoke associated production with higher order creativity. Opacity on the practicalities of production and funding is constructed as essential to allowing greatness to emerge (i.e., streamlining processes in ways that create document trails and meet the standards of public accountability is perceived to interfere with out-of-the-box thinking).

only way to find out about programming happening across the country—and, indeed, about day to day operations—is to painstakingly contact each of the CBC's regional offices and hope for a response.

2.1.1 Mapping the CBC and gathering artifacts

My initial phase of research was about mapping the CBC and beginning to understand the institutional culture and decision-making processes that inflected production within its complicated systems and structures—in other words, it was about providing contextual anchors for my analysis of fusion programming examples (i.e., production and sociohistorical context). From a practical perspective, contacting regional and national CBC archives enabled me to (1) obtain copies of relevant policy documents, (2) access program logs of pertinent broadcasts, and (3) listen to samples of broadcasts to assess applicability to my study (i.e., access to artifacts).

While this sounds simple enough, I lacked a systematic way of accessing past programming schedules and content descriptions, forcing me to cast a wide net initially: I depended on word of mouth, audience and artist blogs, and online encyclopaedia projects (e.g., Wikipedia) as starting points. Then, beginning in April 2012, I sent out emails to twenty regional offices—nineteen English and one French—requesting information about programming and special projects. I asked producers if they had worked on programming that extensively focused on collaboration, or if they had developed any particular means of dealing with diversity and multiculturalism through their musical offerings. And, on occasions when my queries were met with confusion, I

asked if they remembered *Fuse*. Emails were sent to CBC producers, hosts, managers,

and communications officers based on the availability of contact information on the CBC

website, recommendations from other CBC personnel, and suggestions from friends and

colleagues.[40] I sent out messages over Facebook, to the Canadian Society for Traditional

Music (CSTM) list-serv, and to all of my personal contacts, explaining my research and

requesting feedback about potentially relevant content and/or the names of probable

sources of information.[41] Using details garnered through this call for information, I

further refined my list of sources and pursued interviews/email exchanges with a more

targeted list of CBC employees and independent producers. I also contacted a number of

network level personnel, including Ann MacKeigan (Managing Editor, CBC Music,

Toronto), Nick Davis (Manager, Program Development, CBC Radio), and Sean Prpick

(now-former Network Producer, Saskatchewan).

My attempts to contact the CBC's various stations sometimes received speedy

responses, simply explaining that the type of production I was looking for wasn't

handled in that particular office. Other times I received a note explaining that time

constraints meant that my questions could not be addressed. And, on a few occasions, I

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[40] More than fifty CBC employees and independent contractors were contacted for information about programming, organization of the CBC, and relevant policies. See Appendix B for a complete list of correspondents and interviews.

[41] A total of twenty-one broadcast series were identified by respondents. While further investigation of many of these programs ultimately marginalized them from the focus of my study, this initial query resulted in the identification of *Rendez-Vous*, "Combo to Go," and "Fréquences libres" as CBC/Radio-Canada programming that was specifically pertinent to my research ("Fréquences libres" was eventually dropped from this study because I was unable to obtain a response from the production team involved and, for reasons of space and scope, *Rendez-Vous* is only mentioned in passing [see Chapter 3]).

received replies outlining the details of particular projects that potentially were relevant.

When relevant programming was identified, there was almost always a total lack of

awareness that similar programming existed in other parts of the country, sometimes

involving the same musicians. Over the last decade, an increasingly top-down approach

to dictating priorities has meant that regions often operate with high degrees of

autonomy, unaware of parallel activities elsewhere within the organization.[42] After

several months of emails, phone calls, and archive and internet searches, I assembled a

list of programming from across Canada that fulfilled my loose criteria (see Chapter 3 for

discussion of regional programming initiatives).

For better or worse, my queries about programming, institutional structure, and

on-the-ground decision making at the CBC were completed in a period of incredible

upheaval. In 2009, budget cuts and restructuring resulted in layoffs affecting almost 800

CBC employees (Conway 2011; CBC Arts 2009). During the spring of 2012 (i.e.,

concurrent with my initial attempts to contact various regional offices), the CBC's annual

parliamentary allocation was cut, resulting in further layoffs for about 600 employees

and the decommissioning of mobile recording units and studio spaces in many of the

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[42] English-language broadcasting is highly centralized in that its management and several flagship programs are based in Toronto. But, simultaneously, other regional offices operate with significant amounts of independence. The relationship between the national network and the regions is somewhat fluid, reflecting swings in policies, politics, and resourcing. The CBC's 2002 Strategic Plan, for example, emphasized greater regional presence through decentralization of production to regional centres and the addition of affiliate services in underserviced regions of Canada (CBC|Radio-Canada 2002). Until very recently—cutbacks in 2012 resulted in the decommissioning of many regional recording facilities and further reductions in 2014 and 2015 resulted in the cancellation of, for example, regional arts magazine programming—a strong regional presence has been a mainstay of the CBC's strategic planning.

regional offices of the CBC. In several centres, these cuts meant Arts and Entertainment

(A&E) departments were reduced to a single producer and part-time support staff.

Similarly punitive cuts were made again in 2015, resulting in comparable numbers of

staff being laid off and drastic cuts to programming. When I spoke to *Fuse* host, Alan

Neal, in September 2015, he commented:

> We're also talking about a time when there were these concerts being
> recorded. And there was the luxury of saying, "Oh no, this is a regional
> show, this is a national …" Like I can't even imagine—like now there
> isn't even … There's nothing. (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015)

The intricacies of programming, purpose, and relationships with audiences that I wished

to query, in other words, were distant from the concerns of CBC personnel in the post-

2012 era. The extreme instability that has been a feature of the CBC environment in

recent history sometimes translated to a preoccupation with the present to the

exclusion of memories about past conditions, and, on occasion, suspicion about the

nature of my critical engagement with the broadcaster.[43]

While there is a tendency to associate the CBC's ongoing state of crisis with

unfavourable budgets and caustic policy moves made under Stephen Harper's

Conservative Party regime, it is worth noting that the CBC has been in a state of

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[43] The capacity of CBC employees to effectively engage the terms of their hefty mandate in the context of ongoing budgetary crisis was flagged as early as 1991 when Jill Sawyer Park noted, "But for the present, reporters and producers in CBC newsrooms aren't as concerned about whether their jobs require them to work towards national 'unity' or 'identity' as they are about the survival of the national broadcasting service itself" (Park 1991). Park's comments were made in the wake of the passage of a new broadcasting act that demanded programming "reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences while serving the special needs of those regions" (see Appendix A) and a budget cut that resulted in closure of eleven regional stations. As Alan Neal's comment about the luxury of being able to debate distinctions between regional and national programming suggests, little has changed in twenty-five years.

budgetary adversity since the 1990s, with the deepest cuts actually happening during

Jean Chrétien's Liberal majority governments. One Toronto-based producer suggested

that the "good" that has come out of this perpetual state of fiscal stress is that

rationalized systems, of necessity, have developed to enable funds to be distributed

more efficiently. Before the development of these systems, redundancies in production

sometimes resulted in the same musicians being recorded in live concerts during the

same year, just in different locations. Budgetary necessity and institutional transparency

as required by the Access to Information Act mean that there's more awareness of

what's being produced, why it's being produced, and with what resources. Moreover,

especially since the move to multiplatform production, materials are created in such a

manner as to be available for use across audio, visual, and interactive platforms, again,

supporting a greater streamlining of production (see O'Neill 2006). Though constrained

by the decommissioning of recording studios and forced sell-off of infrastructure

necessitated by the 2012 and 2015 federal budgets, this ongoing state of adversity has

generated some potential for the organization to more effectively, and with greater

transparency, accomplish its mandate should the CBC benefit from a more favourable

distribution of public monies.

2.1.2 Accessing information

Informed by these early exchanges with other producers, I also sought contextual

information about *Fuse* and the function of particular policy prerogatives using formal

requests for information. Access to Information (ATI) requests are made using an official

form provided by InfoSource, a federal agency that is responsible for implementing the

Access to Information Act, and submitting a CDN$5 filing fee to the CBC's Information

Officer (the process of making a submission varies slightly depending on the institution).

This filing fee covers a maximum of five hours of search and document preparation time,

meaning that extensive requests for information sometimes receive a reply assessing

the number of work hours it will take to fill the request and an associated surcharge for

documents. Once payment is received, the request is processed and the relevant

documents are reviewed internally; any sensitive information, such as that covered by

exemption 68.1 or privacy laws, is redacted before being released. Depending on the

extent of the request, it can take months to receive the requested information.

I filed two requests. The first was for access to "all documents and

correspondence pertaining to the planning, production, and cancellation of the radio

program Fuse (broadcast out of Ottawa 2005–2008). Also, any information pertaining to

audience response, including statistics for live audiences and correspondence from

audience members." The second was for access to the 2006 and 2007 reports on the

operation of the Multiculturalism Act. While this latter request was quickly answered

with no additional fees, my first request was assessed a fee of CDN$140 and took about

six months to be filled.

Despite the costs, I opted to pursue the ATI Request process, largely because my

research was conducted during a period of political adversity for the CBC. From time to

time, I found myself thinking sympathetically of a passage from Georgina Born's

ethnography of the BBC:

> As an executive assistant charged with tightening control over my
> study said to me in amazement, 'I can't understand how you ever got
> in here. This is the most secretive organization.' While frustrating in
> the extreme, there was a bleak humour in all of this: the ironies of
> studying a public institution apparently committed to accountability,
> but reluctant to have its operations scrutinised; of doing a fly-on-the-
> wall study of those who make fly-on-the-wall documentaries.
> (2004:17)

Born paints a grim picture of institutional opacity, yet her observations resonate with my

own experiences of neglected phone calls and emails; of filing formal ATI requests and

receiving a series of almost completely redacted documents after a six-month wait; and

of being told outright that I was not to be trusted and so should only expect to hear an

official line. While my direct queries were most often met with generous responses from

individuals within the CBC network, my questions and requests sometimes provoked

suspicion and resistance. Making a formal request for information avoided putting

producers on the spot for information that they might not feel comfortable sharing or,

when there was willingness to share information, making demands of individuals who

simply didn't have time to dig up particular documents that were of interest. So, while

there were delays and notable holes in the information I received, the ATI requests were

a means of ensuring access without unduly harassing people who were unwilling or

unable to assist me.

2.1.3 Grounding analysis

While I spoke with producers from all across Canada about fusion programming as part

of my initial phase of research, I avoided lengthy exchanges with Caitlin Crockard, the

producer for *Fuse*: I wanted to avoid prejudicing my analysis with feedback on the

intentions behind the content until I had analysed that content. In September 2015, with

summaries of my content analysis in hand (described below) and informed by the

contextual information provided by my ATI requests, I travelled to Ottawa where I met

with Crockard to discuss: the details of series development; the status of *Fuse* within the

CBC radio network; decisions about content and approaches to representing the

Canadian music scene; and cancellation of the series in 2008. While in Ottawa, I also

interviewed Alan Neal, *Fuse*'s season three host, about his duties as a host and narrator

for *Fuse* and his priorities in conducting interviews. Following up on my conversations

with Caitlin Crockard and Alan Neal, I contacted Amanda Putz, the original host of *Fuse*

who had subsequently moved to Brussels, about some of my still-unanswered questions.

She replied via email. Finally, I attempted to round out my understanding of the

production priorities that led to *Fuse*'s creation by contacting founding-producer Bill

Stunt, though my queries ultimately went unanswered (see Appendix C for listing of

production personnel).

So far I have described the institutional context supporting production of fusion

programming and the challenge that context poses to research and accessing relevant

artifacts. I've also described my approach to contextualizing my research through direct

communication with personnel situated within relevant networks and/or who had direct

roles in the production of fusion programming. In terms of Conway's circuit model, I've described a methodological approach that enables me to shift my gaze between the artifacts that are the focus of my analysis, sociohistorical contexts, and circumstances of production.

While, in the introduction to this chapter, I emphasized reception as a key element in the communication process being studied here, specific listener responses were not sought. This is not a reception study. Indeed, this is a point where I depart from my methodological models. Pegley (2008), for example, included focus group interviews with Finnish music television audiences to ground her interpretations of broadcast artifacts. Instead of the audience study that my research topic seems to beg, I substituted evaluation of producer conceptualizations of their audiences. To this end, my engagement with content producers significantly exceeded Pegley's: Pegley's interpretations of her data are informed by interviews with Denise Donlon (former MuchMusic Vice President in charge of programming), Sarah Crawford (former MuchMusic Director of Communications), and a former MuchMusic VJ. In contrast, I interviewed/corresponded with eighteen producers, hosts, and managers at the CBC about their priorities and programming, in several cases—most particularly interviews with Caitlin Crockard and Alan Neal—specifically engaging programming decisions and relationships with audiences.

For the purposes of my research, assessing how producers understood their

audiences (rather than studying audiences directly[44]) is crucial: recall Hall's (1993)

insistence that broadcasters produce their audiences through forms of address. How

producers imagine their audiences, accordingly, implicates production of those

audiences. Similarly, Jason Dittmer and Soren Larsen's approach to studying the

production of national identities in *Captain Canuck* suggests that audiences are

"interpellated" through the discourses with which they are addressed. Citing Althusser

(cf. 1977), the authors explain,

> When a subject acknowledges a call to a particular identity by an
> ideological state apparatus, they then become beholden to certain
> ideological imperatives that are associated with that identity. Thus,
> interpellation can result in the seduction of audiences into active
> participation in collective fantasies, such as nationhood. (Dittmer and
> Larsen 2007:737)

Rather than seeking access to listener perspectives that, at best, would afford partial

perspectives on the meanings realized in fusion programming, my focus was producers

and the ways in which they conceptualized audiences "by the foregrounding of some

narratives and the silencing of others" (Dittmer and Larsen 2007:738). Notably,

producers tend to be very aware of their social mandate, potentially influencing how

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[44] My rationale for omitting an audience study from my methodological plan partially relates to issues of access and resourcing: accessing and assessing listener responses to programming are notoriously difficult challenges. Jo Tacchi's (2000) ethnographic case study of gendered patterns of media consumption, for example, is revealing of the gap between what listeners actually tune in for and what they report listening to. And more quantitative approaches to audience studies tend to be based on models that are driven by commercial imperatives. Indeed, these models are sometimes more revealing of the interests of investors than of audiences themselves. Access to this research, in any case, is typically restricted outside of the media industry because of high costs and rules governing fair competition (Clarke 2000).

they express awareness of their audience(s). Their commentary, however, doesn't stand alone. One of the strengths of a methodological approach that supports several levels of analysis is the potential to put results in dialogue: ideas communicated in interviews could be compared with the results of content analyses and contextualized with summaries of quantitative measurements of the Canadian population (e.g., the 2006 Census of Canada) to arrive at a balanced assessment of the nature of the audience(s) produced through fusion programming.

2.2 "Ethnographically grounded content analysis"

The first part of this chapter was about elaborating the sociohistorical context in which fusion programming was created, disseminated, and interpreted (i.e., the conditions of production and reception)—in other words, to providing a description of how I approached ethnographically grounding my research. But effectively analysing the nature of the discourses realized in fusion programming also requires attention to the specifics of voicing, arrangements of musics, and topics of conversation engaged by musicians and hosts—that is, the content of broadcasts.

Despite pervasive application in media and communications studies, content analyses are sometimes critiqued for assuming a relationship between frequency of representation, intentions of the producer, and interpretation of the receiver. There's also a danger of focusing too narrowly on overt and/or surface meanings. Indeed, content analyses frequently fail to move beyond providing purely descriptive accounts of representation in particular times and places. As well, emphasis on quantitative versus

qualitative information has the potential to result in a failure to relate findings to larger

social structures and configurations of power (Pegley 2008:14), while also supporting an

illusion of objectivity that neglects researcher and audience positionality:

> Content analysis rests upon the claims that media representations are
> coherent and uniform, not ambiguous or contradictory, and that the
> sex role stereotypes presented by the media are clear and consistent,
> not complex and open to varying interpretations. (Dominic Strinati
> quoted in Pegley 2008:14)[45]

That is, to use Hall's (1980) classic formulation, there are often gaps between the

messages encoded by broadcasters and the meanings decoded by audiences. Balancing

content analysis with contextual analysis, as recommended by Pegley (1999, 2008),

provides a way around some of these pitfalls, anchoring and adding depth to the

meanings produced in radio space. The remainder of this chapter elaborates my

adaption of Pegley's (1999, 2008) model of content analysis for application to *Fuse*.

Before I describe my framework for analysing *Fuse*, there is one final vulnerability

of content analysis that needs to be addressed: sample size. Fatal flaws often creep in at

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[45] Strinati's comment is made in the context of analysis of the feminist critique of content analysis. He summarizes the various criticisms of content analysis, including: the tendency to treat content analysis as pure quantitative methodology without ideological/theoretical baggage; the tendency to focus on surface meanings and patterns of representation without considerations of large-scale structures and details of message that nuance meaning; and a tendency (as cited above) to neglect the multiplicity of stances from which content has the potential to be decoded (2004:183). He goes on to critique, for example, Angela McRobbie's analysis of the ideology of the teenage girls' magazine *Jackie*. McRobbie relies on semiology as the basis of her study instead of drawing on the principles of content analysis. But while this approach enables her to probe a deeper level of meaning, defining the "ideology of teenage femininity" encoded in its pages, Strinati points to areas in which content analysis might have shored up her results through demonstration of protracted trends in representation or adaptability of interpretation in step with changing historical circumstances (2004:194, 197). His engagement with the feminist critique of content analysis, in other words, is suggestive of possibilities for balancing the use of content analysis with alternative methodologies.

the sampling stage: the researcher must be conscious of whether the sample is of a sufficient size to avoid misrepresentation (Pegley 2008:14). In my case, the sample size was self-determining: a total of seventy-five 54-minute episodes of *Fuse* exist and I had access to archival recordings of sixty-one of those episodes.[46] Episodes were recorded in a number of different locales (though based primarily out of Studio 40 in the Ottawa Broadcast Centre) and broadcast over a period of just over three years (between July 2005 and September 2008). Broadcast time and medium changed over the run of the series: it began as a summer short-run series on CBC Radio One and later was incorporated into the offerings of Radio 2, Radio 3 (CBC's online radio station), Sirius Satellite Radio, and, for a brief period in 2008, Bold TV.[47] The episodes featured performances by 351 musicians with widely varied target audiences, drawn from a variety of genres, scenes, age groups, and ethnocultural backgrounds. I'll return to the topic of representativeness and sample size when I describe the two ways in which I approached my content analysis, but for now I will leave it that my sample was as robust an example of fusion programming as was possible to obtain given constraints of budget and the limits of the archival resources available through the CBC.

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[46] Caitlin Crockard, the series producer for *Fuse*, kindly provided access to her personal collection of archival recordings. I have been unable to determine whether copies of the remaining episodes of *Fuse* are still extant in the CBC Archives. I was, however, able to access the program logs for the entire series. The logs contain basic details relating to the broadcasts, including personnel involved, date of broadcast, and, in some cases, include a short description of the episode and/or a fragment of the script. See Appendix C for complete listing of series content.

[47] Bold TV was a CBC specialty channel. I have not been able to locate footage from the televised series.

2.2.1 Analytical Tools

In designing my research tools, I began with Pegley's description of the variables she

coded in her analysis of both a twelve-hour sample of extra-musical content recorded

from MuchMusic and a weeklong sample of MuchMusic's video content (2008:115–

123).[48] Pegley's methodology accounts for a variety of criteria that were less relevant to

my project: hers was an analysis of commercial televised content, while mine is about

the production and auditory experience of public service radio.[49] Engaging Pegley's

coding variables necessarily meant limiting myself to criteria that were based solely on

sound or on principles that could be reconceptualised in the context of non-visual

mediation, while also remaining cognizant of differences motivating content production.

Using her descriptions and definitions as a springboard, I drafted a parallel document

describing the variables that became the basis of my own content analysis. I then

prevailed upon friends and colleagues to listen to episodes of *Fuse* and offer feedback

on my model of analysis.[50]

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[48] Pegley's variables and definitions were themselves a refinement of a model developed in a Master's thesis titled "An Analysis of Social Critique in Music Videos Broadcast on MuchMusic" by Steven Williams (1993). That is to say, my approach should be interpreted not only in relation to Pegley's methods, but as an ongoing refinement of related methodologies. (N.B., while I attempted to access William's thesis in order to better understand his motivations in developing the original criteria for his—and to some extent, Pegley's—study, the available copy was so badly blurred as to be illegible and library policy does not allow for an interlibrary loan when a digital copy, regardless of legibility, is extant).

[49] While programming content and issues of representation have been addressed in Canadian and international contexts (e.g., Tacchi 2000; Born 2004; Berland 2009), the focus since the mid-twentieth-century introduction of television tends to be on visually based media (e.g., Castells 2004; Clarke 2000; Foster 2009; Hogarth 2001; Pegley 2008; Seiter 1999; Slevin 2000; Thomas 1992). With notable exceptions (e.g., Douglas 2004; Hartley 2000; Lewis 2000; Lewis 2011), radio and its unique communicative capacities as a low-tech aural medium, remains comparatively neglected.

[50] The majority of these friends and colleagues were graduate students and faculty at Memorial University of Newfoundland and the University of Western Ontario. Though limited in terms of accessing feedback from a wide and varied audience, this sampling of opinions was quite ideal for my purposes as criticism tended to be grounded in related experiences and theoretical knowledge of research design.

While my research design was primarily informed by Pegley's methods, feedback

from colleagues, and limitations of available software and technology,[51] it was also

shaped by my engagement with other examples of fusion programming at the CBC (e.g.,

"Come by Concerts," *Lamento*, *Burning to Shine*, *Mundo Montréal*). These examples,

because they were one-off episodes or short run series, enabled me to explore issues of

form, address, and representation without being bound by a particular approach to

analysis. My approach to these "mini case studies" was much more emergent with the

intention of testing principles that were either incorporated or rejected in my study

design for *Fuse*.

2.2.1.1   In-depth Studies

I ultimately found myself frustrated by the inability of a content analysis—even a

primarily qualitative one—to offer caveats. After a number of false starts and revisions I

opted, not so much to turn away from the model of content analysis offered by Pegley,

but to reconceptualise the ideas embedded in her approach into a more discussion-

based tool. I replaced my database and its rigid user-interface with a template that,

using a series of questions and prompts,[52] focused my analysis on: (1) keywords

identifying themes and special features; (2) prose descriptions/commentary about

definition(s) of "fuse," musician identities and relationships, and distribution of air time

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[51] I translated descriptions of analytical variables into a purpose-built database and series of interrelated spreadsheets.

[52] "Prompts" typically took the form of sentence fragments. Examples include: "The primary metaphor for discussing fusion is …"; "Topics covered in the discussion portion of the episode include …" (see Appendix E).

between the various speakers and music; (3) details of production and involved personnel; (4) musical and lyric content; (5) audiences, mediation, and approaches to recording/editing; (6) performer information; and (7) the structures of individual episodes, including the nature of interview questions and narrative themes.

This "new" template supported deep engagement with the content of particular episodes, but was laborious in its application as it involved creating complete transcriptions of dialogue and song lyrics, drafting detailed descriptions of music content, and tediously calculating the distribution of talk and music time in individual episodes. This type of engagement—what I labelled my "In-depth Studies"—yielded incredibly rich results and, to some extent, facilitated recognition of trends and distinctions, but also buttressed a sort of "forest for the trees" approach to research: it enabled me to see the specifics of individual episodes of *Fuse* with great clarity but obscured my perspective on the series as a whole.

The sampling of episodes for "In-depth" analysis was based on feedback I received on the initial draft of my analytical criteria. The individuals who offered feedback selected and listened to a program from a complete listing of the available *Fuse* episodes. I used these selected episodes as the core of my own sample. I also listened to the series in its entirety, noting themes and episodes with unusual features. I used these notes to guide me in correcting for imbalances in this initial core sample, ensuring that each season was equitably represented.

The following summary describes each section of the In-depth Studies template, focusing on purpose and theoretical prerogatives, while also elaborating connections to my "Overview Analysis" template—the methodological tool that I developed to better understand the series as a complete entity. An example of the template is available in Appendix E.

1. **KEYWORDS**

   The purpose of including a list of keywords was to make my analysis searchable. I kept a list of keywords and selected appropriate ones to apply based on episode content, but took an "open coding" approach, allowing for the possibility that as new themes came up, new keywords would need to be created.

2. **EPISODE COMMENTS**

   This section of the template served a summary purpose, describing general features, unique elements, and noting any questions that emerged while I was listening to and transcribing the verbal and musical content of each episode. This is also where I noted any glaring omissions in content. Though shaped by the particulars of each episode, I used four sentence fragments as prompts to ensure that my comments engaged, respectively, definitions of fusion/fusing, the terms upon which musicians were recruited to perform, the nature of the relationship between the musicians, and the temporal distribution of voices on-air.

   Intercultural processes often test the limits of existing discourses, by necessity becoming incredibly fruitful locations for the elaboration of culture (cf. Swidler 2001; Foucault 1981; Modan 2007). Taking into account Brinner's (2009)

advice that terminology should have some resonance with musicians and other

producers of culture, I tracked the ways in which the purpose of the show and

the actions of "fusing" were narrated as a means of understanding changes in

mandate and how the notion of "fusing" was congruent with more generalized

theorizations of intercultural processes, creativity, and social constructivism. The

results of this initial analysis became the basis for the "Fuse definitions" variable

applied in the Overview Analysis (see below).

Musician relationships are exceedingly important to the premise of fusion

programming. For each episode I considered the nature of the relationships

between the performers, dynamics of power/authority between musicians, and

perceptions of influence suggested by producer/host mediations. In a similar

vein, descriptions of each performer's music and abilities, in combination with

aurally witnessed interactions between co-present performers, provided clues

about how the musicians approached working across varied types and degrees of

difference/similarity. My purpose in tracking details about performer

representation and relationality was to explore which voices were vested with

authority and which voices assigned more marginal status. Patterns identified in

this stage of the analysis were developed into the "Relationship type" variable in

the Overview Analysis (see below).

Finally, by "temporal distribution of voicing" I am referring to who is

speaking and/or singing and for how long in relation to other featured voices. I

tracked this information by transcribing episodes of *Fuse* in their entirety and assigning a timestamp to each change in speaker. Similarly, music content generally was associated with particular musicians (e.g., song x was selected by musician y). I used *Excel* spreadsheets to calculate amounts of "talk time" for each speaker and "music time" for each performer/performing group. Time stamps were recorded manually so there is a notable lack of accuracy at the split second level. These calculations, however, are accurate enough to suggest general relationships of sonic dominance and marginalization, particularly when considered in conjunction with other discursive patterns and formal trends.

3. **PRODUCTION DETAILS**

This section of the analysis served an identification purpose. Information about where and when episodes were recorded, and the personnel involved in production enabled consideration of regional representation, changes in content and structure over the run of the series, and patterns that emerged in relation to the presence of particular members of the production crew (e.g., were there differences in form and audience address that existed according to whether *Fuse* was hosted by Amanda Putz or Alan Neal? Produced by Bill Stunt or Caitlin Crockard?). These details were obtained from the CBC program logs and on-air credits were used to confirm accuracy of the logs and/or to supplement information given in the logs.[53]

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[53] I have interpreted information given in the broadcasts themselves as more reliable than the information in program logs: logs are often incomplete and contain details that contradict what is heard in the archival

4. ***MUSIC AND LYRIC CONTENT***

This section of the template focused specifically on music content. For each performance I recorded the title of the song/work, the name of the performer who selected the piece, and noted alliances suggested by performer/host commentary (e.g., who do cover songs reference? Was the song written in the style of another musician?); details about performing resources (e.g., musician names, instrument/voice type, and whether their role was backing or lead); the length of the selection; a prose description of the performance (e.g., instrumentation, tempo, beat patterns, texture, arrangement of voices); and comments about song meaning and/or special features. This portion of the analysis served several purposes: elaborating patterns of sonic dominance and/or marginalization; illuminating musician networks and influences; tracking the varied ways in which musicians approached collaboration; and assessing the meanings embedded in lyric content.

While I did take lyric content and language into account when designing and executing my analysis—I coded lyrics for each song according to an expanded version of variables elaborated in Pegley's study of MuchMusic and MTV (2008:122–23)—in retrospect, I am not convinced that the lexical, and even poetic, meanings of songs were consistently significant in the representation and

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recordings. As well, the CBC archivists who provided me with access to the logs complained about the inconsistency and the lack of seriousness with which producers often treat the creation of program logs. This critique was not targeted at the *Fuse* production team but, rather, was a general observation of network wide tendencies.

reinforcement of particular worldviews. Lyrics were unequally available according to the quality of singers' diction, the language of performance (versus that of interpretation), clarity of recording and sound reproduction technologies, and, in the case of instrumental numbers, actual inclusion of lyrics. This isn't to suggest that lyrics are unimportant. Rather, following Szego (2015), song lyrics aren't *always* central to meaning making. Szego makes this point as a path away from discourses about appropriation and misunderstanding that neglect the realities of globalization—of the fact that audiences are unpredictably diverse and that meaning-making relies on gestalts (i.e., pre-existing, subjective, and holistic understandings around which new perceptions are ordered). Listening to songs (i.e., words *and* music) involves more than listening to lyrics. It is a process "within which listeners can agentively focus their attention" and "unintelligible lyrics are afforded meaning through extra- or super-linguistic entanglements" (Szego 2015).

Moreover, the medium of communication was, perhaps, the major distinction between my approach to content analysis and Pegley's—with implications for interpreting lyric content. Her "Musical performance contextualization," "Imagery axis," "Imagery contextualization," and "Message" variables all attempt to account for the ways in which images, music, and lyrics overlap to communicate meanings (2008:122–123). Lyrics at the moment of enunciation are curated through images and performance contexts; the visual

reinforces and inflects the auditory (and *vice versa*) in a multi-layered fashion

that is simply unavailable in an only audile medium. In the case of *Fuse*, song

texts were unevenly available for all of the reasons cited above and visual aids to

meaning making were also absent. Perhaps demonstrating my own listening

biases,[54] I am inclined to understand the ways in which song texts and meanings

were curated for audiences as more significant than the actual performances of

those texts (e.g., are there specific meanings preferred through host and/or

musician commentary?). In other words, while neglecting to consider the song

texts that were presented on *Fuse* would have been a glaring omission in my

research model, in my final analysis I am not convinced that lyric content

regularly matters—not when audiences are informed by widely varied

experiences and worldviews.[55]

5. *AUDIENCE*

In this section I explored the ways in which the audience was addressed

throughout the episode, specifically focusing on the hosts' interactions with the

audience but also taking into account the ways in which musicians articulated

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[54] I rarely listen to lyrics, preferring instead to focus on the ways sounds "fit" together. I'm not entirely certain about why I find focusing on the lyrics so counterintuitive, but I suspect it relates to my western classical training: I perform absolute music (i.e., music without lyrics and without an externally imposed program) and thus am conditioned to listen to relationships between rhythms, melodies, timbres, and formal developments. My training also included exposure to art song and opera from an early age—genres which rely on extra-musical cues to convey meaning as lyrics are often in languages that are foreign to listeners.

[55] See Hall (1980) for an extended discussion of the encoding and decoding process. The point relevant to the above discussion is that while the broadcaster actively prefers particular meanings, the listener/viewer has an agentive role in the decoding process that is dependent on individual positionality and experience.

connections to the audience. My purpose for querying audience–performer relationships was to understand distinctions in how audiences were conceptualized throughout the series: was the intended audience primarily local/regional? Live? National? International? Were specific segments of the audience addressed as insiders? Outsiders? And, how did modes of address influence perceptions of belonging/exclusion? My approach to these questions is informed by Foster's (2009) observation of the difficulties and relative neglect of the relationships between programming, audiences, publics, and public broadcasters. Studying the overlaps and distinctions between audiences does not in itself reveal the nature of their formation. Foster suggests, instead, that it is more productive to examine the discourses produced by the broadcaster—in his case, the public relations literature relating to the inclusion of reality TV in the English television lineup beginning in 2004—as a means of accessing assumptions about the public being addressed (i.e., the audience is imagined and produced by the broadcaster, and this conceptualization is then consumed by listeners [cf. Hall 1993; Cormack and Cosgrave 2013]).

Prompts were used to focus attention on approaches to content and mode of address. The first two statements ("The live audience is …" and "The address of the radio audience is …") provoked consideration of how these two sometimes-distinctively conceptualized segments of the audience were addressed and represented in the broadcast. The third statement ("The

recording of this episode is …") shifts the focus from the audience itself to broadcaster interventions—that is, the ways in which sound was mediated for audiences.

The final prompt in this section had a summary role, considering the episode overall to identify the form of audience address that was most prominent. I used a combination of prose descriptions and predetermined categories to describe the privileged form of audience address. My categories— "live audience as insiders," "live audience as performers," "listener intimacy," "listener distance," "neutral address," and "regional address"—roughly correlate with Pegley's "Musical performance axis" (2008:121), though our purposes were distinct. While Pegley's focus was the "emotional connection" between performer and video content, mine was the relationship between broadcaster and audience. My adaptation of this category takes into account theorizations of radio speech (e.g., Goffman 1981; Douglas 2004) as well as commentary from broadcasters about their priorities and purposes in addressing audiences (e.g., Shelagh Rogers, interview, 28 May 2012).

6. *PERFORMER INFORMATION*

This section of the In-depth Studies template indexed musician identities and relationships from two perspectives: I was interested in how biographies were narrated/represented to audiences, and how musicians were positioned relative to markets, scenes, communities, and other performers. The analytical focus,

here, was informed by Diamond's alliance studies. Diamond asserts that "studying music's capacity for defining relationships may well be as significant in the 21st century as studying music's role in defining identities has been for the past few decades. Indeed, our alliances produce our identities" (2011b:11). My interest was in tracking both how musicians situate themselves and are situated by the broadcaster in relation to widely varied narratives of identity and relationality in order to assess what meanings were privileged to audiences through the broadcaster–curator's "ordering" of voices (Hall 1993).

I recorded names, instrument/voice types, and band affiliations for each musician included in the broadcast. Statements made about musician identities, alliances, musical achievements/forms of recognition, family, and training were also compiled here, along with my own commentary about the narratives that were used to frame the musicians (e.g., were the musicians labelled as icons? Up and coming voices on the Canadian and/or international music scene? Loners? Partiers? Introspective artists?). As well, I tracked how the musicians and/or host(s) framed narratives about home(s) according to nine categories (urban, rural, regional, national, international, personal, multiple, cosmopolitan, homeless). This coding relates to Pegley's "Nationality of performer" variable (2008:118), but also attempted to contextualize affiliation(s) with prominent (sub)categories of identity in Canada (e.g., urban/rural, regional identities, "hyphenated" identities), and ideas about relationality and belonging.

I also considered how musicians were positioned in relation to audiences and markets. Tracking affiliations/alliances enables consideration of how music and musicians are oriented (e.g., how musicians pursue particular orientations in their careers, to whom they are connected, and how they conceptualize their audience[s]). These orientations shape perceptions of musical legitimacy and authority. Consideration of alliances supported analysis of whether particular narratives/associations/affiliations were privileged in representations of Canadian music and musicians. In practical terms, my analysis tracked use of social media in relation to foreign audiences, tour locations, diasporic connections (e.g., the countries and communities in which interpersonal and musical connections were actively maintained and/or sought), and affiliations with particular groups (e.g., bands, organizations, scenes). Based on these details, musicians were categorized according to their relationship to local–global markets and mainstream–indie scenes.

7. *STRUCTURE AND CONTENT*

The structure and content section of the template subdivides into three parts: general format, questions, and discourse. The purpose of the "general format" section was to trace the ways in which information and musical content were presented in order to identify patterns and meaningful departures in form. Similar to the categories described above, I used sentence fragments to prompt

consideration of how episodes began,[56] the order in which songs were

performed,[57] topics covered in conversation,[58] episode conclusions,[59] and

markers of form included in the program logs.

I also considered the questions that were posed within episodes of *Fuse.*

The purpose of this part of my analysis relates to authority, sonic dominance, and

format. I identified all of the questions, categorizing them according to the topics

they engaged: did questions prompt commentary about song meanings and

motivations for performance? Focus on elaborating the collaborative process? Or

did they initiate conversations about biographies or reception (see Appendix E

for a list of codes)? As well as serving as a guide to content, this detailed coding

enabled comparison of the *types* of questions asked of each performer: Were

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[56] Pegley's analysis of MuchMusic and MTV content considers the presence of voiceover introductions, noting that "one of the important functions VJs serve is to anchor the fast and rapidly changing visuals through their consistent, familiar image" (2008:115). In tracking voiceover introductions, Pegley's purpose was to identify patterns in the presence and absence of visualizations of the VJ. I was aware of a similar usage on *Fuse*: voiceovers anchor listener understandings of the musicians by presenting "unfused" sounds and descriptions of the performers. My purpose in tracking episode introductions, however, was more focused on understanding changing patterns of curation over *Fuse*'s four seasons (see Chapter 5 for discussion of voiceovers).

[57] I also noted who selected the songs, and the function of the song selections (e.g., to introduce the "unfused" sound, to promote new material, to reference musical/personal influences, or to present an experiment in collaboration). The functions noted in this stage of the analysis were developed into the "Function" variable in the Overview Analysis.

[58] The purpose of this prompt was identification of patterns in the content presented on *Fuse*, also enabling recognition of atypical topics and whether departures from the usual "script" were meaningful (e.g., do alterations signal an ongoing change in format, or reference distinctions in the authority and/or abilities of particular individuals featured on-air?).

[59] This prompt focused attention not only on how episodes ended, but on how they were framed. What music was used in the playout? Was that music clearly associated with a particular performer or was it generic? Did host comments relate back to the introduction or further elaborate the purpose of *Fuse* (i.e., what metaphors were used to explain the premise of the show)? Were future episodes of *Fuse* referenced, and if so, how were performers contextualized?

particular musicians questioned more intensively? Were certain topics only broached with particular musicians? In other words, it mattered if conversations with one musician focused on the weather, but if questions posed to another musician were about narrating the Canadian music scene. Distinctions and discrepancies in questioning suggested possible curatorial biases and/or omissions in content. Comparison of the types of questions directed at the musicians also enabled a more nuanced reading of sonic relationships. For example, if both musicians were asked a similar number of questions on analogous topics but there were notable discrepancies in the amount of talk time allotted to the musicians, then distinctions in talk time may have been more indicative of musician personalities than curatorial bias—alternatively, the imbalance could point to edits in the broadcast content.

Finally, I also considered the verbal content of episodes (i.e., what was said by musicians and hosts). Of particular interest were statements that: (1) identified inclusions (e.g., use of descriptors like "Canadian," "classic," "legend," "icon," "normal"); (2) assumed audience ignorance of a particular topic/thing/person, resulting in provision of extra definition; (3) assumed audience familiarity with a particular topic/thing/person, resulting in the omission of any sort of definition/explanation; (4) provided definitions of fusion/fusing/fuse; (5) accessed established discourses relating to diversity and multiculturalism (see Chapter 5 and 7); and (6) were obviously discriminatory,

irreverent, or celebratory. In broad strokes, this portion of my analysis attempted

to pinpoint what understanding of Canada's social reality was being privileged in

Fuse broadcasts by interrogating normalized statements, omissions, intertextual

references, and approaches to humour.

2.2.1.2   Overview Analysis

Taken together, the components of the In-depth Studies template facilitated analysis of

individual episodes of *Fuse* as microcosmic discursive formations, with words and music

combining with patterns of voicing, referenced networks, and approaches to mediation

to communicate about the norms and assumptions that shape perceptions of belonging

and marginality (see Chapters 4–7 for discussion). While the procedures outlined above

attempted to deconstruct these discourses through attention to actor relationships

(including varied configurations of musicians, broadcasters, and audiences), patterns in

content and voicing, approaches to narrative, as well as the themes engaged in verbal

exchanges, the richness of these details inhibited a wider view of the series and its

trends. To support a better understanding of *Fuse* as a multipart entity, I developed a

nine-part analytical tool ("Overview Analysis") with the specific intention of providing

context for the In-depth Studies and of lending weight to my assertions about patterns

of representation, bias, and forms of curation. The sections of this tool accounted for:

(1) details of production and broadcast; (2) host introductions; (3) voiceover

introductions and playouts; (4) musician relationships; (5) musician identities; (6)

musical content; (7) episode form; (8) promotional materials; and (9) miscellaneous trends and biases.

In addition to supporting deep engagement with content and furnishing the plethora of examples that are the basis of much of the discussion in this dissertation, my In-depth Studies were foundational to the form and coding principles applied in the Overview Analysis. In some cases, sections of the Overview Analysis parallel those of the In-depth Studies template. Both tools, for example, track the ordering of events in episodes, seeking to identify patterns in the flow of topics and voices, and meaningful deviations from those patterns. But while the In-depth Studies template prompts attention to the micro-details of individual episodes, the Overview Analysis is more reductive, considering major formal markers and tracking patterns across the entire series. Importantly, the Overview Analysis also elaborates "gaps" in the In-depth Analysis. In particular, the Overview Analysis prompts a standardized approach to recording details about musician biographies and citation practices that, because of discrepancies in content from episode to episode, the In-depth Studies cannot accommodate.

Whenever possible, I derived my analytical language from concepts introduced in the series itself. The "Episode Comments" section of the In-depth Studies, for example, prompts attention to the metaphors used to describe the process of "fusing." I developed the resulting prose descriptions into a classification system that could then be applied across the entire series in the Overview Analysis (see Appendix E,

"Introductions" section). Similarly, in their discussion of collaboration and "fusing,"

Owen Pallett and Rollie Pemberton talked about "playing it safe" to describe situations

in which musicians try to fit into a performance without disrupting the original version of

a song (see glossary in Appendix D for further information about these and other *Fuse*

musicians referenced). They labelled situations in which songs were altered in

meaningful ways through the interventions of another performer "remixing" (episode 3-

18). These definitions (with some elaboration) have made their way into the spectrum of

classifications I've developed to describe the ways in which musicians engage the notion

of collaboration through musicking. This two pronged approach—of In-depth Studies

and Overview Analysis—balances the need for deep engagement with content with

pragmatism about how to manage (in the context of a qualitative study) a massive

amount of data, while maintaining a degree of perspective on the big issues that

characterized the series.

     The following summary describes each section of the Overview Analysis, focusing

on purpose and theoretical prerogatives, while also elaborating connections to my In-

depth Studies template. An example of this template, including lists of variables and

their definitions, is available in Appendix E.

1. **BROADCAST**

     This section of the template served an identification purpose, quite similar to the

"General Information" section of the In-depth Studies template. It tracked details

relating to production (total number of broadcasts; recording location;

production personnel), production partnerships (e.g., with venues, festivals, other branches of the CBC), and audience size. It also identified the total number of broadcasts on Radio One and 2, episodes for which recordings were unavailable, and episodes for which In-depth Studies were completed.

2. **INTRODUCTIONS**

Host introductions[60] were fruitful sites for analysing how musicians were framed, how broadcaster objectives were communicated, and how notions of "fusing" were elaborated. The "fuse metaphor" prompt from the In-depth Studies template explores how "fusing" was defined in specific episodes. The introductions table broadened my gaze, enabling consideration of how metaphors developed/were refined over the entire series. My approach involved transcribing the host introduction for each episode and classifying content according to variables that accounted for definitions, musician relationships, descriptions of performers, and engagement with the audience (see Appendix E for a full list of variables).

Each episode began with some sort of attempt to define the purpose of the broadcast (e.g., a definition of what it means "to fuse"). The "fuse definition" variable tracked differing enunciations of process and intention in an effort to understand the spectrum of approaches followed and the lack of definitional specificity in application of the term "to fuse" across the series (categories

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[60] Host introductions are distinct from the voiceover introductions that frequently framed episodes of *Fuse* and that Pegley described as having an "anchoring function" (2008:115).

included "chemical,"[61] "future-oriented,"[62] "combination,"[63] "pop culture,"[64] and

"cover/reinterpretation[65]). My purpose, here, was to bring my findings into

dialogue with the existing literature on hybridity, interculturalism, and

collaboration. Consideration extended to which episodes involved descriptions of

the studio as a space of encounter that is somehow separate from the outside

world (cf. Kun 2005; Stanyek 2004), and episodes in which the stated goal of

collaboration is a musically novel outcome (cf. Bhabha 1994; Stross 1999;

Samuels 1999; Draisey-Collishaw 2012).

The next two variables—"fuse type" and "relationship type"—were

related, accounting for how the musicians were positioned *vis à vis* each other,

both in their initial pairing and on-air. The "fuse type" variable recorded the

terms under which the featured musicians were paired. Were the musicians put

together based on perceived similarity (i.e., a combination of songwriters) or

difference (i.e., a combination of world musics)? Were differences defined in

terms of style/genre, geography, instruments/voices, or generation? Because the

In-depth Studies appeared to over-represent singer-songwriters, I labelled

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[61] Implies some sort of change of state triggered through combination of elements. Includes culinary references, recipes, ignition, fire, sparks.
[62] Implies reproductive potential through combination of proximate individuals/groups. Includes references to matchmaking, marriage, family.
[63] Implies co-presence of fundamentally different objects in a fixed time/space without commentary suggesting a permanent change of state or ongoing process that continues outside of the "fuse space" (e.g., blending, mash up). Descriptions reference difference, representation, balance, bridging, etc.
[64] Metaphors from cinema, literature, television, etc., used to describe fuse concept.
[65] Implies relationship with a non-present partner, often with connotations of homage.

episodes that featured singer-songwriters or that specifically named the musicians as "Canadian" singer-songwriters in order to determine if this over-representation was real or a coincidence of my sampling. "Relationship type," by contrast, was about how the musicians appeared on-air. Were they posed as peers? In a mentorship relationship? Or was their appearance on *Fuse* simply a promotional opportunity that had little to do with the relationality of performers or the potential for a musically novel outcome?

The introduction and closing credits were the main points at which audiences were addressed by the host. The purpose of the "audience address type" variable was to track how conceptualization of the audience changed throughout the series. Was the primary form of address to the live audience? A local/regional audience? A national audience? Or, an international audience? How was the relationship between the live and listening audience articulated? I coded audience address using the same set of criteria as elaborated in the In-depth Studies template, as well as noting whether the audience was described as regional, national, or international, or as present or at home. I also included a "live audience essential" variable. This yes/no variable tracked whether the host introduced the live audience as an essential part of the fuse process (see Stanyek [2004] on the significance of co-presence).

3. FORMAT

This section of the template is closely related to the "Introductions" section of the Overview Analysis, and roughly parallels the "General Format" section of the In-depth Studies template. It tracked how the episodes were framed musically and verbally, and the sonic continuities that existed throughout both individual episodes and between broadcasts in the series. I included variables that tracked the presence of discretionary warnings on content (i.e., challenging to assumed listener sensibilities); the presence and function of voiceover introductions; recurrences of music from the introduction; and the music used for the episode playout. Cumulatively, these variables contributed to understanding which voices were privileged in particular episodes through repetition and variation, or, conversely, were marginalized by being marked as extra-normative.

While it was quite rare for episodes to include discretionary warnings or bleeped-out content, explicit indications of censorship were useful for exploring behaviours and topics considered by the broadcaster and/or regulator to be extra-normative and/or deviant. In Becker's classic study of dance musicians, "deviance" is defined as a label for individuals and behaviours that fall outside the bounds of conventionality (1963:79). Foucault's elaboration of discourse offers further insight into the ways in which deviance comes to be perceived. He explains that discourse is mastered (i.e., its power directed) through strategies of exclusion (1981:52); its power exists in the capacity to delegitimize alternative

perspectives. Thus "truth" spoken from a position of "wild exteriority" is negated: it is only possible to be "in the true" if one speaks from within the discursive construct (Foucault 1981:61). In other words, the authority of a discursive formation rests on the construction of ideological binaries in which normal and deviant are cast in absolute terms.

4. **MUSICIAN RELATIONSHIP**

The purpose of this section was to help me to understand the nature of the relationships between the featured musicians and motivations behind their presence on the show. This portion of the template expanded on details recorded in the "Introductions" section, incorporating particulars about rationale for appearance on *Fuse* (like the "General Information" section of the In-depth Studies template).

The "musician relationship" variable (one of five variables employed in this section) considered the nature of the musicians' relationships previous to their appearance on *Fuse* (e.g., did they meet at a folk festival or awards show? Are they family members, friends, or colleagues? Or, was there no relationship at all?), and identifies episodes in which specific plans for future working relationships are discussed.[66] Instances where I am aware of an ongoing relationship between the musicians are noted regardless of whether it was

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[66] I did not include examples in which polite affirmatives are voiced: instances in which the host says something along the lines of "we hope to hear the two of you together in the future," and one—or both— of the musicians replied with a non-committal "yes" or "for sure." I do, however, track when specific plans to record a particular song together are declared, or when a future touring schedule is described in detail.

mentioned on-air. The purpose of tracking these details was to enable a more

considered assessment of the abilities of the performers to work together on-air.

I also recorded whether the musicians were framed as fundamentally

similar or different. My decision to track this information came in the wake of

completing the In-depth Studies. I noticed that musicians were often described

as coming from very different genres, styles, scenes, or places but that their

music was, in many cases, quite similar. My purpose with this variable, then, was

to support discussion of the ways in which musical difference was real or

discursively constructed. "Similarity" referred to comments that posed the

musicians as coming from similar stylistic/genre/aesthetic orientations.

"Difference" referred to descriptions that polarized the musicians through

references to genre (or avoidance of genre commentary), place, and/or voice.

The descriptor, "neutral," is applied to episodes in which musicians were not

compared by the host.

5. **MUSICIANS**

This section of the template focused on musician biographies—both personal

and musical—as portrayed on *Fuse*, but also in online representations and in the

responses of musicians to an online questionnaire (see Appendix F). I coded

names, band affiliations, and roles on *Fuse* (i.e., feature performer or backing

musician). I also compiled a detailed demographic profile for the musicians that

relied on categories and variables derived from the 2006 Census and 2011

National Household survey to categorize genders, races, and religions.

Some of the other variables tracked were based on the available dataset

rather than a pre-existing model. For example, I tracked the languages spoken by

musicians, but focused on fluency in English and French because of the

politicized nature of language in Canada and almost complete segregation of

English and French at the CBC. I also attempted to track the accents of speakers,

using my "home" southwestern-Ontario accent as a point of departure.

Perception of accent relies on listener positionality and is in no way absolute, but

it does acknowledge the variety of information that is provided to listeners in the

form of audible non-verbal cues.[67]

My coding, particularly in this portion of the analysis, should not be

interpreted in absolute terms. Even in their incompleteness, however, these are

important variables because they begin to enable consideration of assumptions

about normativity in the narration of Canadian identity(s). In a number of

instances, my coding relied on assumptions and implied information. Inferences

were drawn based on lifestyle commentary (e.g., musicians who mentioned

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[67] My analysis of accents is informed by my current circumstances and would have been impossible for me to complete even five years ago. Though I grew up in southwestern Ontario, I now live in Dublin, Ireland where the speech patterns and accents that surround me on a daily basis differ significantly from my own. Living in this context has enabled me to hear my own speech as accented, but has also sensitized me to the non-lexical information that is gleaned from close listening. Details of origins—country certainly, but also counties and even neighbourhoods—are often accessible, and with this, a list of other assumptions (ranging from socio-economic circumstances and education to patterns of migration) drift into view.

opposite sex partners and children were labelled as heterosexual, and musicians who described learning to sing through church hymns were labelled as having a Christian upbringing).

Assertion of nationality was one of the more problematic aspects of identity that I tracked. My approach was informed by Pegley's coding of nationality (2008:118–9), which begins with the premise that a musician's place of birth is indicative of nationality, but recognizes that artists change countries and citizenships. They also change countries but keep citizenships. And still others claim multiple national affiliations. *Fuse* was variously introduced as a program about *Canadian* singer-songwriters, or a weekly mashup of *Canadian* talent; the possibility of imagining performers as other than some version of Canadian, in other words, was curtailed through the broadcaster's approach to curating performances.[68] When no counter information was available, I assumed that audiences interpreted the musicians as being Canadian; Pegley, similarly, explains that artists viewed in the American media, unless specifically named as otherwise, are assumed to be American by American audiences. Further reinforcing perceptions of Canadian nationality, many of the musicians featured on *Fuse* were signed to independent Canadian labels and mentioned in

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[68] Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that most of the performers featured on *Fuse* had some sort of official status in Canada, either as a citizen or resident. While many bars, venues, etc., may allow for informal approaches to payment, performance at the CBC is closely monitored by the Musicians' Union (AFM) and payment is made through formal mechanisms (i.e., musicians must have SIN numbers or appropriate visas).

conjunction with specifically Canadian music awards (e.g., the Junos and the

Polaris prize).

Nationality categorizations (e.g., Canadian,[69] hyphenated Canadian,[70]

American-Canadian,[71] multiple,[72] French Canadian,[73] ex-pat,[74] and non-

national[75]) were derived based on patterns noted in the In-depth Studies. In

particular, I was aware that while some musicians were introduced simply as

"Canadian," others had qualifiers attached to their names. Despite sometimes

nebulous distinctions, the importance of this coding was that it supported

consideration of the disruptions, inclusions, and qualifications on claims to

citizenship. That is, it enabled me to ask: who epitomizes Canadian identity? Who

is silently included without reference to origins? Who are the people who claim

Canadian identity but who are represented as more cosmopolitan through

reference to extra-Canadian affiliations?[76]

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[69] Unqualified statement of Canadian nationality.

[70] Canadian, but connections to diasporic communities and/or other nationalities are referenced (e.g., Italian-Canadian, Guyanese-Canadian). Hyphenated identities were usually associated with being a new or first generation Canadian, or referenced an affiliation with an established heritage community.

[71] A subcategory of hyphenated Canadian, specifically acknowledging the relationship of the Canadian music industry to the border (Berland 2009).

[72] This coding, similar to the "Home/Cosmopolitan" coding used in the In-depth Studies, was applied to individuals who referenced transnational circumstances, including affiliations/homes within multiple nation states.

[73] Canadians who qualified their nationality through reference to belonging within a particular linguistic community (N.B., this category does not differentiate between particular French speaking communities within Canada).

[74] Individuals who claimed Canadian nationality, but who lived outside of Canada.

[75] Individuals who were not citizens or residents of Canada.

[76] See Chapter 3 for discussion of the multivalent meanings of cosmopolitanism.

I also considered facets of biographies that were more specific to the

performing lives of musicians. In addition to coding for musician alliances and

authenticating strategies (e.g., musician families, awards won, networks of

influence), I tracked whether musicians were identified as singer-songwriters, the

instrument/voice type of performers, the genre notated on the CBC music

website, and my own genre assessment. As Pegley (1999) rightly points out,

genre is an endlessly problematic categorization that is in a constant state of

(re)negotiation. *Fuse*, as the title evocatively suggests, is about the merging of

disparate styles, sounds, and genres. It is about play with boundaries and

renegotiation of understood labels. As problematic as genre may be, there are

commonalities and differences marking performances on *Fuse* that are best—

though imperfectly—addressed through an attempt to categorize genre. Pegley

describes starting with a detailed list of genre categories, but conceding, for the

sake of reaching statistically significant conclusions, that specificity would have

to be sacrificed for the sake of tracking larger trends (1999:9). After initially

compiling an expansive list of genres, I took this advice to heart and derived

categories based on her system and the specifics of my data. Codings included:

uncategorized,[77] singer-songwriter,[78] alternative,[79] pop/rock,[80] rap,[81] rock,[82]

folk/roots,[83] world,[84] other,[85] backing musician,[86] western classical music, and

classical crossover.[87]

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[77] Used to reference musicians for whom archival recordings were unavailable.

[78] Primarily performs his/her own music, usually a solo act, sings with accompaniment of a single instrument (usually piano or guitar).

[79] Pegley defines this category as "a wide-ranging post-punk category, characterized by more abrasive guitar timbres" (1999:9). Lyrics are often socially critical and/or introspective. While Pegley focuses on non-lyric content, my approach to this category also considered the ways in which the musician is positioned in relation to the mainstream (i.e., multinational labels, commercial radio play, and awards).

[80] Pegley describes this category as "characterized by tuneful, singable melodies, and 'lighter' instrumental timbres, it is usually production-heavy" (1999:10).

[81] In Pegley's version rap is "interchangeable with 'hip hop,' rap is a declaimed, text-heavy genre" (1999:10). Unlike her definition, which specifically takes into account use of electronics, my categorization also includes performances that are based on poetic recitation with or without heavy electronic mediation (e.g., slam poetry). This distinction is based both on the musicians in my sample and realities of live low-budget performance that limit use of electronics.

[82] This genre "evolved from the blues, it is characterized by electric guitars, bass, drums (and sometimes keyboards)" (Pegley 1999:10).

[83] A catch all category that includes music based on early American popular musics (e.g., blues, country, bluegrass). Because the initial result of casting such a wide net was an extreme concentration of musicians within this single genre, I revised this category into three sometimes overlapping subcategories (i.e., "trad," "folk/country," and "urban"). "Folk/Roots" remains a catchall, usually referring to "guys with guitars" who are performing in a style that resists close categorization but that is rooted in urban and rural twentieth-century American genres. Performers in this catchall often are quite virtuosic on their instruments, have experience as session musicians, and are comfortable improvising within broadly western popular scales and forms. "Trad" refers to usually instrumental circum-Atlantic dance music traditions, frequently featuring instruments such as fiddle, accordion, banjo, acoustic guitar, and piano. "Folk/country" refers to folk song and newly composed ballades, sometimes performed *a capella*, but also accompanied by guitar, bass, organ, and percussion (e.g., ballad groups, country, bluegrass, old time). "Urban" refers to blues, R&B, soul, and jazz, genres that, though traceable to rural performance contexts, are more closely associated with developments in urban contexts (cf., Wilgus 1971).

[84] Characterized by use of non-western instruments, harmonies, and rhythms. This is a catchall category, more reflective of the need to achieve statistical significance in the results than representative of real distinctions in style, timbre, and aesthetics.

[85] A catchall for everything else.

[86] This category is used to identify musicians who have supporting roles, but who are not necessarily part of a named ensemble.

[87] This is a subcategory of western classical, demonstrating traits of form, harmony, structure, and studied virtuosity associated with western classical music, but incorporating the styles and harmonic language of popular genres.

6. *MUSIC*

This section of the Overview Analysis template focused on the music performed
on *Fuse* in order to understand the general principles of format followed in the
series and to identify patterns in the approaches to collaboration taken by the
musicians. Though the vast majority of music broadcast as part of this series is
included in my analysis (556 tracks, though there is some overlap with re-
broadcasts of a select number of songs in "best of" episodes), my treatment of
the music, by necessity, varies in depth. Program logs provided me with a listing
of the music broadcast on *Fuse* (the logs include CRTC clearances according to
the MAPL system[88]). This means that while I have a complete (and for the most
part accurate[89]) listing of the songs, musicians, and voicings for each
performance, I do not necessarily have access to recordings and so cannot
analyse function or form beyond inferences based on patterns that show up in
other episodes. The music from episodes for which I've completed In-depth
Studies, in contrast, is much more fully coded. Music from episodes included only
in the Overview Analysis exists between these two polarities: I listened to

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[88] MAPL, an acronym meaning "music," "artist," "performance," and "lyrics," is a series of criteria defined
in the CRTC's radio regulations for identifying whether a song qualifies as Canadian. With certain
exceptions, songs are considered Canadian if they fulfill the requirements of two of these four categories.
For a detailed description of these criteria see CRTC (2009).

[89] There were occasional discrepancies between the described content in the logs and actual broadcast
content. These discrepancies usually took the form of extra songs listed in the logs. Most likely these were
songs that were recorded but edited out of the broadcast version. Indeed, episode 3-22 is a compilation of
outtakes from the preceding season.

confirm order of songs and general approach to collaboration on the episodes

but did not delve into the same depth of musical analysis.

My approach to coding the songs included notating order of

performance, title, composer, arranger, third person references (e.g., to the

original performer of a song), function (i.e., purpose the song fulfills in the

episode), type (i.e., form and content of the song), voicing, and whether the host

labelled the song as a "fuse" example. I also attempted to define an overall

approach to collaboration (performer/helper,[90] duo,[91] icon performer,[92]

expanded backing band,[93] experimental,[94] jam,[95] lack of collaboration[96]). This

final variable, unlike the others, had an overview purpose, referring to episodes

as wholes rather than to the specifics of their parts.

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[90] Indicates a relatively equal "exchange of services" with each musician taking turns as lead and backing. This approach was quite typical of episodes that featured two singer-songwriters with varied levels of experience (i.e., a young/new musician and an established performer).

[91] Collaboration conceptualized as performing existing repertoire in duo form and/or providing backing on each other's music. Similar to "Performer/helper" except with a less hierarchical division of labour. This approach was most typical of pairings that featured two musicians with similar levels of performing experience.

[92] The focus of the show was on performance by a particular individual/group who was identified as having special status. These episodes usually involved minimal levels of collaborative performance and/or one band functioning as the backing resources.

[93] Similar to "Icon Performer," but without the identification of one musician as iconic. This approach to collaboration often involved performers who were experienced session musicians and/or instrumental virtuosos.

[94] Significant emphasis placed on experimentation with form and/or technique.

[95] Emphasis on improvisatory forms.

[96] This categorization indicates minimal perceptible interaction between performers and was only applied to episodes in which "supporting" musicians were consistently off-mic or there was obvious resistance to interaction between the musicians.

7. **BLOCKS**

This section of the analysis was based on markers of form found in fourteen program logs. The partial scripts included in the logs for these episodes divided the broadcasts into four (or five) sections of approximately equal length based on the focus of conversation elements and musical content. These "blocks" were labelled "Introduction," "Background/Influences," "Development," and "Collaboration." While only a small number of the program logs included such detailed descriptors, I extended use of these formal markers to the entire series based on similarities in musical content and focus of questioning (e.g., cover songs that marked "influences" and were contextualized with discussion of musician influences/background are typical of block 2).

Episodes that followed atypical formats were also identified, enabling consideration of the motivations for breaking formal conventions: were there particular characteristics associated with the music and musicians featured on these atypical episodes? In most cases, atypical formats correlated with episodes featuring performers whose styles, genres, and traditions resisted a format formula that privileged singer-songwriter/workshop conventions (e.g., see discussion of episode 3-20 featuring Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle in Chapter 6).

8. **ADVERTISEMENTS**

Many of the episodes ended with advertisements for upcoming episodes of *Fuse*. These advertisements tended to name the featured musicians and define some

aspect of genre and/or facet of identity. Analysis involved transcription of the advertisement, and coding the type of fuse definition, pairing, and description(s) of the musicians. I also noted any peculiarities in the ways that episodes were framed (e.g., was the episode pushed as exemplary of multiculturalism? Were the musicians described as household names? Were any of the musicians named as icons? Were regional affiliations highlighted?). The purpose of tracking this information, similar to analysing the introductions for each episode, was to understand how listeners were encouraged to hear the musicians, including how the terms of their convergence was framed, how they were positioned relative to existing networks and genres, and whether their presence on *Fuse* was intended to access particular tropes of Canadianness.

9. **MISCELLANEOUS**

The purpose of this final section was to track miscellaneous details relating to the themes and trends identified in the In-depth Studies in order to determine whether my observations were accurate to the series as a whole or just sampling-based anomalies. Themes tracked included: references to the Beatles (early in the series, the host claimed that musicians "always" cite the Beatles as influences); who was granted the authority to narrate the history of particular scenes; references to and assumptions about systems of belief; and commentary about gender norms. The purpose of tracking these details was to try to

deconstruct the people, the influences, and the attitudes that were

assumed/normalized as inherently Canadian.

2.3 GETTING TO KNOW THE MUSICIANS: ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION, REFLECTION, AND CURATION

I began this chapter by describing methodological models that suggest the necessity of

shifting focus to account for field sites that refuse to be bound to a singular locale (cf.

Marcus 1995; Yanow 2011). A study of radio, moreover, must account for the nature of

communication, a process that resists being understood in linear terms and that is,

perhaps, better conceptualized as the product of interactions between sociohistorical

conditions, artifacts, and the circumstances of production and reception (Conway 2011;

cf. Hall 1980). Pegley's ethnographically grounded content analysis, I suggested,

provides an approach that encourages the researcher to look beyond the content of

broadcasts to the circumstances that both anchor and give flight to meaning. In the final

pages of this chapter, I continue my discussion of assertions of musician identities and

patterns of representation—elements addressed in the content analysis procedures

detailed in the previous section—describing how I explored contextual details garnered

from a variety of sources to help ground my analysis.

Understanding musician representation is at the heart of this study, but

potentially is the most problematic aspect of my research; indeed, I remain wary of

exploring personal characteristics in the absolute terms required for demographic

analysis. Time and again I questioned myself: does the gender of a performer matter?

What about sexuality? Nationality? Race? Marital status? Age? Hometown? From my

perspective as a performer, I am often reluctant to provide audiences with a detailed

account of my background, at least partially because I don't understand my own

biography as relevant to their interpretation of the music that I perform.

Pegley (2008) includes "gender of performer" and "race of performer" in her

approach to content analysis, but, like me, notes her ambivalence about coding such

unstable characteristics:

> I attempted to problematize essentialist racial markers. Yet I am
> compelled to evoke them in my analysis as "white" and "black" skin
> color often delineated programming patterns—which, in turn,
> distinguish musics at the center of power from those at the margins.
> As I demonstrated … those categories are not only used but reinforced
> in sometimes (deceptively) unproblematic ways that reinscribe
> relations of power. (118)

My initial probing of *Fuse* content through the In-depth Studies was revealing of the

ways in which representation was managed by the broadcaster: in episode 3-20, for

example, Joel Plaskett and Rollie Pemberton subverted the host's narration of their

identities by pointing out mistakes in information or bluntly contradicting him (I discuss

this example in detail in Chapter 6). In other cases, silences were overpowering. Episode

3-15 featured Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine, musicians who actively define

themselves in relation to sexual identities but whose sexualities were masked on *Fuse*

through omissions in the broadcast narration. While descriptions of Pope marked her as

a transgressive figure,[97] there was complete silence on Hunter Valentine's status as up-and-coming queer culture icons (see Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of this episode). This is all to say that there are some important questions to be asked about broadcaster reliability and authority when it comes to narrating the lives of musicians. Like Pegley, I was forced to concede that these negotiated assertions of identity do matter, particularly when they are variously deployed or hidden to serve not-always-apparent agendas.

Throughout this description of my methodology, I've stressed that Pegley's model of analysis cannot be mine: she dealt with content that was both audible and visible, while my study is of an auditory medium. Though this distinction is accurate, the situation is more complex—particularly when it comes to musician representation. *Fuse* existed at the edge of the age of convergence—a moment in media history during which previously independent mediums came together. Production from this point forward has emphasized multiplatform broadcasting in which audio, visual, and interactive media coexist: in an oft-repeated refrain, managers and producers explained that the CBC went from being a broadcaster to being a "content factory" during the first decade of the twenty-first century.[98] *Fuse* teetered on this cusp, with hosts directing listeners to

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[97] At the beginning of the episode, Alan Neal states, "I've been listening all day as [Carole Pope] rehearsed with three young ladies who are writing their own hard rocking tunes twenty-seven years after *High School Confidential* was recorded. A warning to the teacher in question if you're out there: it's probably not going to be an 'entirely appropriate' episode for you to hear" (Episode 3-15).

[98] This is a reference to changing approaches to production. Formerly production focused on making radio or television programs; medium was intimately tied up in the ways that content was conceptualized and created. Being a "content factory" references a change in emphasis; content is less medium-specific.

the series' website where photos of recording sessions could be viewed, and CBC Radio 3 became a portal for blogging about recent episodes and accessing podcast versions of *Fuse*. A few video clips of *Fuse* even made it onto YouTube. So yes, *Fuse*, was a radio show, but it is perhaps overly simplistic to look at it as an audible-only medium.[99]

Awareness of this slippage between the audible and the visible is particularly important when considering musician representation. Musicians aren't only disembodied voices whose assertions of identity and physical appearance may be selectively narrated by the broadcaster and freely imagined by listeners: those voices are often accompanied by images accessible through traditional media (e.g., magazines, television), the internet, and, by 2008, via smartphones. With this flow of information in mind, biographical details about musicians were obtained through a combination of online sources: the CBC Music website (music.cbc.ca), artist and label websites, Wikipedia articles, and fan sites were starting points. As I was most interested in popular understandings of the featured musicians, the rigor and reliability of sources was less important: these sites were probable first stops for audience members seeking out information beyond that included in broadcasts. And, as Pegley points out, "Usually, unofficial sites contained the most useful information; artists' racial identifications are

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Indeed, producers are encouraged to consider the ways in which the same content can be reimagined across a variety of platforms.

[99] In the course of my research, I did come into contact with some of the blogs, videos, and photos that made it online. The necessity of placing limits on the scope of this study, however, generally limited my engagement with these "extra-audible" sources.

occasionally changed by recording companies in the 'official' pages according to shifts in marketing strategies" (Pegley 2008:118).

The same basic information was sought for all of the musicians who appeared on *Fuse*, but, in my final analysis, these details were weighted: the 177 musicians who were featured performers and/or speakers became my primary focus ("leads"). The decision to privilege this group served two purposes. First was pragmatic necessity: information about backing musicians often was not readily available and, in any case, accessing detailed biographies for the 351 musicians who appeared on *Fuse* was a rather monumental task. Second, and more important given that my intention was analysis of on-air representations, compiling profiles for unseen musicians who did not speak and whose musical contributions frequently went unnamed was simply less important.[100]

I also solicited biographical information from the musicians themselves. Soloists and band leaders were contacted via email with a request to fill out an online questionnaire (see Appendix F). I requested feedback on hometowns and current residences, nationality, age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity/race, religion, and languages spoken, as well as asking questions about motivations, preparations, and reactions to the experience of performing on *Fuse*. The categories and labels used as the basis of the musician questionnaire were derived from the 2006 Census of Canada, which, given the

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[100] In episodes featuring bands, there tended to be one or two appointed spokesperson(s) for each group. Other members of the ensemble were listed in the opening and closing credits but typically not directly addressed during the rest of the broadcast. Depending on whether particular instruments or voices were doubled in the ensemble, or whether the musicians were multi-instrumentalists, identifying how each musician contributed to performances was, at best, problematic. For some episodes it was impossible.

time period of *Fuse*'s production, is the most extensive source of comparative data about regional and national demographic trends available.[101] These categorizations, while imperfect, were based on the self-reporting of Canadians and attempts of analysts to represent those reports in statistically significant ways. Though I did expand the 2006 Census categories in dialogue with the results of the In-depth Studies and the theoretical prerogatives of this dissertation (see Chapter 7; Appendix F), whenever possible I attempted to use existing categories for the sake of producing data that could be compared with more general demographic trends.

In attempting to account for all of these sources of information about the same musicians and inevitable conflicts in data, I privileged the self-reporting of musicians. I followed one exception to this general principle: questionnaire responses were taken as secondary only if they directly contradicted the narration of identity featured in a *Fuse* broadcast. My rationale for privileging information transmitted in a broadcast over biographical details provided by the musician him/herself was two-fold: (1) narratives transmitted in broadcasts have a greater influence on general audience understandings of the musician than data provided in a private exchange with me; and (2) the ways in which individuals choose to represent themselves change over time.[102] *Fuse* was

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[101] In 2010, the Conservative-led federal government cancelled the mandatory long-form census. Under the leadership of the newly elected Liberal government, the long-form census was reinstated in 2016 with results scheduled for release beginning in February 2017—too late to inform the analysis presented in this dissertation. For the purposes of this study, in other words, the 2006 Census is the most recent and reliable source of data about the population of Canada. Because it is a constitutionally mandated data collection tool, the census is universally distributed and response rates are exceptionally high.

[102] One musician, for example, self-identified as black on-air, but when surveyed several years later, self-identified as white.

recorded, in some cases, more than ten years before I asked musicians to provide details

relating to their biographies and experiences, increasing the likelihood that at least some

of the performers had experienced major changes in opinion, life circumstances, and

promotional priorities.

A number of the musicians who responded to my questionnaire mentioned the

challenge of recalling the details of a performance that occurred a decade ago. For this

reason—along with the necessity of placing limits on the scope of a project that had

already mushroomed in other directions—I opted not to pursue my original plan of

following up questionnaires with interviews of a select number of performers who had

featured on *Fuse*.[103] While musicians are active participants in constructing and

contesting the discourses that surround them and their music, the focus of this study

increasingly became the role of the broadcaster in arranging voices and narrating

meanings. In the context of *Fuse*, the producer had editorial control over content,

ultimately deciding which songs and conversations from a two-hour-long live

performance "fit" in a one-hour broadcast cut. The broadcaster, in other words, held

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[103] I did, however, interview Casey Mecija, the former lead singer of Ohbijou, in September 2015. Mecija's farewell blog when Ohbijou went on hiatus, published interviews, and certain subsequent projects have involved reflection upon what it means to be a performer in multicultural Canada. Given the focus of my research, I felt it was important to make an exception to the general parameters of my study. I also corresponded via email with two other musicians: Al Tuck and Curtis Andrews. My correspondence with Tuck had little to with any particular congruency of interests relevant to my research; he was my neighbour's houseguest, which provided an opportunity for some informal discussion of his appearance on *Fuse*. I contacted Andrews, one of the musicians featured on CBC Newfoundland's "Come By Concerts," to confirm his biographical details for inclusion in Draisey-Collishaw (forthcoming).

more authority as a curator of identities, relationships, and art, often making musician

intention almost incidental to the story being told here.[104]

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In the introduction to this dissertation I explained that this study is about unpacking a

particular phase and enactment of a policy process that has been disparately realized

since at least the 1970s. I suggested that fusion programming was a response to the

policy climate of the early twenty-first century, and, at the beginning of this chapter,

described the institutional context that further bolsters this claim. In terms of the

practicalities of communicating between upper level management and regional

producers, regional managers meet with senior management in Toronto about

priorities, receiving a list of measurable objectives to achieve in the coming year. Those

objectives are then brought back to the regions and distributed to the appropriate

producers to address through their programming. In annual programming reviews,

producers report back on how they addressed those objectives in terms of real

outcomes (Glen Tilley, interview, 7 August 2012; cf. Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20

September 2012; Wendy Bergfeldt, interview, 28 June 2012). But while regional offices

receive directives from the management in Toronto about programming and policy, they

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[104] Controversial voices that were present in the live performance could be cut from the broadcast versions (see Chapter 6), as could "rough" takes that weren't considered to be of a high enough performance standard. Even small cuts made for the sake of shaving necessary minutes off a performance had the potential to drastically implicate the frame of reference. Indeed, Alan Neal commented on hearing broadcast versions of performances he had hosted and thinking, "Wow, that was not the way I thought it was going to sound! And it's—that is just the kind of painful element of editing" (interview, 4 September 2016).

are rarely in direct contact with other regional offices. Managers and producers in Toronto, in other words, may not know about the specifics of production in St. John's. It's even more likely that personnel in St. John's are unaware of what's going on in Saskatoon. These structural blind spots are the basis of my suggestion that "fusion programming" arose in response to the policy climate at the CBC. That is, the fact of similarities in programming produced in varied locales across a geographically dispersed area by producers who did not have direct knowledge of parallel initiatives begs questions about why and how similar approaches to programming arose during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The next two chapters explore these questions. Chapter 3 has a mapping function, particularizing distinctions between regional and national programming, locating examples of fusion programming created at varied sites across Canada between 2000 and 2012, and describing characteristics that distinguish approaches to fusion programming. Chapter 4 adds dimension to this assessment of the CBC's purpose relative to national and regional audiences, elaborating characteristics of the varied media lines over which programming was disseminated, and touching on changes to programming models that were in process during the period of *Fuse*'s production. Cumulatively, these chapters are about exploring how context informs interpretation— about the ways in which information is encoded for audiences and what expectations, then, exist for its decoding.

Chapter 3

LOCATING *FUSE*: MAPPING FUSION PROGRAMMING IN CANADA

> We're in this business to tell the stories of Canadians so our natural
> inclination is to go after them from the most diverse possible numbers
> of sources. [… O]ften there's a temptation to [go to] the "usual
> suspects," people we're used to talking to, like white middle class
> males from central Canada. Frequent management reminders to do
> things differently over the last decade have helped us avoid that trap,
> for the most part. It also helps to have a widely dispersed work force
> across the nation, who, of course, are eager to showcase the voices of
> their own region. That's what makes the difference for the CBC. (Sean
> Prpick, email, 23 July 2012)

Initially this dissertation was meant to be about the intercultural negotiations that

happened on *Fuse*. When I contacted my regional CBC office—then St. John's, NL—

about the possibility of accessing archival recordings, the archivist did more than answer

my request. She asked about my research questions and contemplated the format and

distinguishing characteristics of *Fuse*. And then she sent me to one of the music

producers in St. John's with the suggestion that I hear her "Come By Concerts," a series

of locally produced concerts that are understandable as fusion programming. If

examples of fusion programming existed in St. John's, I wondered, did that mean that

other regions might have their own local variants? And if they did, what did that mean

about the CBC's systems, structures, and priorities? Was there a degree of uniformity in

the way that the CBC mobilized particular policy principles? Furthermore, what was the

nature of the cultural work intended by showcasing processes of collaboration?

This chapter presents a series of mini case studies that, when taken together, illustrate a systemic response to a particular mobilization of policy. By "systemic response," I mean that CBC-specific mechanisms (ranging from regional and departmental priorities to the availability of funding, partnership opportunities, and content quotas) intersected with ongoing external policy changes and demographic reconfigurations, supporting a particular elaboration of culture around understandings of multiculturalism. While these mini case studies ranged from concerts that were specifically local—oriented to live *in situ* performance—to big budget affairs intended for an undifferentiated national audience, I wanted to understand how experimentation, collaboration, and exchange were negotiated in variously defined musical scenes. Further, I ask in what ways these regional studies compare or contrast with *Fuse* as a nationally oriented program. As a body of programming, the examples of fusion programming described in this chapter provide a way into the not-always-readily-accessible systems of the CBC, prompting consideration of ways in which policy prerogatives travelled and the differing representational needs of a geographically dispersed listening population. In other words, in this chapter I am mapping the systems and structures of the CBC in relation to local and national populations via a particular approach to programming in order to assess the gap between structural multiculturalism (i.e., laws, policies, and the specific conditions they address) and the discourses that shape perceptions of national and cultural belonging (cf. Marcus 1995; Yanow 2011).

Recall that Hall's theorization of the capacity of the broadcaster to produce the

nation it addresses depends on the notion of a discursively formed public. A discursive

formation, or, body of discourse, comprises the unvoiced rules and categorizations that

are assumed as natural elements of knowledge, effectively protecting structural

inequalities by delegitimizing perspectives that are "outside" the established order.

Inconsistencies, contradictions, and negotiations mean that these texts are moving

targets, dialectically formed over time. In terms of broadcasting, approaches to

mediating voices—choices about which conversations to cut, songs to include, and jokes

to make—are wrapped up in this production of culture. What makes it to air and,

equally, what is omitted, contributes to normalizing and systematizing perceptions of

belonging within the Canadian state.

In the case of fusion programming, producer perceptions of the audience

affected the ways in which normalcy/deviance—belonging/exclusion—were coded (Hall

1980), begging questions such as: "Was the programming produced for a regional

audience?" "Was this national programming rooted in representation of a particular

region?" Or, "Was this programming that represented the "average" Canadian and

spoke to a self-consciously cosmopolitan/transnational audience?"[105] While there are

compelling reasons for understanding fusion programming in terms of a systemic

operationalization of policies, contemplating these questions in relation to a range of

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[105] There are also assumptions made about audiences based on the broadcast platform. While these overlap with perceptions of local versus national audiences and the types of cultural work assigned differing approaches to programming, for the sake of clarity I've separated discussion of regional/national programming (this chapter) and broadcast platform (see Chapter 4).

programming examples points to the differing ways content functions depending on contextual considerations. And, indeed, this is the point that Conway makes with his circuit model of communication: sociohistorical contexts, artifacts, and the circumstances of production and reception all interact to nuance meaning-making (2011:11–12; cf. Hall 1980).

Discussion in this chapter begins with the policy climate that gave rise to fusion programming as a particular approach to content creation and the structural conditions that supported its adoption/adaption in various locales. I then present six case studies of fusion programming originating from a variety of regional centres, describing specific sociohistorical contexts, distinctions in production priorities, and differing conceptualizations of audiences and their representational needs. In terms of methodological purpose, too, these case studies were opportunities to test the principles that were foundational for the content analysis procedures elaborated in Chapter 2. Accordingly, discussion in this chapter introduces the themes that are elaborated in conjunction with *Fuse* in subsequent chapters. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I consider the case studies together, describing the characteristic features of fusion programming and what these features offer as analytics. More specifically, I explore the capacity of fusion programming to elaborate social relationships; its relationship to existing structural conditions; the nature of the resourcing necessary to support production; and its potential to both produce and disrupt totalizing discourses of Canadianness.

3.1 MAKING PROGRAMMING "MORE MULTICULTURAL": MAPPING SYSTEMS AND STRUCTURES

Fusion programming doesn't have a singular originating point; the structure of the CBC

inhibited direct communication by content creators and the sharing of bright ideas.

Nevertheless, according to one producer, there was "something in the air" encouraging

producers to "do similar things" (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012):

the policy climate of the first decade of the twenty-first century fostered particular

approaches to "reflecting" and "curating" communities (Jeff Reilly, phone interview, 4

May 2012). The producers with whom I spoke were rarely aware of parallel projects

within the CBC Network. Sophie Laurent, for example, could tell me about *Mundo

Montréal* and *Rendez-Vous*[106]—two programs produced in Montréal—but was surprised,

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[106] Next to *Fuse*, *Rendez-vous* is probably the most extensive example of fusion programming available. It was initially conceptualized as an intercultural project: a project that focuses on bridging the linguistic divide between the CBC's two "cultures" (English and French). Produced by Sophie Laurent (CBC Montreal) and Guylaine Picard (Espace Musique, Radio Canada), the six episodes of "Round 1" brought together French and English songwriters to collaborate over three days in Montreal's Studio 12: a day of rehearsing and sound checks, a second day of rehearsals with some audio recording, and a third day focused on video recording. The concept involved introducing French Canada's best known artists to English Canada and vice versa. Original material was performed independently by each musician, songs were translated and covered by the partnering musician, and, for five of the six episodes, a new bilingual creation was composed and performed. The results of the collaboration were crafted into two radio broadcasts—one in French for broadcast on Espace Musique and the other in English for broadcast on *Canada Live* (Radio Two)—and into videos that were posted on parallel French and English series websites. The videos comprised recordings of the songs and interviews with the musicians. English content was subtitled for inclusion on the French site and French content was similarly translated for inclusion on the English site. Though most of the content overlapped, there were some differences in the interviews posted on each site based on language.

The six episodes of "Round Two" (broadcast spring 2012) focused specifically on inclusion of some of Montreal's top world music artists, again with the pairings including both a French and English language musician. Content, again, included a performance from each musicians' own repertoire, a performance of a song by the other performer (though without the complication of translation), and the premier of a newly composed song that the artists created together. Content was prepared in much the same way as the episodes featured in Round 1: parallel French and English radio broadcasts and video cuts for French and English series websites.

despite similarities in both format and the personnel involved, when I drew parallels to

Fuse (phone interview, 20 September 2012). What producers often did have in common

was a general awareness that music programming needed to become "more

multicultural," particularly during the 2005 through 2008 period.[107]

Indeed, various policy documents from that period emphasized demographic

change, a growing visible minority population in Canada, and regional diversity as

conditions requiring structural changes and content responses in order for the CBC to

remain relevant to Canadian listeners (e.g., CBC|Radio Canada 2006a, 2006b, 2008).

These documents were the public face of an overall approach to policy, structure, and

content, but reveal little about how ideas travelled internally through the hierarchies of

management and production personnel. Within the CBC, matters of policy seem to have

been communicated through descriptions of programming priorities that were outlined

in annual evaluations rather than lengthy policy documents. Priorities differed

depending on the particular area of programming that the producer was working in.

Priorities tended to emphasize differing elements of the CBC's mandate, and, more

generally, were in dialogue with the political climate of Canada.

Though I had initially planned to include *Rendez-Vous* among the case studies featured in this chapter, I cut it for reasons of space and time. Though not as extensive a series of *Fuse*, the quantity of broadcast content existing in both French and English versions simply exceeded my resources. More importantly, the series directly engaged issues of linguistic translation that, while related to some of the challenges I raise about broadcasting for regional versus national audiences, are beyond the scope of this study. For extended discussion of some of the specific problems of linguistic translation in the context of the CBC, see Conway (2011); Thomas (1992).

[107] One producer called multiculturalism a "pillar" of CBC policy, though did comment that emphasis has declined in recent years (Glen Tilley, interview, 15 June 2012; see also Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012).

Budgets and opportunities for co-funding were notable influences on content

creation and programming. Glen Tilley (Executive Producer for Arts, Entertainment, and

Music, CBC St. John's) described how this worked. Each regular programming segment

was given an annual budget, but there were "pots of money" available throughout the

CBC for supplementing that budget. Meaning that, if there was a special project coming

up, producers potentially could access co-funding through one of those pots. This might

mean partnership with another show. *Canada Live*, for example, was frequently in the

mix when it came to creating and funding fusion programming: the "Come By Concerts,"

"Combo to Go," *The True North Concert Series*, *Mundo Montréal*, and the Slean/Hatzis

Project were all programming initiatives that were produced in different regions and

picked up for (re)broadcast on the national network by *Canada Live*.[108]

When *Canada Live* launched in March 2007 it was given a mandate—and a

significant budget—to broadcast concerts recorded in locations from all across Canada

to a national audience. Equitable representation of the regions was an important

element of this mandate, but so was demonstration of Canada's "multicultural nature"

through musical inclusions (Government of Canada 1991; see Appendix A).[109] In other

words, each region had an allotted quota of concerts to be featured on *Canada Live*, but,

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[108] Italics identify the titles of shows. Quote marks identify features that were part of a regular series. For example, the "Come By Concerts" were produced for broadcast on the weekly regional performance program, *Musicraft*. The distinction indicates differences in scope, regularity, infrastructure, and funding.
[109] *Canada Live* was a cornerstone of the CBC's efforts to recreate Radio 2 as an adult-oriented music service, not simply a platform for classical music. In practice, this meant that content included—and even emphasized—non-classical performances. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the various media lines included in the CBC's broadcasting environment, including changes introduced between 2007 and 2008.

additionally, 25 percent of recorded concerts had to qualify as "world music" (Ann

MacKeigan, email, 23 August 2012). Regional producers potentially could access

supplemental production funds (as well as national exposure for local musicians) if a

proposed performance met the appropriate criteria and recording standards. Notably,

an exact definition of what qualified as "world music" was somewhat elusive, serving the

very practical reality that "diversity" had to be defined according to vastly different

demographic profiles in Canada's many regions. While ostensibly casting a wide net, one

producer pointed out that "world music" quotas tended to be filled in Toronto and

Montréal. Moreover, based on my observations in this study, classification as "world

music" tends to correlate with "not white." Nevertheless, featuring a combination of

performers who could be framed as "multicultural" or arranging a concert headlined by

a nationally recognized musician/group in collaboration with an up-and-coming local

artist were frequently cited strategies utilized by regional producers for increasing their

odds of accessing national exposure and co-funding from *Canada Live*.[110]

As I could not rely on archives—central or otherwise—for information about

historical programming initiatives in Canada's various regions, I found alternative

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[110] *Canada Live* was not the only avenue for accessing co-funding; it was simply the most prevalently utilized in my series of case studies. Other major national programs like *Saturday Night Blues*—cited by Peter Skinner as a partner—*The Signal*, *Choral Concert*, or *In Performance* were also possible sources of supplemental funding (Jeff Reilly, phone interview, 4 May 2012). The key to accessing these opportunities was awareness of priorities within the system and understanding how the mandates of national level programs intersected with regional initiatives; if a partnering producer liked the proposed programming concept then resources could be pooled and agreements reached about possibilities for re-broadcast. Such partnerships meant greater resources were available for production, but also expanded the reach and exposure for the featured performers, and allowed audiences access to events staged in sometimes distant parts of the country.

(though far from comprehensive) methods to map the range of programming produced

by the CBC (see Chapter 2 for discussion of the CBC's archiving practices). After several

months of emails and phone calls to the CBC's dispersed offices (all elaborated with

follow-up archive and internet searches), I assembled a list of programming—drawn

from centres all across Canada—that was relevant to my criteria (see Figure 3.1). This

list, along with commentary from the producers encountered in my search for examples,

provides the foundation for the discussion presented in the rest of this chapter.
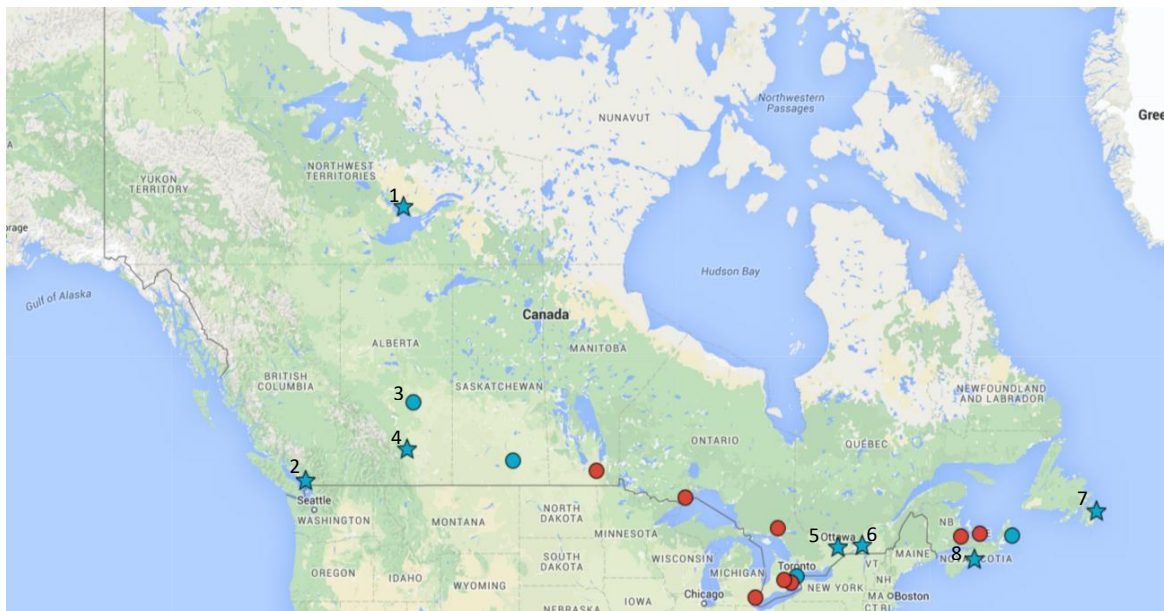
Figure 3.1: CBC Broadcast Centres. Symbols indicate the location of CBC Broadcast Centres where queries were made about fusion programming. Red circles simply mark a broadcast centre location. Blue circles indicate an interview and or extended correspondence with CBC personnel at that centre. Blue stars indicate centres where fusion programming was produced as well as indicating an interview and/or extended correspondence with CBC personnel at that centre. Numbers correspond with the programming details listed below:

1. *Selections from the True North Concerts, produced by Peter Skinner for CBC North between 2001 and 2007.*
2. *"K-os Project" on ZeDTV, produced by Jon Siddall in Vancouver BC in 2006.*
3. *Selections from Saturday Night Blues and True North Concert Series, produced by Holger Peterson (Edmonton) and Peter Skinner (Yellowknife) between [2003] and [2010].*
4. *"Combo to Go," produced by Catherine McClelland in Calgary AB between 2005 and 2007.*
5. *Fuse, produced by Caitlin Crockard in Ottawa ON between 2005 and 2008.*
6. *Rendez-Vous, produced by Sophie Laurent in Montréal QC between 2011 and 2012; Mundo Montréal, produced by Sophie Laurent in Montréal QC between 2008 and 2013.*
7. *"Come By Concerts," produced by Francesca Swann in St. John's NL between 2006 and 2008.*
8. *Playing through Changes, and the Slean/Hatzis Project, produced by Jeff Reilly in Halifax beginning early 2000s.*

3.2 A SPECTRUM OF PROGRAMMING: CASE STUDIES

Through the case studies presented in this portion of the chapter, I explore similarities

and distinctions that mark approaches to fusion programming, enabling me to derive

general characteristics and to identify common tropes and features—these

characteristics are discussed in the final pages of this chapter and elaborated in

conjunction with *Fuse* in subsequent chapters. The examples cited here represent a

mixture of content that ranges from the specifically local (i.e., performances that target

live audiences of community members) to the self-consciously cosmopolitan (i.e.,

performances that target a general audience of unspecified and undifferentiated

Canadians).

What follows is by no means an exhaustive survey of the CBC's programming—

either of its various regions or of projects produced within those regions. The Prairies,

for example, are underrepresented. And while my Vancouver case study accounts for

"Burning to Shine" and *ZeD* (programming for a national audience), it excludes a series

of live open-air concerts performed outside of the CBC's Vancouver Broadcast Centre.

These open-air concerts featured a wide range of local musicians, providing the CBC with

a means of sussing out up-and-coming talents in the area while fulfilling the region's

mandate for community outreach (Jon Siddall, phone interview, 9 August 2012).

Similarly, Jeff Reilly provided me with a long list of Maritimes-based projects produced

post-2000 that focused on realizing principles of collaboration and diversity through

fusion music. Reilly emphasized that such projects have both musical and social

significance and that the CBC, as a reflector and curator of Canadian culture(s), has a

responsibility to facilitate such endeavors (phone interview, 4 May 2012).

Table 3.1: Fusion programming at the CBC, 2000–2012.

Title	Production location	Producer	Broadcast details	Years broadcast	Co-funding / Special project funding	Community Partner(s)	Audience focus
Come By Concerts	St. John's, NL	Francesca Swann	Radio One, Saturday at 5pm on *Musicraft*	2006–2008	*Canada Live*	School of Music, Memorial University of Newfoundland	Live regional
Combo to Go	Calgary, AB	Catherine McClelland	Radio One, Saturday at 5pm on *The Key of A* / [Radio One], Sunday at 12pm on *Our Music*	2005–2008	*Canada Live*	Epcor Centre	NA
True North [Radio] Concerts / True North Concert Series	CBC North	Peter Skinner	Radio One, Saturday at 7pm (Yukon and NWT) / 5pm (Nunavut)	2001–2007 / c. 2003–2010	*Saturday Night Blues Canada Live*	Various local businesses ranging from hotels and restaurant to airlines	Live regional
Mundo Montréal	Montréal, QC	Sophie Laurent	Radio 2, weekday, 8pm on *Canada Live* / cbcmusic.ca, *Concert on Demand*	2008–2013	*Canada Live* Cross-cultural fund	Various cultural/heritage organizations	Live regional / National
Burning to Shine	Vancouver, BC	Jon Siddall	CBC Television, 7 February 2006 on *ZeD TV* / CBC Television, 2 February 2006 on *Opening Night*	2006	CBC Radio Orchestra	NA	National
Playing through Changes	Maritimes	Jeff Reilly	Radio One, 24 January 2011, 9pm on *Ideas*	2011	NA	NA	National
Slean/Hatzis Project	Maritimes	Jeff Reilly	Radio 2, [Monday, 7pm] on *Canada Live* / cbcmusic.ca, *Concert on Demand*	2012	*Canada Live*	Symphony Nova Scotia	Live / National
Fuse	Ottawa, ON	Caitlin Crockard	Radio One, Saturday 9pm (2005–2006) / Saturday 3pm (2007–2008)	2005–2008	[AMF Talent Fund]	No	Live regional / National
Rendez-Vous	Montréal, QC	Sophie Laurent	Radio Two, Tuesday 7:30pm on *Canada Live* / Espace Musique, Monday 10pm[?] / cbcmusic.ca / icimusique.ca	2011, 2012	Cross-cultural fund	No	National

The order in which these case studies are presented is somewhat arbitrary, though I have tried to organize them to reflect the spectrum of approaches taken to fusion programming (see Table 3.1). I begin with the "Come By Concerts" (St. John's, NL)—the most extensive of my mini case studies—because the conditions supporting its production were unusually close to the surface: policies about immigration and multiculturalism were in a state of transition and the producer/host of the concerts, Francesca Swann, was particularly articulate about how her programming engaged network and regional priorities, while also meeting specific community needs. The same contextual clarity isn't available in all cases; what the "Come By Concerts" do is provide an interpretative framework—a clarification of policy climate—for the other programming examples.

Like the "Come By Concerts," the next three examples—"Combo to Go" (Calgary, AB), and *True North Concerts* (CBC North), and *Mundo Montréal* (Montréal, QC)—focus on regional audiences, with emphasis placed on community partnerships and the patronage of live music as production priorities. Other similarities exist in terms of broadcast platforms, approaches to co-funding, and tensions arising over the suitability of content for the national network. The *True North Concerts* and *Mundo Montréal*, however, were produced with national audiences in mind; that is, these performances represented the musical life of particular locales to a national audience. *Mundo Montréal*, while sharing many of the characteristics of production with the first three examples, is distinguished by its site of production, demonstrating the tendency of

network producers to look to major urban centres (like Montréal) for "multicultural" content. The final two examples—"Burning to Shine" and a series of related initiatives undertaken in the Maritimes—are distinguished by their focus on the national audience and their emphasis on creation of a product with inherent aesthetic value. Rather than stressing community investment and live outreach initiatives, these are sleek productions intended to address a generalized version of Canadianness through performances by high-profile performers who are not actively affiliated with particular regional and/or ethnocultural communities—at least not in the context of the broadcast performances.

Before turning to the examples themselves, a quick word is needed about the producers. These individuals represent a range of experiences and specializations, including in their ranks journalists, musicians, pedagogues, and even one ethnomusicologist. Most of the people with whom I spoke were incredibly articulate, revealing the very considered ways in which they approached decision-making about programming. Many producers were able to clearly describe their motivations for experimenting with new concepts, and most were quite forthcoming in their evaluation of both the strengths and weaknesses of their approaches. My remarks, in other words, should not be read as criticism of particular projects, but as an attempt to interrogate best practices across a system from a perspective that simply isn't available to individuals working within the CBC.

3.2.1 Newfoundland and Labrador: Come By Concerts[111]

In 2007, the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador launched its new

immigration strategy with the goal of attracting between 1,200 and 1,500 new

immigrants annually within five years and boosting retention levels from 36 percent—

the lowest rate among Canadian provinces—to 70 percent (Office of Immigration and

Multiculturalism 2007; Immigration Policy and Planning 2005:6). This new strategy

acknowledged the province's changing economic fortunes and the potential

opportunities that prosperity afforded for both the recruitment of an entrepreneurial

and skilled labour work force, and the development of post-secondary education

opportunities. Moreover, a declining birthrate, aging population, and traditional

dependence on out-migration for work created structural conditions necessitating a

change in approach to sustaining the local populace. Newfoundland and Labrador's 2007

immigration strategy emphasized partnerships between governmental bodies at

multiple levels and community stakeholders aimed at educating the general populace

about the benefits of an increased immigrant presence, also providing practical

assistance for settlement and integration within the province.[112]

Further support for accomplishing these goals came in 2008 when a new

provincial multiculturalism policy was introduced for the purpose of promoting greater

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[111] The "Come By Concerts" case study is more extensively elaborated in Draisey-Collishaw (forthcoming).
[112] Such supports included facilitating access to education, healthcare, and social services; translation services; English as a second language (ESL) training for children through to adults; housing support services; information services; and recognition of foreign credentials. See Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism (2007) for a description of the seventeen goals that are the basis of the provincial immigration strategy. For discussion of the conditions supporting development of this plan see Immigration Policy and Planning (2005).

intercultural understanding between new Canadians and established Newfoundlanders

(Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2014).The combined result of these

initiatives has been an increase in the rate of new Canadians choosing to settle in

Newfoundland for professional, academic, and other reasons, bodily testing and

rhetorically challenging dominant notions of provincial identity with each addition to the

ethnocultural mix.

The province's diverse social history provides a clear example of the negotiated

nature of identity discourses. French settlers were the majority population in

Newfoundland through to the eighteenth century, and people of French descent remain

the majority population on the island's west coast. Still-isolated settlements of Scots are

scattered across the Southern Shore and the west coast's Codroy Valley. A significant

Portuguese community was never permanently established in Newfoundland, though

there was sustained contact through the fisheries from the sixteenth century through to

1974 when the last ship of the White Fleet left St. John's Harbour. And, too, Indigenous

populations, though decimated by the nineteenth century, were and remain important

figures in Newfoundland and Labrador's cultural history. Indeed, the 2011 National

Households Survey indicates that approximately 7 percent of Newfoundland and

Labrador's total population (507,270)—a proportion that is significantly higher than

national averages—identify as Aboriginal (Government of Canada 2015). Yet in spite of

the demographic complexities noted here, in recent decades "traditional"

Newfoundlanders have been imagined more simply as Anglo–Irish with dashes of

French, Scottish, and Portuguese heritage. This is all to say that perceptions of heritage

and assertions of identity are complex and subject to revision according to the cultural

needs of a given moment and populace, reflecting the dominance of particular voices

within a discursively formed reality.

Produced as part of the CBC's regional programming lineup and in step with the

introduction of the province's new immigration strategy, the "Come By Concerts"

acknowledged and engaged the province's changing demographic profile. The concept

for the concerts was based on creating spaces of ethnocultural encounter by facilitating

musical collaborations between prominent traditional Newfoundland musicians, and

musicians from various newer immigrant communities resident in the St. John's area.

Host and producer Francesca Swann explained:

> I was noticing that we encounter people from different ethnicities
> when we go to the university, or go to the hospital but we don't really
> see or hear that reflected in the music here. And [...] I had this feeling
> that we weren't actually hearing the full range of the evolving musical
> life of the province on my show and that to do that I should really try
> to include some of those newer ethnicities in our community. And [...]
> they weren't generally being presented in traditional presentation
> series [...]. So I had to go seeking them out in their various
> communities. (interview, 24 November 2010)

The concerts were broadcast on *Musicraft*, a series dedicated to reflecting the musical

life of Newfoundland and Labrador through a combination of live pickups, in-studio

guests, and pre-recorded music.[113] The concerts were unusual features in Swann's

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[113] Until cuts to the CBC's annual parliamentary allocation forced their cancellation, each region produced
a Saturday afternoon radio concert series dedicated to reflecting the musical life of the region.

programming; many of her other broadcasts were of concerts that were already

happening in communities throughout the province and simply required that she and

her production crew show up to record. As newer immigrant communities were not

often featured in traditional concert venues, Swann needed to take a more hands-on

approach to organizing performances.

The "Come By Concerts" were produced by and for the CBC, meaning that they

came with a higher than usual price tag in excess of Swann's normal operating budget.

The venue for the concerts, called Petro Canada Hall at the time, was provided by

Memorial University's School of Music—a contribution that helped offset production

costs. The concept also proved appealing to the local CBC administration and the

national network, meaning that Swann was able to access supplemental funding

sources.[114] She explained that this extra financial support had much to do with the CBC's

mandate and interest in reflecting the diversity of local communities:

> I think there was a desire from the network side and also from our
> own station's side, to start reflecting more of a realistic cross-section
> of how the community here is evolving with different people coming in
> and I think there was a wish to get that on the air. [… I]t works well
> into CBC's mandate of […] reflecting the country back to itself and […]
> telling people's stories from our communities […] and reflecting the
> changes in our society. (interview, 24 November 2010)

Swann also emphasized the value of engaging new listeners in order to expand regional

audiences. Featuring musicians from the Balkan, Indian, and Bangladeshi communities

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[114] Co-funding was supplied by *Canada Live*, though only two were actually broadcast nationally (Concerts
1 and 3).

not only served to introduce established Newfoundlanders to the music of new

neighbours, but also meant that members of relatively insular immigrant groups were

more likely to listen to CBC broadcasts and become audience members (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Promotional descriptions of the "Come By Concerts," including original broadcast date and re-broadcast information. Details were obtained from archival recordings of the performance, program logs, and conversations with Francesca Swann (interview, 24 November 2010).

Date	Episode title and description	Performers	Re-broadcast
24 December 2006	Christmas Eve with Sveti Ivan and Pamela Morgan: *Traditional music from Eastern Europe rubs shoulders with the folk songs of Newfoundland and Labrador as these two musical worlds converge.*	Sveti Ivan (Balkan choir) Kate Wiens (conductor) Pamela Morgan (folk singer)	*Canada Live*
28 January 2007	Reels and Ragas: *Reels and ragas meet as Indian and Newfoundland music fuse at a MUSICRAFT Come By Concert in the Petro Canada Hall at Memorial University. Natives of Newfoundland: accordion player, Graham Wells and percussionist, Curtis Andrews perform with members of St. John's Indian community: co-vocalists, Dr. Arya Bal, Bani Bal and Sobhana Venkatesan with* tabla *player Sanchita Chakraborty.*	Graham Wells (accordion) Curtis Andrews (percussion) Arya Bal (North Indian singer) Bani Bal (North Indian singer) Sobhana Venkatesan (South Indian singer) Sanchita Chakraborty (*tabla*)	
17 February 2008	Ballads to Bangladesh! *A CBC Come By Concert […] combining Shahana Begum from Bangladesh with Newfoundland natives: Graham Wells on accordion and whistle, Billy Sutton, bouzouki and fiddle, Curtis Andrews, percussion and 18-year-old Torbay singer/songwriter Leanne Kean. This is a line-up of Newfoundland tunes and songs together with songs that Shahana has written and inherited from her father and sister. Shahana, who now lives in St. John's (and has raised a family here), used to be a regular performer on Bangladesh radio.*	Shahana Begum (Bangladeshi singer) Graham Wells (accordion) Billy Sutton (fiddle) Curtis Andrews (percussion) Leanne Kean (singer-songwriter)	*Canada Live*

Though Swann was unable to comment specifically on the reception of the

concerts by members of her radio audience, she indicated that performances generally

were well-received on the ground. Petro Canada Hall, which has a seating capacity of

120 people, was full for each performance with audiences comprising both established

Newfoundlanders and members of newer immigrant communities. After the concerts,

Swann received positive feedback and requests for information about upcoming events.

When I spoke with Swann in 2010, she was interested in producing more "Come By

Concerts," expressing a sense of obligation to provide this type of programming for

listeners. Production, however, was dependent on the availability of musicians who

were both willing to perform and of a professional performing standard. Moreover, the

concerts required an unusually high level of commitment from musicians, involving

acquisition of new repertoire and willingness to explore unfamiliar musical styles in

order to effectively perform together. Ultimately budget cuts and associated reductions

in live music recording initiatives curtailed any possibility of further additions to the

"Come By Concert" series (CBC 2012).[115]

In each broadcast, the primary approach to "convergence," "fusion," and

"combination" was juxtaposition and framing: familiar Anglo-Irish Newfoundland sounds

and songs were used to contextualize the presumably more exotic sounds of new

Canadian voices.[116] To a more limited extent, there was experimentation with

possibilities for interweaving distinctive repertories. In the first concert, for example,

Sveti Ivan and Pamela Morgan alternated sets of their idiomatic music, but also included

points of experimental overlap (see Table 3.3).

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[115] In 2012, cuts to the CBC's annual parliamentary appropriation resulted in the decommissioning of mobile recording units in many of the CBC's smaller regional production centres, including St. John's. This move, necessitated by budgetary shortfalls, was part of an overall reduction in regional services. In 2015, further budget cuts resulted in the outright cancellation of regional music programs like *Musicraft*.

[116] Diamond describes constructions of the "Other" as intentionally ambiguous and capable of application to many forms of difference, ranging from gendered divides to (post/de)colonial contexts. The "Other," she explains, "were seen as localized, totalized and ahistorical; they were exotic inversions, hence confirmations of normalcy, and they were clearly regarded as unequal" (1994:11). My use of "exotic," here and throughout this dissertation, relies on this notion of inversion as a confirmation of the normative. As a label it is contingent and constructed, available for a range of decodings that rely on the subjectivities, priorities, and often unexamined worldviews of both broadcasters and listeners.

Table 3.3: "Come By Concert" 1 program. Bolded titles indicate points of collaboration between the performers.

Set	Songs
Sveti Ivan	Senjico Senjala
	Somogyi Karaikazao
	Mother and Mary
	Sorrow
	Senjico Senjala / She's Like the Swallow (featuring Pamela Morgan)
Pamela Morgan	I'll Hang my Harp on a Willow Tree
	Seven Years
	Who is at my Window
	To Drive the Cold Winter Away
Sveti Ivan	Kolenda
	We Three Kings (featuring Pamela Morgan)
	Silent Night (with narration by members of Sveti Ivan)
	Hej Mili Moj

At the end of the choir's first set, Pamela joined in on a reprise of the choir's opening song, *Senjico Senjala*. Rather than simply singing along, Pamela transformed this choral lullaby by overlaying it with "She's Like the Swallow," a well-known Newfoundland song. The broadcast introduction to the arrangement featured conductor Kate Wiens explaining that something new is created when two musics come together, in this case totally recasting the characters of what are, respectively, a lullaby and a tragic ballad. Similarly, at the beginning of the Christmas set (the second song of Sveti Ivan's second set, to be precise), the musicians performed an arrangement of "We Three Kings" in which the choir sang an ostinato based on a Romanian melody and words for "star of wonder, star of might" while Pamela soared over the choir on the more familiar Christmas melody. In each case, the arrangement of the songs was quite original, presenting a compelling combination of textures and harmonies, yet the hierarchical relationship of the voices—their discursive ordering—was inescapable: the choir was cast in a supportive role while Pamela remained the star performer.

Notably, this relationship has more to do with western choral performance

practices that typically privilege solo voices as audible focal points—the solo voice often

carries the melody or is made sonically dominant through volume, timbre, and

tessitura—than the ethnocultural identities of the performers. Choristers typically work

to blend their individual voices to create a unified sound, while soloists emphasize

different harmonics in their voices or add vibrato to distinguish themselves from the

ensemble. Indeed, even when no clear markers of sonic dominance are included,

listeners accustomed to choral performance practices become conditioned to hear these

distinctions.[117] Accordingly, the possibility of perceiving the terms of the musicians'

encounter as anything other than hierarchical was limited from the outset.

Just over a month later, a second concert aired on 28 January 2007. Described as

a concert in which "reels and ragas meet as Indian and Newfoundland musics fuse," the

concert combined three distinct repertoires: traditional Newfoundland–Irish sets

performed by Graham Wells (accordion); sets of Karnatic Indian music sung by Sobhana

Venkatesan; and Northern Indian music performed by Dr. Arya and Bani Bal (vocals) and

Sanchita Chakraborty (*tabla*). Curtis Andrews provided the percussive "voice" that

united the disparate performers and crossed between musical worlds (see Table 3.4).

Specializing in various African, Indian, and popular music drumming styles, Curtis

accompanied Graham for part of the concert and Sobhana for the rest.

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[117] Cf. Douglas (2004) for related arguments about how particular types of radio programming condition
the listening habits and expectations of listeners.

Table 3.4: "Come By Concert" 2 program. Bolded titles indicate points of collaboration between the performers.

Set	Songs
Newfoundland-Irish Set (featuring Graham Wells and Curtis Andrews)	Singles: Maher's / Broderick / Mussels in the Corner Jigs: Garry Shannans / Geese in the Bog
Sobhana Venkatesan (featuring Curtis Andrews)	Swaminatha Paripalaya Vara Narada Palihncu Kamaksi Pavani
Newfoundland-Irish Set (featuring Graham Wells and Curtis Andrews)	Conamara Stocking / Chattering Magpie Kitty Jones
North Indian Set (featuring Arya and Bani Bal, Sanchita Chakraborty)	In Praise of Lord Ganesh Your Enchanting Music **Season is Passing By (featuring Graham Wells and Curtis Andrews)**
Newfoundland-Irish Set (featuring Graham Wells and Curtis Andrews)	Reels (Untitled)

The choice to use sets of Newfoundland–Irish accordion tunes to bookend the concert had the potential to suggest a discursive ordering of voices not unlike that established in the previous "Come By Concert." However, this narrative, in which the immigrant community is framed within the dominant culture, was disrupted and complicated by Curtis's accompaniment for the tunes. Curtis, a native of Carbonear, Newfoundland, was sonically marked as part of the dominant culture by the light Newfoundland accent that inflects his speech. But this dominance was complicated by the decision to place himself in a musically ambiguous position by crossing between affiliations as a traditional Newfoundland musician and Indian drummer. In fact, his specialization in the musical practices of South India and Ghana, choices of dress, and a slightly swarthy complexion have sometimes supported mistaken perceptions of a non-existent South Asian heritage.[118] Rather than relying on the traditional rhythmic patterns

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[118] Details about Andrews's varied specializations can be found on his personal website: http://www.curtisandrews.ca/about.htm (accessed 17 November 2015).

used to reinforce the danceability of tunes (in this case, a set of singles[119] to begin and

reels to end), Curtis improvised an accompaniment that drew on the repertory of

rhythms used later in the concert to accompany Sobhana; the tunes instantly became

both exotic—that is, distinct from the expected range of timbres, textures, and metric

configurations of traditional Newfoundland dance—and familiar.

Similar to the previous concerts, the "Ballads to Bangladesh!" broadcast—the

third "Come By Concert" that aired a year later on 17 February 2008—utilized

Newfoundland–Irish tunes as familiar frames for the presumably more exotic sound of

Shahana Begum Islam's singing.[120] Though clearly weighted to feature Shahana, whose

musical prestige was suggested in her introduction as a "regular" on Bangladeshi radio, a

single set of western pop songs was placed at the temporal midpoint of the

performance. Leanne Keane's set stood apart from the rest of the concert. Unlike

Shahana's set, there was minimal interaction between the musicians, suggesting that

there was little need for her music to be altered through collaboration with the other

musical traditions featured—or, just as likely, revealing a lack of experience in

performing repertoire not her own.[121] In contrast, during Shahana's performance there

was a clear negotiation of styles at work; Graham's accordion sounded remarkably like a

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[119] "Singles" are a type of dance tune performed in Newfoundland. Similar to Irish polkas though with their own idiomatic metric emphases, they are generally played in a fast 2/4.
[120] Shahana Begum Islam (1954–2010).
[121] Broadcasters often have very pragmatic reasons for the ways in which they arrange the voices on air—reasons that have little to do with the ideals of audiotopic production (cf. Kun 2005), and everything to do with the limits of production schedules, the abilities of performers, the quality of recordings, and the length of available air time.

harmonium and Shahana's singing overlapped and elaborated the diatonic fixed scale of his instrument with the microtonal variations of the modes in which her songs were composed.

Note, too, the language used to introduce the musicians (see Table 3.2). In her study of the ways in which Canadian literary prize-winners are received based on their citizenship and perceived "Canadianess," Gillian Roberts (2011) observes that there are tensions and discursive contradictions that result in a simultaneous claiming of authors as belonging while distancing them as from elsewhere. She analyses a *Toronto Star* editorial celebrating Michael Ondaatje's receipt of the Booker Prize, noting how the language of the announcement moves the author "from being a guest in Canada, as suggested by the metaphor of adoption, to encapsulating Canadian cultural success and values, not only occupying the Canadian host position, but also acting as Canadian culture's representative, an exemplary figure held up for emulation" (2011:4). A similar pattern—what I label "transit narratives"—is discernable in the framing of the musicians featured in the "Come By Concerts." Transit narratives highlight contradictions and tensions in the discursive ordering of social relations, performing simultaneous acts of Othering and claiming. Shahana Begum "from Bangladesh," for example, was juxtaposed with "Newfoundland natives," but also inscribed as an heir to family traditions (she sings songs that she's "inherited from her father and sister") and as having established roots within Newfoundland (she's "raised a family here") (see Table 3.2). Shahana was distanced as an exotic import to Newfoundland, but simultaneously shown to possess

values that are familiar and even prized in the insular communities of "traditional" Newfoundland.

Transit narratives, like those used to frame Shahana's performance, appear almost exclusively in conjunction with musicians who were born outside of Canada. The exoticism of the music and/or musician is frequently emphasized, and primary influences are described as existing outside of Canada—even when the musician cites Canadian and/or North American influences as significant or has spent her formative years in Canada. Transit narratives are distinct from other stories about travel; the singer-songwriters featured in *Fuse*, for example, often described being on the road (see Chapter 7). Their narratives claimed their status as modern-day wandering minstrels. And while road narratives—stories that emphasize hard work, loneliness, and sacrifice in the name of art—function as *claims* to musical authenticity, transit narratives *attribute* legitimacy to the musician and her music through references to awards and institutional affiliations within Canada. A subtle distinction is drawn between simply being Canadian and being a hyphenated Canadian—a distinction that is closely twined with questions about who has the agency and authority to abet and resist mainstream notions of Canadianness. I'll return to examples of transit narratives throughout this chapter (most particularly in my discussion of *Mundo Montréal*) and, later, in conjunction with the musicians who were featured on *Fuse* (see Chapter 7).

In all three "Come By Concerts" there was obvious effort made by musicians and producers to engage the idea of demographic change in Newfoundland through music

making. Rehearsals were arranged, musicians spent time learning new music, and, on occasion, visiting each others' homes—welcomes that extended into the musicians' respective communities (Francesca Swann, interview, 24 November 2010). But it's equally clear that there was uncertainty about how to proceed—about how to think about Newfoundlander assertions of identity(s) and regional musics in non-traditional ways. Or, perhaps, about how to shift thinking away from a fixed sense of what it means to be a Newfoundlander and to focus more on terms of social engagement—or, indeed, about how to perform this engagement musically.[122]

Taken together, the "Come By Concerts" contribute to a discursive formation that is inherently contradictory, perhaps reflecting a lack of clarity about what it means to be "more multicultural" or even what multiculturalism is. Recall that multiculturalism is a policy tool intended to promote integration of diverse populations within a bounded geopolitical context. So while the concerts celebrated the changing ethnocultural profile of Newfoundland and Labrador—or, more realistically, the greater St. John's area—in terms of a dynamic "convergence of musical worlds" or a "fusing" of native Newfoundlanders with St. John's' Indian community (see Table 3.2), terms of address and the actual sonic arrangement of voices served to place limits on belonging, perpetuating an understanding of multiculturalism as a problem for minority populations.

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[122] Competence is certainly an issue here: with notable exceptions musicians didn't possess the multiple musical competencies—or necessary time for immersion—to enable fluid boundary crossings and challenges to established structures of meaning that were perceptible to audiences.

3.2.2 Calgary, Alberta: Combo to Go

Between 2005 and 2008, producer Catherine McClelland (CBC Calgary) partnered with

the Epcor Centre for the Performing Arts to present a free lunchtime concert series

titled "Combo to Go." Unlike the "Come By Concerts," very little information was

available about "Combo to Go": I was unable to access recordings of the concerts, my

contact with the series producer was limited to a series of emails, and the performances

left little behind by way of a digital imprint. Though the concerts may not have been

well-known features in CBC's lineup, they were quite successful at the local level: the

series was nominated for a Mayor's Excellence Award for an innovative partnership in

Calgary.[123] As was typical of fact-finding for this project, though, details about the

nomination and decision to recognize the concert series were unavailable due to

turnover in the management of the awards. It is, however, reasonable to assume that

community leaders perceived the concerts to be of value to Calgary's sociocultural life.

Motivated by programming priorities relating to community outreach and

diversity, the governing principle behind the concerts was collaboration: Alberta

musicians from differing backgrounds were "matched up" to perform a concert together

(Catherine McClelland, email, 17 April 2012). Though a complete list of the

approximately twelve concerts that comprised the series is unavailable, Catherine

McClelland mentioned a few of the series highlights:

> Some of the most successful collaborations were a Greek band
> (Rembetika Hipsters) with a classical violinist (Edmond Agopian); a jug

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[123] The Mayor's Excellence Award recognizes "the efforts of business, community and education working together to improve the quality of public education" (CEPF 2010).

band with a classical clarinettist (Highwater Jug Band with Cedric Blary)[124]; a singer songwriter with a bassoonist (Kris Demeanor & Michael Hope) and a pop singer with a string quartet (Lullaby Baxter and the Lily String Quartet).[125] (Catherine McClelland, email, 17 April 2012)[126]

Musicians featured on the series were selected in conjunction with the programming director for the Epcor Centre. Particularly after the first year, musicians occasionally approached the producers with ideas for potential pairings. Criteria for selection involved looking for a balance of genres and genders (Catherine McClelland, email, 2 May 2012).

Performed in the Jack Singer Concert Hall lobby of the Epcor Centre, the concerts were picked-up for broadcast on *Our Music*, Alberta's regional performance program. A small selection of concerts also were broadcast on *The Key of A* (a non-classical performance program in Alberta) and nationally on *Canada Live.* In other words, like the "Come By Concerts," "Combo to Go" was about community outreach and partnerships, was committed to bringing performers together to collaborate across their differences, and emphasized production of live performances that were picked up for regional broadcast and, on occasion, re-broadcast to a national audience.

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[124] The Highwater Jug Band and Cedric Blary performed together on 1 June 2006 (Calgary Herald 2006).
[125] Lullaby Baxter and Lily String Quartet were featured on 10 April 2007 (Bompa 2007a). Their performance was picked up for national broadcast on *Canada Live* on 16 May 2007 (Bompa 2007b).
[126] Other performances on the series included Sillan & Young with Latin percussionist Toto Berriel on 31 March 2005 (Sillan and Young 2013); and cellist and singer Morag Northley in April 2006 (Northley 2014).

3.2.3 CBC North: The True North Concerts

From 1980 to 2007, the *True North Concerts* were almost annual events. Ranging in scale

from major televised spectacles that involved significant set-up and investment in

remote venues to small-scale radio broadcasts that, similarly, required resource-

intensive pickups in remote venues, these events brought together performers from all

over the North. Produced by Yellowknife-based broadcaster Peter Skinner in their later

radio-only years (2001–2007), these events showcased a near-constant state of

hybridization in Northern cultures, drawing on traditional Aboriginal elements,

assimilated musics (like fiddling, the blues, and hip hop), and southern/western

influences.[127] In 2007, for example, Jim Hiscott was commissioned to create a piece of

music that featured Inuit accordion virtuoso Simeonie Keenainak performing with

members of the CBC Radio Orchestra (conducted by Alain Trudel) for the final *True*

North Concert. Premiered on 15 September 2007 in Iqaluit's Anglican Parish Hall and

first broadcast a few weeks later on 7 October, *Manumasii Aura* began with the solo

accordion playing an upbeat and joyful dance tune. The tune, "Manumasii,"is a

traditional square dance from Simeonie's repertoire. The voice of the accordion was

omnipresent in the ten and half minute performance, repeating the notes of the

traditional dance forty-eight times and providing the rhythmic and melodic backbone of

the music.[128]

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[127] See Diamond (2001) for discussion of the almost inherent hybridity of music and performers from the North, particularly from the Yukon. Diamond points to waves of colonization, the influence of radio, and the relatively small number of professional musicians performing in a wide variety of performance venues for varied purposes as essential to the eclecticism of the Yukon scene.

[128] For a sample recording and copy of the score, see Hiscott (n.d.).

Before exploring the specifics of this performance, I'm inclined to consider Dylan Robinson's description of the proliferation of intercultural collaborations between western classical musicians and First Peoples during the first decade of the twenty-first century (2012). Robinson argues that the increased number of such projects during this period may be indicative of a general climate of reconciliation—or at least a discourse of reconciliation—generated through the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's official apology to First Peoples for residential school abuses. He also points to the interest of granting agencies in funding projects that embrace the "multicultural" agenda, celebrating "world music," collaboration, and difference as cornerstones of project proposals (2012:244–45).

Robinson's analysis of a range of collaborative events reveals the variety of relationships realized musically, "from the colonizing impulse of integration to agonistic dialogue that aims to make audible the rough edges of difference" (2012:224), raising questions about the ethics of aesthetic choices and production processes. Composer training is about the manipulation of sound and the search for innovative sources that stretch the possibilities of the ear. Western composers tend to concentrate on formal quality, not the cultural and social significance of resources. He continues, explaining the unequal quality of encounter articulated in many collaborative projects:

> Improvisational play, so fundamental to First Nations and Inuit cultural practices, is infrequently encountered in Canadian art music that incorporates First Nations and Inuit performers, despite the wealth of aleatoric methods at the composer's disposal. Here the relative degree to which Canadian art music composers are asked or expected to change their habitual methods of working in intercultural projects is

small [...] First Peoples and their cultural practices are included in art music as long as composers can find ways to script those musicians (who frequently do not read Western music notation) into the art music genres within which the composers work. Here the scripting of only the musical aspects of a cultural practice enacts a form of symbolic violence upon that cultural practice itself. (2012:238)

Integration of sonic materials, in other words, is inherently hegemonic, forcing an unnatural translation of practices from one tradition (usually that of the colonized) to another (namely, western music practices), and tending to neglect the social and cultural meanings inherent in sonic materials.[129]

I'm cautious of offering an overly simplistic reading of Simeonie Keenainak's collaboration with the CBC Radio Orchestra—of labelling Hiscott's commission as inherently hegemonic and marginalizing of Inuit cultural practices. Robinson's analysis of such intercultural projects does resonate with my interpretations of other fusion programming examples, but also neglects the full complexity of the codings, decodings, and variations in mediation that mark, in particular, projects that have a significant live and regional focus. In her case study of Medicine Beat and Inconnu,[130] two Yukon-based bands that were active during the 1990s, Diamond asks what makes a performance coherent when bands comprise members from "diverse musical and ethnocultural worlds, and where audiences are heterogeneous as well" (2001:213). She concludes by pointing to the unlikelihood that any band have a consistent message; each member's

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[129] Though, notably, Jim Hiscott's engagement with Inuit accordion traditions extends well beyond the commission in question. See Hiscott (2000) for a discussion of his role in the Inuit Button Accordion Festival, which was held in Iqaluit on 29 June 1996 as part of the CBC's sixtieth anniversary celebrations.
[130] Diamond's case study incorporates an account of a performance from an earlier *True North Concert*.

gender and class position differs, inflecting meaning (2001:223). "Social relationship,"

moreover, is too narrow a concept to account for all of the variables that inflect

meaning; as an analytical category social relationships need to be expanded to account

for environment, place, and the overlaps and distinctions between live and recorded

performance (2001:223). The complexities that Diamond notes are relevant to the

variety of meaning made manifest in the *True North Concerts*, particularly given the

multiple perspectives from which singular events were witnessed.

Manumasii Aura was composed as a theme and variations, with the variations

appearing exclusively in an orchestral accompaniment that variously swells and recedes,

at times mirroring the accordion line and at others appearing in sharp dissonance. The

performance had an episodic quality that, with my fixation on the notion of intercultural

contact, I initially interpreted as commentary on moments of contact between the North

and the South, Europeans and Inuit. I imagined a sweeping historical narrative that

included moments of peaceful exchange that kaleidoscoped into periods of sharp

conflict and confrontation. Through it all, the Inuk voice—the accordion—affably

persists, a constant and seemingly unchanged presence "contained" within the North

(cf. Robinson 2012). The orchestra, representing incursions from the South, arrives and

retreats, constantly changing and evolving at each point of contact.

Of course, the very existence of Inuit accordion traditions complicates this

admittedly simplistic—and uninformed—initial reading of *Manumasii Aura*. After all, the

presence of the accordion in the North is the result of contact between Inuit

communities and European and American whalers during the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. In his article on the origins of Northern accordion traditions, Jim

Hiscott relates stories of dances held when the whalers arrived into the old Hudson's

Bay Post in Inukjuak. Over time, the music and dancing were adopted by the Inuit,

becoming major forms of hybridized entertainment (Hiscott 2000:17). Indeed, the

accordion can be thought of as emblematic of the persistent hybridization of Inuit

culture, shaped by longstanding contact and reflective of evolving traditions (cf.

Diamond 2001). While the Inuit accordion is clearly related to other Celtic dance music

traditions—it bears marked similarities in style and repertoire to the push-and-draw

style[131] of the Newfoundland accordion tradition and the "crooked" tunes of Quebecois

traditional dance music—it has its own distinctive markers.

Simeonie's performance was full of fast runs that sounded to be accomplished

through dexterous and subtle bellows changes. His approach and the range of the tune

suggest that he likely performed "Manumasii" on a single row with minimal shifts up and

down the keyboard, rather than exploiting the potential of his two row instrument for

minimizing the number of bellows changes and maximizing opportunities to employ the

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[131] "Push and draw style" refers to an approach to playing the accordion that has its origins in the single row melodeon, or diatonic button accordion. Musicians performing in this style tend to pick out the notes of tunes from within a single row of buttons, relying on frequent changes of bellows to access the full range of available pitches. The mechanics of this approach have implications for the rhythm and metric emphasis of the performance. Other styles of accordion playing involve crossing between the rows of buttons (akin to using a piano keyboard) in order to minimize the number of bellows changes. The distinction is perhaps most readily observable within the Irish performing tradition, where players tend to divide between two tuning systems: C-sharp/D and B/C. The C-sharp/D players perform in the push and draw style.

Figure 3.2: Simeonie Keenainak performing with the CBC Radio Orchestra, 15 September 2007, Anglican Parish Hall, Iqaluit, Nunavut.

basses of the instrument to create an accompaniment (see Figure 3.2). His approach emphasized the importance of rhythm in the music, also suggesting the origins of the music in the single row instruments that, in earlier eras, were more commonly available. In other performances (i.e., without an orchestra), Simeonie makes much greater use of his basses, lightly colouring the melody of tunes, but usage is more ornamental than harmonic (cf. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 2015). He typically appears with a band comprising drumset, electric bass, and guitar. This combination (not unlike the ceilí bands that were popularized in mid-twentieth century Ireland) underscores the importance of rhythmic and melodic clarity, but also minimizes the need for complex accompaniments generated by the basses of the accordion.

Another marker distinguishing Inuit performance practices, reflected in "Manumasii Aura," is a preference for repetition. Hiscott paraphrases Elisapi Kasarnak, an accordion player from Pond Inlet, on this principle: "The most important thing my

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teacher taught me was never to change the tune in the middle of a dance…. If you want

to be successful playing the accordion, never change the tune in the middle of a dance"

(Hiscott 2000:18). In the dance traditions of Newfoundland, Quebec, Ireland, and

Scotland, to name a few examples, it is common for musicians to string together

multiple tunes, feeding the dancers a constant beat and music for as long as the dance

lasts. In the Inuit tradition, in contrast, it is not uncommon for a dance to last 30

minutes, an hour, or even longer, all accompanied by a single tune that persists with

constant rhythm, lift, and subtle variations in ornamentation and melody that are only

detectable by an expert listener.

> In his performance notes for "Manumasii Aura," Hiscott notes:

> My concept was of an aura around the player of the accordion at an
> Inuit square dance. […] There is a literal aura, produced by the sounds
> of the orchestra around the soloist; but also I imagined a spiritual aura
> around the accordion player, who is sometimes depicted in Inuit
> carvings as a shamanistic presence, with the head of a Caribou or other
> animal. As the dance progresses, the excitement in the air produces
> various feelings and altered states in the musicians, dancers, and
> audiences, and there is a hypnotic state produced over time by the
> many reiterations of the tune. (Hiscott n.d.)

He goes on to describe particular motifs in the orchestral parts—a rising theme in the

clarinet meant to depict the shooting colours of the northern lights, a sight that might

appear outside the dance hall, and sounds that imitate the sounds of barking sled dogs

and insects—explaining the composition as an attempt to musically manifest principles

of Inuit sculpture:

> This variety of allusions, depictions of feeling, and rhythmic play can be
> seen as parallel to a type of carving done by Inuit sculptors, in which

the three-dimensional figure of, say, a hunter is covered (like an aura)
by two-dimensional depictions of animals he has hunted, and spirits he
has interacted with. I have tried to capture something of this spiritual
world in the orchestral variations, textures and colours. (Hiscott n.d.)

Hiscott's explanations of sounds and forms, repetitions and spirituality all point to the importance of interpretive context: of how understanding the traditions and aesthetics of musics in contact inform interpretations of performances.

I'll return to the topic of distinctions between live versus listening, and regional versus national audiences in the conclusions for this chapter (see also Chapter 6). For now, I will touch briefly on a sometimes overlooked function that the CBC performs, particularly in remote communities: patron of live performance. This role enables a level of engagement with communities and possibilities for interpretation that are distinct from the experience of broadcast content. The *True North Concerts* were live events that brought local performers together with musicians from disparate regions of the North and South, providing remote communities with access to large-scale performance events that would otherwise be financial impossibilities. Demand for tickets in local communities was usually so high that concerts were performed more than once to accommodate audiences. The concerts, in relatively equal measure, were about providing geographically marginalized communities with opportunities to witness a variety of high profile performers and a range of cultural practices (i.e., there was an equalizing agenda) and about generating content to broadcast.

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that the markets for remote regional broadcasting often behave differently from regions with more densely populated urban

centres. Because commercial models of broadcasting break down in sparsely populated

regions, the CBC is often among the few choices (sometimes the only choice) for local

content. The geographical vastness of the North, moreover, imposes infrastructure-

related challenges to coverage that further limit access to a range of media sources.[132]

Though ratings had not been taken recently when I spoke with Peter Skinner, he

suggested a 45 percent audience share wasn't unusual in northern centres like

Yellowknife—even higher in remote communities (as compared to southern centres

where 10–15 percent audience penetration is considered excellent)(phone interview, 23

August 2012).[133]

Northern demographics—and the complexities of environment and place—then,

have interpretive implications that complicate Robinson's analysis of the inherently

hegemonic potential of translating and decontextualizing the sonic materials of

Indigenous peoples. Table 3.5 provides a breakdown of the 2006 Census of Northern

populations (as compared to Canada's total population), demonstrating that Indigenous

populations comprise a significant portion—and even majority status—in many

Northern communities. For audiences present at the premiere performance of

Manumasii Aura in Iqaluit, odds were that at least some of the listeners were familiar

with the accordion tradition in question. Some may have even participated in the square

dances being aurally depicted. Listeners in the North, particularly from communities

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[132] Beginning during the 1980s, problems with access and coverage have been addressed through the introduction of satellite and, more recently, internet technologies.

[133] Wendy Bergfeldt made similar comments about the market and audience she serves in Cape Breton (interview, 28 June 2012).

where there are accordion players, probably also had at least a passing familiarity with the traditions in question; potential "decodings" were more likely grounded in an appropriate social and cultural context.

Table 3.5: Aboriginal populations for Canada and the North based on 2006 Census counts (Statistics Canada 2008).

Geographic region	Total population	North American Indian	Métis	Inuit	Non-aboriginal population
Canada	31,241,030	2.23%	1.25%	0.16%	96.25%
Yukon Territory	30,190	20.80%	2.65%	0.84%	74.91%
Northwest Territories	41,060	30.78%	8.72%	10.13%	49.73%
Nunavut	29,325	0.34%	0.44%	84.01%	15.02%

I've emphasized the significance of the live concerts in communities, but these performances were originally conceptualized as large-scale spectacles with a mandate to represent the North to the rest of Canada. But listeners, like me, from the South often lack the necessary interpretive context to decode intended meanings and references. A performance that manifests the interesting hybridizations of cultures in contact for local audiences contains within it potential to be interpreted in exoticizing terms—or, in my case, as the embodiment of a colonizing impulse that continues to inflect relations between Indigenous peoples and settlers in Canada.[134] Robinson's comments provide a starting point for beginning to unpack the problems inherent in such representations. In fact, Peter Skinner was quick to point out the lack of contextual understanding and

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[134] Of course, no amount of local knowledge offsets content that is inherently hegemonic: content still may be mediated through an oppressive lens. To a greater extent than most other regions, CBC North operates through local partnerships, generating programming based in the languages and traditions of the region. Local programming supersedes national content and French network content crosses over for inclusion on the English network in order to meet the needs of the various linguistic communities that comprise the North. Though more research on reception is needed to reach firm conclusions about how hegemonies were replicated or challenged through the True North Concerts, I'm inclined to recognize the possibility that this project was received in very different ways depending on the vantage point of audiences.

differing perceptions of quality that were consistent points of negotiation for producers

attempting to navigate different segments of CBC's audience. I'll return to contemplate

the challenges of repackaging and translating content for broadcast to differently

conceptualized audiences in Chapter 4.

The *True North Concerts* were subsidized through community partnerships (e.g.,

with airlines, hotels, venues), and received additional funding from regional and national

sources within the CBC. These partnerships, however, were insufficient for sustaining

the high production costs associated with broadcasting from remote communities in the

North. In 2007, the *True North Concerts* were discontinued because of budgetary

constraints.

The *True North Concert Series* was a regional performance program (akin to

Newfoundland's *Musicraft*, Calgary's *Our Music*, or Ottawa's *Bandwidth*) that developed

out of the *True North Concerts*. These were smaller scale, regionally produced events

that featured Northern performers and, on occasion paired a Northern performer with a

Southern act. These North–South pairings were arranged in collaboration with the

Edmonton-based producer of *Saturday Night Blues*, Holger Peterson, and were

opportunistic events: musicians who passed through Edmonton (the closest flight

connection to the North) were invited to add a leg to their tours. Local musicians were

then recruited to open for and/or back a nationally recognized act, potentially accessing

new audiences through the caché of the headliner's status. The concerts were recorded

and the resulting performance then broadcast on the local performance show (i.e., *True*

North Concert Series) and nationally on *Saturday Night Blues* and/or *Canada Live*.

Concerts were not explicitly "fusion"-based, but they did serve the parallel purpose of

bringing marginal voices into mainstream awareness through strategies of juxtaposition.

These concerts also exemplified the problem of precisely defining "world music" and/or

"diversity" in an organization that comprises inherently diverse regions with very

different representational needs. These co-productions happened annually for about

seven years before ending in 2010 (or thereabouts) because of budgetary constraints

(Peter Skinner, phone interview, 23 August 2012).

3.2.4 French and English Montréal: *Mundo Montréal*

From one of the most remote and, for many Canadians, the most exotic/least-

understood regions of Canada, I shift my focus to a major urban centre and hub of CBC

production. Though conditions were worlds apart, the *True North Concerts* and *Mundo*

Montréal were similar in that they represented their respective production locales to

national audiences through live community-focused events. Montréal, in addition to

being one of Canada's oldest and largest cities, is a vibrant centre for the arts and music.

It's also French Canada's most cosmopolitan urban area and, arguably, the closest point

of contact/equilibrium for Canada's "two solitudes."[135] As the site of Radio-Canada's

headquarters (i.e., the French half of the CBC) and location of a regional (English) CBC

office, Montréal provides almost unique opportunities for collaboration between

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[135] "Two solitudes," the title of Hugh MacLennan's 1945 novel, has since become a metaphor for French and English relations in Canada. It suggests an unresolvable tension and parallel, but separate, existence.

linguistic communities, as well as access to some of Canada's top performers in a vast

array of genres and traditions. *Mundo Montréal* originated from the English side of the

organization but became what the CBC terms "a cross-cultural project"—that is, a

project that involved the two linguistic cultures of the broadcaster working together—

when *Espace Musique* (the French equivalent of Radio 2, see Chapter 4) agreed to

participate in production.

Mundo Montréal was produced by Sophie Laurent, a Montréal-based (and now-

former) CBC music producer. The concerts aired between 2008 and 2013, six of which

were produced during the 2008/09 season (see Table 3.6). When I asked Sophie about

where the concept for the concerts had come from, she explained that a demand for

content aligned with network and regional priorities that emphasized better

representation of Canada's diverse population and outreach into Montréal's many

ethnocultural communities (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012). The

congruence of these objectives, in fact, was highlighted in an early press release about

the concerts: "Montreal has long been celebrated for its artistic verve and multicultural

face. CBC's Mundo Montreal world music concert series was created to showcase the

city's incredible musical diversity" (CBC Montreal 2010). Moreover, the capacity of the

concerts to answer mandated priorities—namely, multiculturalism and community

outreach—combined with their status as cross-cultural projects to support generous

financing. Laurent explained:

> We had a larger budget because there was a question of the priorities
> that were very multicultural and they wanted us to go out and be in

touch with the communities and […] do some outreach with the different communities. [… H]ow it works here is that there are some priorities at the regional level and at the level of the network and we have to organize our projects with those priorities in mind. This other thing is that there was a fund there that's called the cross-cultural fund.[136] That was a special budget where you could pitch special projects and this one was accepted as one of the special projects. (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012)

The concerts were demonstrative of the varied approaches to investment in programming, involving a complex combination of network and regional priorities, broadcast platforms, and community partnerships (i.e., they are revealing of how policy prerogatives are mobilized through the CBC's complex systems of management and production). Though the concerts initially were well-received, the particular nexus of priorities that supported the emergence of the concerts shifted in subsequent years and the generous levels of funding made available for the 2008/'09 concerts disappeared. A combination of mostly regional and some national funding allowed Laurent to continue the series with a single concert per season until 2013.

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[136] The Cross-Cultural Fund (sometimes referred to as the President's Fund) was created by past-president Robert Rabinovitch (1999–2007). The fund, worth CDN$10 million, financed the development and production of programming that was jointly commissioned and aired through both English and French services. The significance of this fund was somewhat contentious: the board of directors and President Hubert Lacroix worked to preserve it in the face of major budget cuts beginning in 2008. They perceived the fund as an important mechanism for facilitating communication between the English and French halves of the organization, and for providing shared content to English and French audiences (see Thomas 1992 for a discussion of the importance of shared content across English- and French-speaking populations). Then-director of English services, Richard Stursburg, however, argued for cutting the fund in favour of preserving large budget programming and jobs, arguing that the projects funded to date had met with limited success (Stursberg 2012:262). Notably, Stursburg's assessments of "success" tended to focus on ratings and audience shares, measures that are often incomplete in the context of public service broadcasting. The fund was ultimately cut out of budgetary necessity in 2012 (Ann MacKeigan, phone interview, 26 April 2012).

Table 3.6: Mundo Montréal concert details, including performance dates, descriptions, musicians, and broadcast platform. The final concert in this series falls outside of the temporal limits of this dissertation. It was included here for the sake of providing a complete data set, but also because it coincided with the cancellation of the Cross-Cultural Fund.

Date	Episode title and description	Performers	Platform
Thursday, 16 October 2008	*Mundo Montréal* Kick Off with Lubo & Kaba Horo: *A "Balkan-influenced ensemble" that "serves up a flavourful musical blend of gypsy, funk, rock and jazz" (Laurent 2008).*	Lubo Aexandrov (guitar/vocals) Emil Iliev (accordion) Igor Bartula (bass) Martin Auguste (drums) Erik Hove (alto sax) Suleyman Ozatilan (*darbuka*/vocals) Coral Egan (vocals) Vassil Markov (vocals/*kaval*)	*Canada Live*, 24 October 2008, 8 pm
Monday, 1 December 2008	Quebec *Trad* Music with De Temps Antan: *Produced in collaboration with Société pour la Danse Traditionelle de Québec, this "wild evening of traditional Quebec folk music" featured De Temps Antan (Eric Beaudry, Andre Brunet, Pierre-Luc Dupuis) with special guests draw from Montreal's world music community (Laurent 2008; Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012, Mundo Montréal 2008b).*	De Temps Antan (Eric Beaudry, Andre Brunet, Pierre-Luc Dupuis) Juan Sebastian Larobina (Argentina/Mexico) Patrick Graham (Canada) Shuni Tsou (Taiwan)	*Canada Live*, Thursday, 18 December 2008, 8 pm
Thursday, 15 January 2009	Zal Idrissa Sissokho and Guests: *Presented in collaboration with Nuit d'Afrique (CBC Montreal 2010).*	Zal Idrissa Sissokho (Senegalese griot specializing in Mandinka rhythm and kora performance) Caracol (Quebecois singer) Musa Dieng Kala (Senegalese singer with "an Arabian-Islamic flavour") Aboulaye Koné (Côte d'Ivoire Mandinkan percussionist) Guy Pelletier (flute) Mohamed N'Diaye (Guinean percussionist)	*Canada Live*, Thursday, 29 January 2009, 8 pm
Thursday, 12 February 2009	Brazilian Night with Forrótimo: *The concert featured a youthful Brazilian band performing forró, "a style of music from northeastern Brazil associated with village bells" (Laurent 2008).*	Forrótimo	NA
Thursday, 12 March 2009	Ragleela: Bridging India and the West: *Ragleela is a "melodious fusion of two traditions yield[ing] a sound that's both colourful and astonishing" (Laurent 2008; Mundo Montréal Series 2009a).*	Uwe Neumann (sitar/*sansa*) Jean-Marc Hébert (guitar) Shankar Das (*tabla*) Marie-Soleil Bélanger (violin) Éric Breton (percussion)	*Canada Live* Wednesday, 25 March 2009, 8 pm
Thursday 16 April 2009	The 'Quebegalese' Music of Diouf: *This concert was a "welcome home" for the Diouf brothers (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012; Mundo Montréal 2009b).*	Pape Abdou Karim Diouf (Senegal) El Hadji Fall Diouf (Senegal)	*Canada Live* Thursday 30 April 2009, 8 pm

Date	Episode title and description	Performers	Platform
Friday, 19 March 2010	Kleztory with Gadji-Gadjo—a rare world-music mashup! *This concert, the only one in the series produced by Frank Opolko, featured Gadji-Gadjo, a group Francophone Quebecers combining Quebecois trad and Latin, and Kleztory, a group comprising a handful of east European nationalities playing classic Klezmer (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012).*	Gadji-Gadjo Kleztory	NA
23 March 2011	Carlos Placeres: *The concept for this concert was Cuban heritage. Featured performer Carlos Placeres worked with a diverse group of collaborators who all shared a musical ancestry with Cuba. Special guests included Elage Diouf (Africa), Hassan El Hadi (Moroccan oud), and Yoel Diaz (jazz piano) (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012).*	Carlos Placeres Elage Diouf (Africa) Hassan El Hadi (Moroccan oud) Yoel Diaz (jazz piano)	NA
7 March 2012	Zal Sissokho and Friends: *Billed as an "evening of exceptional musical collaborations, where African music met blues, folk and soul" (Laurent 2012).*	Zal Sissokho (Senegalese singer/kora player) Buntalo (Sissokho's band) Doba (soul, R&B, folk, and world music) Cécile Doo-Kingué (blues, soul, and afro-funk guitar) Michael Jerome Browne (singer-songwriter)	*Concert on Demand*, cbcmusic.ca
14 March 2013	Paul Kunigis (CBC Music 2013)	Paul Kunigis (Polish-Quebecois folk singer-pianist) Mamselle (Mexican-born singer-songwriter) Christine Tassan (gypsy-swing guitarist and singer)	*Concert on Demand*, cbcmusic.ca

The concerts were promoted by the CBC, but also through community

organizations. Part of the point of the concerts, after all, was community outreach.

Partnering with community organizations helped to increase audience reach and

investment; rather than just advertising to "the regular" CBC audience,[137] the concerts

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[137] Producers, in general, were reluctant to explicitly define how they imagined their "regular" audience(s). Though there are important distinctions to be made from region to region, I'm inclined to suggest that listeners were assumed to be educated professionals who were also white. The case studies in this chapter (particularly my summary of the Slean/Hatzis project) and the discussion of broadcast platforms in Chapter 4 elaborate my rationale for this description. Through these examples, I begin to unpack some of the often unconsidered assumptions and variations that mark understandings of local, regional, national,

were a means of reaching into ethnocultural communities that might not otherwise be

aware of the CBC's activities. Partners were chosen based on the communities from

which the musicians were drawn with mixed results depending on the strength and

penetration of particular community organizations. Tickets for the live concerts were

free and the recorded concerts were available through Radio 2 broadcasts on *Canada

Live*, and, in later years, as a cbc.ca "Concert on Demand."

The concerts, Laurent explained, went beyond basic remote pickups. They were

intended as opportunities for performers to creatively engage with each other and their

audience(s) while being recorded in a venue that didn't pose inherent limits on the

quality of the live recording. Laurent's "different way" of featuring the scene often took

the form of arranging collaborations (phone interview, 20 September 2012): she

contacted feature musicians and then worked with them to find collaborators from

within the incredible diversity of Montréal's music scene. She described how recording

musicians in collaboration was what made the series unique and interesting:

> So that was essentially my favourite part of the "Mundo Montréal"
> series was when we had the original combinations of artists. And I
> think that's what made it special, because when you only record a
> band, you could record them anywhere, you know? They'd play their
> repertoire, they're not doing anything special for the broadcast, but in
> this case they came together with artists they don't usually play with,
> and that gave us some very original materials. (Sophie Laurent, phone
> interview, 20 September 2012)

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and, sometimes, international audiences. Understanding how the audience is conceptualized is an important—and complicated—part of elaborating the social formations privileged in broadcasts (cf. Foster 2009).

It was important, Laurent stressed, for the artists to feel comfortable with the concert

arrangements because rehearsal time was in short supply. While this wasn't a huge

problem for the concerts that featured a single performing group, for concerts (like the

first one in the series) that involved many performers from a variety of stylistic

orientations and musical traditions, Laurent arranged a day of rehearsing in advance of

the concert in addition to a four-hour dress rehearsal the day of the concert. The results

were "fairly fresh" performances that were only managed because all of the involved

musicians were very professional in their approach (Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20

September 2012).

Recall that the producer for the "Come By Concerts," Francesca Swann, identified

the willingness of musicians of a professional performing standard to invest more time

and energy than usual into preparations as factors in the realization of the series. Similar

comments were made by producers involved in other fusion programming projects.

Caitlin Crockard, the producer for *Fuse*, mentioned the relationship between rehearsal

time and the staging of live concerts. She spoke about the necessity of setting the

expectations for collaborative performance somewhat low: there were limits to what

could reasonably be expected when musicians only had an afternoon together to meet

and find some sort of common ground (interview, 2 September 2015). And, perhaps

most similar to Sophie Laurent's reflections on producing *Mundo Montréal*, Halifax-

based music producer Jeff Reilly mentioned the huge investment of resources required

to pull off fusion programming, specifically pointing to the fact that musicians do not

necessarily have long-standing relationships or points of common practice; preparation

and rehearsal is necessarily more extensive than "regular" concert pickups (phone

interview, 4 May 2012).

While Sophie Laurent (and, presumably, Jeff Reilly as well[138]) organized

dedicated rehearsals between collaborating musicians as a means of supporting the

"quality" of the resulting performance, a lack of rehearsal was the more common reality

imposed by limited resources and the challenges of attempting to coordinate the

schedules of multiple often-very-busy performers. In fact, Curtis Andrews, the

percussionist featured in two "Come By Concerts," recalls being busy with other musical

projects in the lead up to the concerts and lacking a budget to support rehearsal for the

broadcasts—conditions that "kill most world music 'fusion' " (email, 16 November 2015).

The lack of time and resources ultimately limits the potential for performances to be

musically satisfying experiences for performers, but also necessitates that the musicians

involved be highly experienced both as players and collaborators.

The relative "success" of performances attempted in these conditions depends

on the proficiency of musicians in their respective traditions, but also on a variety of

other factors that can be roughly characterized in terms of a professional praxis (e.g.,

punctuality, preparedness for rehearsals and performances, awareness of the

mores/norms of interactions between musicians, recording engineers, stage crew, and

other production personnel). The relative levels of experience with which performers

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[138] See discussion of fusion programming in the Maritimes (below).

are equipped implicates their praxis (cf. Sennett 2008)—in situations of intercultural

contact, interpretation of professionalism becomes a bit of a moving target. One of the

musicians featured on *Fuse*, for example, commented on tensions that arose between

the performers because of their fundamentally different understandings of the mores

and norms of musical interaction. Perceptions of professionalism by production staff,

including norms of performance (like precision and virtuosity), that are believed to

transcend local traditions implicates assessments of what content is appropriate for

national versus regional broadcasts; regions where there aren't major urban centres

with concentrated populations of professional musicians may struggle to find local

musical representatives who are considered to "translate" to national audiences—a

topic that I will return to in Chapter 4.

In my analysis of the "Come By Concerts," I quoted Gillian Roberts' observation

of the discursive contradiction present in descriptions of prize-winning Canadian authors

with hyphenated national identities: language is strategically deployed to enact a

transition from being guests in Canada to being figureheads of a shared national culture

(2011:4). I then suggested that a similar pattern was discernable in the ways in which

Bangladeshi–Canadian singer, Shahana Begam, was framed in the "Come By Concerts,"

claiming that transit narratives are a common trope in fusion programming. The

promotional materials used in conjunction with *Mundo Montréal* similarly epitomize

expression of this narrative device. Artist biographies tended to emphasize origins and

trajectories as a means of delimiting belonging within Canadian society—that is,

contributing to a discursive formation with clear centres and peripheries. Zal Idrissa

Sissokho's biography explained that he "comes from the noble line of griots who pass

down the rich Mandinka culture from generation to generation" and that while "living in

Quebec for the past decade, this virtuoso of the kora […] has played with numerous local

performers, including the Diouf brothers, Richard Séguin, Mônica Freire, Coreille, the

Montreal Jubilation Gospel Choir and Cirque du Soleil" (Mundo Montréal 2009c). Not

only are his cultural roots mapped onto distant locals, there are temporal limits on his

experience of Quebec (and Canada): his connections to his present domicile only extend

back ten years. In the next paragraph of the press release, collaborating musicians are

listed with parenthetical references to their places of origin: Quebec, Senegal, Côte

d'Ivoire, and Guinea. Musicians are defined by origin rather than current residence,

nationality, or, as is more typical of concert promotion, genre and instrument; identities

were depicted as fixed by historical circumstances rather than evolving, circumstantial,

negotiated, and existing in the present.

The biography for the Diouf brothers followed a similar pattern, emphasizing

origin stories and travel, while also elaborating alliances to other musicians and

specifically "Canadian" cultural icons:

> Pape Abdou Karim Diouf and El Hadji Fall Diouf came to Quebec from
> Senegal about a dozen years ago and made their mark playing with Les
> Colocs. Talented percussionists who also sing in Wolof and French,
> they went on to collaborate on numerous artistic projects, exploring
> diverse musical genres. Wherever they play, the Diouf brothers wow
> audiences with their compelling energy. Their debut CD, *Dund*, won

critical acclaim, and the band also received the CBC's 2003 Galaxie
Rising Stars award in the world music category.

Since 2005, the two brothers have travelled the world with Cirque du
Soleil's show *Delirium*. Having recently returned to Quebec brimming
with new experiences, they now offer us their latest creations. For this
concert, the Dioufs have invited some of their closest collaborators.
Here's your chance to hear these outstanding musicians!" (Mundo
Montréal 2009b)

Note the emphasis on origins, immigration, and success in Canadian/Quebecois

contexts—success that is recognized in their roles as international emissaries of a

cosmopolitan Canadian culture. There's a simultaneous distancing of the musicians as

newcomers "from elsewhere" and claiming through association with major Canadian

cultural institutions (e.g., CBC's 2003 Rising Stars Award; Cirque du Soleil)—in Roberts'

terms, descriptions that move their subject "from being a guest in Canada […] to

encapsulating Canadian cultural success and values" (2011:4).

This is the tension that is the focus of my work: the Dioufs belong to a category

of "Canadianness" that is contained—circumscribed as diverse, of the world, and

cosmopolitan. And, as Roberts notes, "Not all cosmopolitanisms are as freely chosen as

others, and those that are actively pursued may differ depending upon an emphasis on

lifestyle, philosophy, or various kinds of transnational work" (2011:12). It's a multivalent

concept that celebrates elite mobility and education, but that also suggests a lack of

investment in national interests or references transnational lifestyles that are not freely

chosen. As an element of discourse, then, "cosmopolitanism's" potential to celebrate or

contain is contingent on other signifiers in the field, frequently referencing the agency of the individual(s) it marks.[139]

The prerogative that the CBC Music Department "be more multicultural" falls short in these promotional descriptions, bringing to mind Indigenous author Lee Maracle's demand that Canadians "get out of the fort and imagine something beyond the colonial condition" (2004:206). She emphasizes that this so-called fort is the legacy of a British and industrial colonial parent—that our history shapes our present, inscribing notions of belonging and exclusion. Maracle insists on the necessity of questioning the existence of this fort in the present as a way of moving beyond the violence of colonialism and giving voice to the very different experiences that mark the lives of those who live within versus those who are excluded by its walls (2004:207). Transit narratives articulate the metaphorical walls of the fort. The gap created by this wall can be understood as the difference between structural multiculturalism and the discursive formations that elaborate Canadian social relations, privileging the current popular—and reductive—understanding of "multiculturalism" as a politically correct coding for "not white."

As was the case with the "Combo to Go" concerts, I was unable to access recordings for the majority of *Mundo Montréal* performances, meaning that there are definite limitations to my analysis: I can't speak to the qualities of the musicians'

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[139] See Chapter 7 for discussion of the distinctions between road and transit narratives, and the agency of individuals implicated in their discourses.

broadcast interactions or to the ways in which musician identities were narrated on air. In spite of these limitations, I am inclined to point, again, to distinctions in the cultural work performed by live concerts versus broadcast performances. The final two concerts of the series (for which I do have video recordings[140])—Zal Sissokho and Friends, and Paul Kunigis—depict the musicians on an elevated stage in front of an apparently full audience that, because of community partnerships, comprised at least some cultural insiders.

Moreover, these *Concert on Demand* performances draw attention to another distinction in the coding/decoding process that exists between live performances for community members and concerts broadcast for regional audiences on regional arts programs, and between regional cuts and concerts that are mixed for broadcast on the national network. When I spoke with CBC Newfoundland's executive A&E producer about live concert pickups, he explained that there are peculiarities in how content is used based on the intended audience. *Canada Live*, for example, tends to feature thirty minute "highlight packages" of full-length concerts (Glen Tilley, interview, 15 June 2012).

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[140] These two concerts were still available online as *Concerts on Demand* when I started this case study. The availability of concert recordings is governed by contracts with musicians that specify a time frame in which broadcasts of the recorded performance may be broadcast to the public (e.g., American Federation of Musicians 2003). Typical of many of the concerts that are the subject of this dissertation was a "one year window" for broadcast. That is, the CBC purchased the right to broadcast the recorded concert as many times as they wanted on any of their platforms within one year of recording. After that time period, accessing recordings involves either the willingness of a producer who has kept a personal copy of the broadcast to share, visits to the CBC archives (which became more complicated in 2013 when regional archives were shut down), and/or expensive requests for archival copies. The limits of my resources and the necessity of restricting the parameters of this study meant that I opted not to pursue such requests. Promotional materials, however, were accessible online through the CBC website, various partnering organizations, and from Sophie Laurent.

While I don't have access to the cuts used for the earlier *Canada Live* broadcasts to

enable comparison, the *Concert on Demand* performances appear to follow this same

production principle: these are clickable single-song feature performances that include

panoramic shots of the stage, close ups on the musicians, and almost studio-quality

audio recording that minimizes audience presence. And, rather than host introductions,

songs are introduced via a banner at the bottom of the screen. The emphasis is on a

polished product rather than the process of collaboration and local community building.

Importantly, this format enables customizable usage by tech-savvy users listening and

watching from unspecified geographically-dispersed locales, functionally resisting

(though not discouraging) usage that focuses on narration of local communities.

3.2.5 Vancouver, British Columbia: "Burning to Shine" on ZeD

The *Mundo Montréal* concerts, while rooted in community outreach priorities that

emphasized live engagement of local audiences, point to distinctions in production

quality that distinguish content intended for local versus national audiences.[141] The next

two case studies—of programming in Vancouver followed by programming in the

Maritimes—focus on projects that were specifically conceived for national audiences.

　　　ZeD, created and produced by McLean Mashingaidze-Greaves, was one of the

CBC's earliest experiments in multiplatform production (it aired between 2002 and

2006). Combining a traditional television broadcast with an online hub for an

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[141] While my discussion in this chapter focuses on production for regional versus national audiences, there is also a distinction to be made between production of content focused on process versus aesthetic object that relates to broadcast platform (see Chapter 4).

international and interdisciplinary arts community, the "show" was conceived as "open source television"[142] (Jon Siddall, phone interview, 9 August 2012). Targeting a "young, hip, and technically savvy" audience, this new take on the traditional variety show format comprised a mix of content produced by *ZeD* (e.g., almost all of the music) and short segments of creative work uploaded via a web-portal by viewers and new artists from Canada and the rest of the world (Jon Siddall, phone interview, 9 August 2012; email 26 January 2017). *ZeD*'s offerings were diverse—including a mix of music, short films, poetry, and dance—and its ethos was inherently interdisciplinary, collaborative, and experimental. Garnering five Gemini nominations in its first season alone, the series also influenced developments in American television, such as Al Gore's *Current TV*, in subsequent years (Wikipedia 2012).

One of the projects produced under the umbrella of *ZeD* is understandable as fusion programming. "Burning to Shine" came about when Mashingaidze-Greaves approached music producer Jon Siddall about the possibility of a composer-in-residence program akin to the BBC Concert Orchestra's partnership with composer-in-residence Jonny Greenwood (lead guitar, Radiohead). Siddall's background in classical and contemporary music, previous experience managing the CBC Radio Orchestra, and ongoing work in popular music enabled him to effectively mediate between the various

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[142] "Open-source television" references the concept of open-source software: software for which the original source code is freely available in both original and modified versions (*Oxford Dictionaries Online*, s.v. "open-source," accessed 6 June 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/open-source?q=open+source). In both its original context and Jon's adaptation there are connotations of grassroots and collective creativity that resist extant models of capitalist production.

parties involved in the project, ultimately leading to the commissioning of Toronto-

based hip-hop artist Kevin Brereton (aka, k-os) to write and perform a song with the

Radio Orchestra. Siddall explained that choosing a musician like k-os fit in with *ZeD*'s

aesthetic and priorities, but also suited the overarching mandate of the CBC:

> One of the things that was really exciting about *ZeD* was just this
> interdisciplinary attitude or interest in interdisciplinary artistic activity.
> There were all these different artistic forums that were being
> represented on the show and I think for everybody involved the idea
> of a rap artist doing something creative with the orchestra was right in
> the pocket—was exactly the kind of thing that fit with the spirit of the
> show. And so everybody got on board really quickly with it at CBC. You
> know, I think from a larger CBC perspective, there was at that time and
> there continues to be an interest in … developing, how could I put it?
> Reflecting the diversity of ethnic backgrounds in the content for CBC
> and it seemed a particularly beautiful idea to have an Afro-Canadian
> rap artist performing and creating for the Radio Orchestra and it was
> beautiful because it was organic somehow. Like it made sense. He
> wanted to do it. And it was just a cool idea. So it was easy to love the
> project for a lot of reasons. (Jon Siddall, phone interview, 9 August
> 2012)

Siddall's use of the word "organic" perhaps reflects the policy climate of the time:

experiments in collaboration were a "natural" outcome of systemic and systematic

pressures to better reflect Canada's multicultural nature. Yet such convergences of

people and musics are not without complications.

    In addition to a music video, the typical format used for presenting music on *ZeD*,

a fifty-minute documentary was produced and directed by Jennifer Ouano (2006). It

premiered on CBC television's *Opening Night* on 2 February 2006 and the extended

director's cut was aired a week later on 7 February 2006 on *ZeD* (Rankin 2006). The

documentary followed k-os and the CBC production team from an initial planning

meeting through to the three-hour recording session with the CBC Radio Orchestra and

conductor Tanya Miller. Structured as a countdown and featuring a collage-like montage

of stills and short video clips, the film documented the creative process, tensions

between contributors, and the "production schedule freak-out" that were all elements

of realizing "Burning to Shine" (Jon Siddall quoted in Rankin 2006).

K-os, as the creative lead on the project, was central to the drama. In the initial

phase of the project, k-os spent several days in the CBC Vancouver studio with drummer

Ray Garraway, guitarist/arranger Russell Klyne, arranger/orchestrator Bill Coon, and

producer Jon Siddall, brainstorming and creating a basic structure for their experiment

in hip-hop-orchestral fusion. After returning to Toronto, k-os decided to scrap the work

done in phase one and instead sketched a new piece that he then sent to the other

members of the production team to flesh out. Though a general level of satisfaction was

expressed by participants upon the project's conclusion, there was still a clear critique

from orchestra producer Denise Ball that k-os opted to play it safe rather than exploring

the full potential of the orchestra—or, in Russell Klyne's words, k-os retreated to his

"hip-hop [safety] blanket" (quoted in Ouano 2006).

"Burning to Shine" was not programming rooted in a particular locale or

intended for a specifically regional audience, though it does clearly reference an

unambiguously urban and mobile experience through sound- and videoscapes, narrative

inclusion of multiple production sites, and depiction of "traveling figures" (cf. Clifford

1992).[143] This was a project that emphasized slick production values and sought to appeal to a national/international audience of cosmopolitan viewers based on a version of Canadianness that is pluralistic, mobile, and connected. The presence of high-profile performers with strong opinions and larger-than-life personalities shifted attention away from the politics of race and region—though, arguably, did evoke urban/rural and class divides.

In my analysis of the *True North Concerts*, I cited Robinson's (2012) analysis of intercultural collaborations between Indigenous performers and western orchestras, suggesting the hegemony-maintaining potential—a particular sort of discursive formation—that this arrangement of voices holds. While it is tempting to apply the same logic to analysis of the relationships depicted in "Burning to Shine," the documentary— and, to an extent, the performance itself—was effective in shifting the focus from racial politics to the personalities of stakeholders. That is, the performance depicted in "Burning to Shine" centres on k-os with the orchestra functioning as little more than a backing band: k-os inverts hierarchical expectations based on understandings of "high" and "low-art" forms. Alternatively, k-os's prominence could be read as an extension of the primacy granted virtuoso performer/composers in the western art music tradition of performing concertos. His authority, in other words, speaks to an ability to slot into an

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[143] See discussion of transit versus road narratives in conjunction with my analysis of the "Come By Concerts." The concept of travel is not enough to identify a transit narrative. Neither is the fact of k-os's blackness. K-os is depicted as an agentive figure whose travel between multiple sites is linked to his authenticity as a Canadian musician of repute. His ability to travel defines him as opposed to the locale from which he originated (see discussion of road narratives in Chapter 7).

established role in an existing art world (cf. Becker 1974, [1982]2008), not to an inversion of existing genre hierarchies. The documentary was about the potential to transcend starkly portrayed (constructed?) differences through effective communication and collaboration: k-os (i.e., a black musician) is ultimately assigned blame for the failure of the project to achieve its full potential, yet it is equally clear that it's his personality and approach to creation—not his blackness—that are the targets of the criticism.[144] With his acknowledged star status, he is, moreover, the most powerful figure in the mix; other actors cater to his demands and vision for the project regardless of their own preferences.

"Burning to Shine," like other fusion programming, was about providing audiences with insights into the challenges of collaboration and limits of innovation; musicians were shown to have differing comfort levels with testing the limits of their style and/or genre, and with surrendering creative control in favour of compromise with collaborators. Because it was specifically created as a national television segment (i.e., it wasn't a performance in front of a live audience with radio pickup), "Burning to Shine" had a greater focus on aesthetics and a less narrowly conceptualized audience,

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[144] The inability to communicate potentially could be interpreted in terms of class distinctions: hip hop with its connotations of urban ghettos as bastions of "authentic" production versus the educated elitism of orchestral musicians and affiliated composers/arrangers. Indeed, the videography for the documentary reinforces these associations, though shots of k-os as a solitary creator in front of a grand piano temper such a stark reading of class divides. The success of the collaboration—or, more accurately, its still-born potential—is evaluated from the perspective of production personnel associated with the orchestra and studio space, begging questions about aesthetic preferences and stylistic priorities.

characteristics that distinguish it from the examples so far described in this chapter and that will be further elaborated in my discussion of programming in the Maritimes.

Distinctions of medium and audience aside, the visual component of the documentary highlighted differences between k-os and the Radio Orchestra: k-os most often appeared in front of graffitied walls and in congested urban settings, while the videography of the orchestra featured concert halls mixed with a soundtrack of Bach and Vivaldi. The recording studio was the point of intersection: a sterile and structured space that was incredibly modern and inescapably mediated. While the available *Mundo Montréal* footage served the parallel purpose of showcasing the stage as a space of encounter—an audiotopia (Kun 2005)—there was also a sense of liveness that referenced the temporal co-presence of performers, the extemporaneous nature of witnessed interactions, and suggested the possibility of direct communication with audiences. In contrast, "Burning to Shine" showcased a room full of musicians wearing headsets and performing before microphones alongside close-ups of a mixing board: communication was between individual musicians and a sound booth rather than co-present performers. In "Burning to Shine" there's an honesty about the highly produced nature of the final product that is sometimes elided in apparently "live" broadcast performances, perhaps allowing audiences to more easily recognize that their viewpoint is only partial.

3.2.6 The Maritimes

My final mini-case study addresses programming produced in the Maritimes that was

broadcast for a national audience. Like "Burning to Shine," the two projects discussed

here involved high profile performers and were less about community outreach than, for

example, the "Come By Concerts" or *Mundo Montréal*. That is not to say that these

projects were divorced from the social function that is inherent in fusion programming.

Indeed, Jeff Reilly, the head of the Music Department at CBC Halifax,[145] explained that

producing collaborative musical events requires a significant investment of CBC

resources—an investment that he considered worthwhile because it met mandated

priorities. Performances were built from the bottom up without any guarantee of the

final product: relationships and repertories had to be constructed between musicians

before performances could actually take place. And, in terms of a production

investment, projects tended to go way beyond the time, scope, and effort of most

concert pickups—they were about ten times the work according to Reilly.[146] But, he

continued, such efforts were a part of the CBC's unique "curatorial role" in Canada and

potentially positive for Canadian society, musicians, and music:

> We think it's valuable. We think it's important to music, and we think
> it's important to society, and we think that the people that experience
> this music find it incredibly relevant and meaningful. [...] The social

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[145] Though not the only CBC office in the Maritimes, Halifax is the largest and the site of the majority of the arts-based production in the Maritimes. Regional stations in Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island provide local coverage that tends to focus on current events and news.

[146] The distinction being referenced here is the CBC as a producer, rather than re-producer, of concerts. Unlike most concert pickups, the onus for, among other things, finding performers, organizing rehearsal schedules, booking venues, promotion, and researching audiences falls to the broadcaster. Jeff Reilly's description of the significant investment of time and resources resonates with comments made by the other producers, whose comments are featured earlier in this chapter.

value is that people understand different parts of our society, learn how to work together in new ways that they hadn't before. That it reflects the diversity and social structure of Canada in a way that nothing else can, and that it's a great benefit to music and musicians. […] Musicians learn how to create music that is more meaningful to their listeners through being challenged in ways like this. There's benefits to music, there's benefits to musicians, there's benefits to society, and it goes for a great concert. You know, there's an assumption in our society that you can just grab a musician and record and put it on the air, and you know, the musicians will just take care of themselves and that will be it. And the truth of the matter is, yeah, you let music go and these things would happen on their own, but, you know, I think that the CBC has a curatorial role in its ability to help that process forward, and help reflect it to a broader spectrum of society. (Jeff Reilly, phone interview, 4 May 2012)

Reilly's comments speak to the capacity of music to articulate complex relationships (i.e., musicking), the role of the broadcaster as a patron of Canadian cultural production, and the social responsibility of broadcasters as curators—that is, as powerful influences on the discursive formations that structure perceptions of our social worlds (cf. Small 1998; Hall 1993).

Perhaps reflecting the prevalence of collaborative productions in the Maritimes, Jeff Reilly wrote and realized "Playing Through Changes" to explore how musicians deal with social and cultural change through music. Broadcast nationally on *Ideas* on 24 January 2011, one of the segments in this radio documentary focused on a collaborative venture at the Indian River Festival in Prince Edward Island. The project involved commissioning John Gzowski (guitar) to write a piece for Andrew Downing (bass), Kiran

Ahluwalia (*ghazal* singer),[147] and Patricia O'Callaghan (western classical singer). Gzowski was cast as more than a composer; he was a specialist in "listening to how other cultures think about music" (Reilly 2011). For this project to work, the musicians had to be flexible about how musical ideas were shared and Gzowski needed to make creative use of scoring options. Parts written for Kiran Ahluwalia, for example, were notated with syllables (i.e., in Indian notation), whereas Patricia O'Callaghan needed western staff notation.

The Indian River Project was a CBC commission that was intended for concert performance by musicians who were noted performers in their respective genres and traditions, but it also involved negotiations and cultural learning that went beyond the norms of most composition projects, providing a focal point for dialogue about varied forms of difference. My interview with Jeff Reilly tended to focus on projects that were concert performances of CBC commissions: these were projects that focused on creation of a work of art,[148] not projects based on performances by particular musicians. This distinction is one of emphasis: in both cases performances involve people and the creation of music. In realizing the content for broadcast, however, producers may selectively emphasize the final product or the process of creation. This difference in focus seems to be tied up with production of national versus regional programming (see

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[147] Kiran was one of the musicians who also featured on *Fuse*. See Chapter 7 for discussion of the episode in which she appeared.
[148] N.B., "Burning to Shine" was also a commission.

below), as well as the differing priorities of CBC's various broadcast platforms (see

Chapter 4).

At the time of our conversation, Reilly was in the midst of another commissioned

project that he described as "finally hit[ting] the bulls eye" (Reilly quoted in Hatzis 2014).

Building on previous experiences of working with Bernhard Gueller, the conductor of

Symphony Nova Scotia, and Christos Hatzis, a Volos, Greece-born, Toronto-based

contemporary Canadian composer, Reilly arranged a commission featuring Pickering,

Ontario-born songstress, Sarah Slean. Jeff Reilly's comments about the project focused

on the quality of the work while acknowledging the intensive investment of resources

such projects require:

> Something evolved that was beautiful and unspeakably well
> integrated. And I'm really proud of this project. It's deeply moving. [...
> A]nd the audience was crazy, crazy about it. Loved it. So it was
> extremely successful. And, yeah, it didn't come from any one particular
> place. It came from a relationship that had been well established
> between all the different parties. (phone interview, 4 May 2012)

Collaborative performance, in other words, holds the potential to be aesthetically

pleasing and emotionally fulfilling given the right combination of performers, time,

organizational experience, defined objectives, investment of resources, and prediction

of audience expectations. On 13 April 2012, Slean premiered Hatzis's *Lamento* song

cycle with Symphony Nova Scotia in a performance that contributors deemed a success.

The concert was later broadcast on *Canada Live* and made available to watch on

cbcmusic.ca.

Though I wasn't privy to the actual rehearsal process for the performance or the financing of the project, some assumptions can be made based on context. Most professional orchestras have two to three paid rehearsals (2.5–3 hours/service) in the lead up to a performance.[149] Musicians, in return, are professionally obliged to possess a certain level of knowledge and ability to perform the scores provided to them. Hatzis, too, was commissioned to provide the music that the orchestra and soloist performed— an investment that is not insignificant. Though commissioning rates are usually negotiated on a per case basis, the Canadian League of Composers offer some guidelines for scope: as of 2015, the suggested fee for an orchestral commission involving more than fifteen parts is CDN$790/minute.[150] *Lamento* was more than twenty-three minutes long. These conditions, alone, distinguish the Slean/Hatzis Project from many of the other regional fusion projects for which rehearsal time was considerably more restricted, repertoire the responsibility of contributors, transmission medium less definitively defined, and experience of performers more varied.

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[149] Assuming there was some sort of partnership in place with Symphony Nova Scotia that offset the costs of musician wages, the CBC would still have been bound by the terms of their collective agreement with the American Federation of Musicians to provide remuneration to musicians for the right to broadcast them for the one year window that was typical of this sort of project. While I don't have access to the agreement that was in place in 2012, in 2005 the base per musician rate for a 30 minute broadcast of orchestral music was CDN$126.10 (American Federations of Musicians 2003). This rate was presumably higher in 2012, reflecting cost of living increases. When one considers that the video broadcast of the concert depicts about forty musicians on stage, the cost of hiring the orchestra, alone, is a significant investment. Add to that fees for the soloist, the conductor, and the required union representative, and the costs increase again.

[150] Current commissioning rates, which came into effect in 2013, are available from the Canadian League of Composers at http://www.composition.org/commissioning/commissioning-rates/ (accessed 1 December 2015). A similar investment in commissioning a score was likely made for "Burning to Shine." The cost of hiring the orchestra and conductor, however, would have differed as the CBC Radio Orchestra (i.e., already on the CBC payroll) was used for the recording session.

The commissioned piece, comprising three movements—"When this is Over,"

"My song," and "Despair"—is built on a "lamento bass" (i.e., a step-wise, descending,

often-times repeated bass line that outlines a tetrachord progression from I–V over

which a soaring melody is built), a feature of twentieth century pop classics like

"Stairway to Heaven" by Led Zeppelin and "Hotel California" by the Eagles. The lament

figure, however, has a history in western music that extends well-beyond twentieth-

century western pop: this history is explicitly referenced in the third movement when

Hatzis recreates the aria, "When I am laid in earth" from *Dido and Aeneas* (c. 1688) by

Henry Purcell.[151] Hatzis modernizes the setting through use of chromatic harmony,

cabaret-style recitation and accompaniment, use of extended instrumental techniques,

and intertextual references to twentieth-century classics—most prominently, the

woodblock ostinato from John Adams's *Short Ride in a Fast Machine* (1986). Describing

the results of the commission, Slean commented:

> The music is dazzling but never opaque—one can appreciate his work
> intellectually and also feel it on a deeply spiritual level. It speaks to the
> head, the heart, and the soul. *Lamento* fits beautifully into that canon.
> In it's [sic] fearless exploration of mental illness, Christos has musically
> rendered the bitter poignancy of grief, the fragile beauty of hope, the
> suffocating agony of despair, all while the entire orchestra is pushed to
> new virtuosic ground. As a singer with a taste for the dramatic, this is a
> dream project. Not only is the music beautiful, challenging and
> emotionally potent, it is rife with interpretive possibility. I am truly

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[151] Similar to *Dido and Aeneus*, *Lamento* relates the story of a broken-hearted woman mourning the loss of her lover before taking her own life. See Clément (1988) on the social ordering enacted in opera. She describes opera houses as social centrepieces (cf. Small 1998 on concert halls) with women functioning as "indispensable" adornments (1988:5). Opera, itself, is impossible without powerful leading ladies—prima donnas—but "from the moment these women leave their familiar and ornamental function, they are to end up punished—fallen, abandoned, or dead" (1988:7).

honoured that Christos has reached out across genre borders to entrust me with this delicious and rewarding task. In *Lamento*, the collision of classical and pop is what I believe it should be—not an amalgam or hybrid, but a chemical reaction between the best elements of both genres, one that creates an entirely new form, a new aesthetic, a new standard of excellence. (Slean 2012 quoted in Hatzis 2014)

Note that Slean's words focus on the music—the aesthetic product—not the quality of her interactions with Hatzis. While her status as a star of Canada's indie music scene and Hatzis's prominence as a composer of contemporary Canadian classical music were significant factors in appealing to audiences and in increasing the reach of the performance, ultimately the performers were peripheral to the work.

To my ears, the music is beautiful, full of excitement, pathos, and mercurial contrasts. It's also quite typical of—or perhaps more accurately, stylistically compatible with—the pops offerings of many North American orchestras and the sensibilities of the collaborators. Featuring performances of popular music, show tunes, and well-known classical works, pops concerts have become staples of many orchestras seeking to appeal to the interests of a wider audience than is necessarily available for "serious" or "highbrow" programs of western art music. *Lamento* is quite representative of Hatzis' compositional approach, utilizing a combination of aleatory, extended techniques, lushly romantic orchestration, and extensive scoring for percussion. Slean, as the chosen representative of the pop music world for this collaboration, appeared at ease in this setting: her technique and diction reveal her classical training and her cabaret/Broadway style of vocal production becomes a familiar point of crossover for many listeners. The

experience and approache of the contributors, in other words, was congruent,

complementary, and capable of serving the demands of the music.

The nature of the music created for the Slean/Hatzis project leads me to a final

point about audiences. In my conversations with producers about fusion programming,

there were often references to reaching new audiences through community

partnerships,[152] accompanied by a general reluctance to too closely define a typical

listenership. Yet assumptions about what materials were challenging or safe, references

to acceptable language for broadcasts, and narrations of extra-normative demographics

(e.g., through transit narratives) tacitly communicated an understanding of CBC regulars

as white, well-educated, and middle class. The Slean/Hatzis Project rested easily within

those assumptions (live recordings of classical music are long-time staples of CBC's

programming), while also appealing to the slightly younger age demographic that was

the target of CBC's rebranding in 2008 through inclusion of Sarah Slean as the project

headliner. In a very overt fashion, *Lamento* was intended to appeal to audiences with

"omnivorous" tastes—a pattern of consumption that increasingly marks performances

of elite status and emphasizes consumption of eclectic forms (Peterson and Kern 1996;

Peterson and Simkus 1992; Ollivier 2008; Cheyne and Binder 2010). In other words,

while the Slean/Hatzis Project was intended to have broad appeal to an unspecified

national audience, assumptions about the nature of the listening audience—and,

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[152] E.g., Francesca Swann, interview, 24 November 2010; Sophie Laurent, phone interview, 20 September 2012; Amanda Putz, email, 16 November 2015.

indeed, the level of investment in creating a polished product that conformed to the aesthetic priorities of this demographic—resulted in realization of an approach to musicking and audiotopic space that confirmed the status quo.

3.3 CHARACTERIZING FUSION PROGRAMMING

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, when taken together, the series of mini case studies presented in this chapter illustrate a systemic response to a particular mobilization of policy, illuminating the paths by which concepts travelled and the mechanisms through which producers reinforced existing hegemonies or challenged dominant ideologies. Cumulatively, they also elaborate the characteristics of fusion programming and introduced the themes that were foundational to my analysis of *Fuse* (e.g., transit narratives, production of audiences, liveness and mediation). In the final pages of this chapter, the focus shifts from the specific discursive orderings enacted in these case studies to the qualities, distinctions, and disruptions that characterize this category of programming.

3.3.1 Fusion programming elaborates social relationships

Inherent in the notion of fusion programming is the arrangement of voices and negotiation of varied forms of difference. Though not speaking directly to broadcasting mediums, Josh Kun's concept of "audiotopia" provides a relevant frame for understanding what is being attempted through fusion programming. He explains that "audiotopias" are places in which sound, space, and identity converge that "offer the listener and/or the musicians new maps for re-imagining the present social world"

(2005:23). Entering into these produced spaces reveals possibilities for the world we live in by both "contest[ing]" and "consolidat[ing]" and "sound[ing]" and "silenc[ing]" cultures in ways that disrupt or confirm traditional national narratives (2005:22). By using the term audiotopia, in other words, I am describing the potential for perception that moves beyond the utopian to a space where difference matters. Kun's audiotopias understand music as having a productive capacity: music creates spaces in which difference may be introduced, negotiated, and accepted without insisting on resolution by consensus. These are spaces in which sound does not appeal to the rational, but instead works on the emotional. As an analytic tool, what "audiotopia" does is force attention to the positionality of actors and observers—to the centres, peripheries, and naturalized hierarchies that are variously obscured and recognized through broadcaster encodings and audience decodings (Hall 1980). A single encounter, in other words, has the potential to generate multiple meanings. The relationships elaborated both within the programming examples detailed in the current chapter and, looking forward, in *Fuse* (see Chapters 4–7) are by no means uniform, and, to be sure, are sometimes even contradictory—or at least contingent on the context(s) in which performances are decoded.

In Chapter 1, I quoted Stuart Hall's interpretation of Antonio Gramsci's description of hegemonic social orders. Hall emphasizes that social formations do not develop uniformly: "Racism and racist practices and structures frequently occur in some but not all sectors of the social formation; their impact is penetrative but uneven; and

their very unevenness of impact may help to deepen and exacerbate these contradictory

sectoral antagonisms" (Hall 1986:24). And, indeed, the programming examples

discussed in this chapter are telling of the variety of strategies employed to reinforce

and/or subvert a normative reading of Canadianness, often hinging around perceptions

of performer authority. There are essential questions to be asked about the status of

musicians locally, nationally, and internationally, and how that status is framed for

audiences at local, national, and, international levels. Was musical authority

circumscribed by transit narratives that had more to do with a musician's material

circumstances than artistic contributions? Or was musical authenticity reinforced

through celebratory road narratives? Was the musician presented as a star or support

act, and did that role change when content was repackaged for a different audience?

Were performances framed as live and unmediated, or was visible/audible mediation a

central component of the presentation—that is, what were the politics of aesthetics

entrenched in assumptions about production value and the professional praxes of

contributors? All of these questions are cross-cut by consideration of the genres and

styles in which musicians perform, and associated demographic characteristics of both

performers and audiences.

3.3.2 Fusion programming is embedded in structural conditions

Many of the producers cited above expressed awareness of structural changes in the

communities they served (e.g., Francesca Swann) and/or the CBC's prioritization of

community outreach and "being more multicultural" (e.g., Sophie Laurent, Jon Siddall).

And, even when knowledge of the policy climate in which production was embedded

wasn't clearly expressed, there were resourcing incentives shaping the nature of

produced programming. Though not the only means of accessing supplemental

resources and national exposure, the launch of *Canada Live* in 2007, with its specific

mandate for representing regional diversity and Canada's multicultural nature, provided

a commonly utilized platform for pitching programming concepts that fulfilled those

criteria. While I am ultimately cautious of celebrating the exclusive version of

Canadianness perpetuated through fusion programming, providing funding incentives to

gradually shift the institutional profile of a mammoth organization is a notion with some

merit—and, for that matter, precedent. In truth, it is not unlike affirmative action

strategies applied during the 1970s and '80s for the hiring of female broadcasters. While

tokenistic inclusions initially, the institutional profile of the CBC has shifted to include an

impressive number of influential female voices (e.g., Shelagh Rogers, Carol Off, Ann

MacKeigan)[153]—numbers such that, in conducting the research for this study, the gender

parity that exists in my list of interviewees was a happy accident rather than product of

intentional sampling (see Appendix B).

Production, ultimately, is governed by pragmatic considerations. On one end of

the scale are co-production opportunities accessible through pitches that prioritize

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[153] Karen Levine, a long-time producer at the CBC who has worked on prominent national-level programs including *As it Happens* and *The Sunday Edition*, cautions that there's still a long way to go on the gender front. According to Levine, only about 20 percent of the interviews featured on the CBC are with women—a statistic that really hasn't changed in about twenty years. When I expressed surprise at this number and the lack of change she pointed out that female hosts obscure actual gender representation on-air (phone interview, 11 June 2012).

"diversity." At the other, factors like the availability of musicians of particular performing standards effect decisions about who to include in performances as well as selection of materials for rebroadcast on national platforms. Pairings are often opportunistic, placing musicians who have recognized names and performing careers alongside musicians who are new on the scene or who don't have the same "name-brand" power to attract established CBC audiences on a joint bill. But, this principle also functions in regional–national contexts as a means of exposing local voices to national audiences (e.g., the North–South pairings featured in *True North Concert Series*/*Saturday Night Blues* co-productions), sometimes generating a degree of tension between producers positioned disparately within the CBC Network.

This focus on established and/or "professional" voices is partially about attracting audiences, but also about production schedules and limited resources. Limited (or no) rehearsal time means that hired/commissioned musicians, of necessity, must be able to hit the ground running. In this sense, performers from traditions that foster a skill set that is compatible with collaborative and improvised performance are desirable. But so, too, is are particular types of extra-musical knowledge. Structural conditions mean that large urban centres tend to have greater concentrations of musicians who make their livings as performers than more peripheral towns and rural areas. Musicians from styles and traditions that involve extensive professional organization are advantaged because, from a production point of view, risk is managed.

Consider, for example, the Collective Agreement between the CBC and the American Federation of Musicians (2003), a union that comprises many North American symphonic, theatrical, commercial, and freelance musicians. The existence of this agreement protects the interests of member musicians,[154] while also providing the broadcaster with formalized assurances that musicians will meet particular performing obligations. There are, in other words, particular standards of practice and conventions of behaviour that are shared by members and recognized by producers (cf. Becker [1982]2008). Though the AFM comprises practitioners of a variety of genres and styles, it is oriented to performers with specific commercial/professional interests. In other words, rural voices and traditions that privilege amateur and/or solo performance are potentially peripheralized according to the pragmatics of a ceaseless and underfunded production schedule.

3.3.3 Fusion programming is production and resource intensive

Fusion programming generally requires active intervention on the part of content producers. Intervention takes a variety of forms, including: arranging the terms of collaboration between musicians, organizing venues for performance and recording, and/or commissioning new music. Moreover, regardless of the scale of the project, fusion programming tends to require a significant investment of time and capital on the part of musicians, producers, and the CBC. Caitlin Crockard, for example, explained that

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[154] The broadcaster, for example, was required to pay a penalty fee to the union if it hired non-AFM members to perform.

Fuse was initially intended as a low-budget summer replacement program that opportunistically featured the talents of musicians who happened to be passing through Ottawa. The reality was a "logistical nightmare" that was extremely expensive to produce, largely due to the difficulties of getting all of the involved parties in the same place at the same time (interview, 2 September 2015).

But, while all fusion programming might be resource intensive, there are distinctions in level of investment that are manifest even within the limits of my available data. As the discussion of the Slean/Hatzis Project suggests, projects that focused on the creation of an object of aesthetic value (i.e., a commissioned work) likely required a greater investment of capital than projects that focused on the interactions of particular musicians (i.e., a commissioned performance). This point is, perhaps, most clearly made in Curtis Andrews' assertion that a lack of rehearsal is what "kills" most fusion projects (email, 16 November 2015). Andrews was commenting on the inherent limits placed on the potential of a project to be musically satisfying when there isn't a budget for rehearsal time and the performers aren't already accustomed to performing together.

Becker's ([1982]2008) notion of "art worlds" (i.e., networks of people organized around production of art whose actions are governed by conventions) is useful for understanding Andrews's observation. Practitioners of various forms of art exist in relation to these networks, with implications for their capacities to interact and produce something that is recognisable as art to other practitioners and audiences. Artists who

are "integrated professionals" who "have the technical abilities, social skills, and conceptual apparatus necessary to make it easy to make art. Because they know, understand, and habitually use the conventions on which their world runs, they fit easily into all its standard activities" ([1982]2008:229). The existence of shared critical and aesthetic language, not to mention conventional knowledge pertaining to everything from formal features to norms of interaction enable efficient communication and creation. Introducing outliers into the equation—whether amateurs, folk artists, naïve artists, or the integrated professionals of another art world—inhibits this efficiency as there will not necessarily be a shared knowledge base. Without sufficient opportunity to integrate new ideas, artistic norms may be challenged in ways that are unsatisfactory to musicians and audiences alike. Returning to the examples at hand, while smaller budget fusion programming projects may have focused on the liveness and energy of impromptu encounter, a lack of shared repertoire and familiarity with collaborators' styles necessarily placed limits on the potential for performances to be musically satisfying objects of aesthetic value.

There is also a case to be made for existing structural biases that privilege western art music-based collaborations for higher levels of funding. Contracts with established professional organizations of musicians (e.g., the American Federation of Musicians [AFM]) help to ensure that performers are granted adequate preparation time. Transmission medium, too, is a factor as there are expectations about literacy and aurality that are tied to musical genre and perceived need for rehearsal. It is, however,

worth pointing to the *Mundo Montréal* concerts as examples of projects that balanced

emphasis on a performance by local popular and world musicians with creation of a

polished product that met the aesthetic standards of the national network. Because she

recognized the challenges posed by the concerts (particularly those concerts that

brought together musicians who did not perform together regularly), the series

producer organized a day of rehearsals in addition to the four-hour sound check that

typically proceeded live performances. The result, at least for the two concerts that I

was able to access, was quite a polished performance. Such investments speak to the

ways in which musicians and musics are valued.

Recall, Small's contention that musicking means "*to take part, in any capacity, in*

a musical performance" (italics original, 1998:9) and that musical performances

"articulate[] the values of a specific social group, large or small, powerful or powerless,

rich or poor, at a specific point in its history" (1998:133). What I'm attempting to suggest

in citing Small and commenting on the ways in which investment is made visible (or

audible) in broadcasts is the contribution that these varied extra-musical and non-verbal

aspects of performances became part of what was being communicated—of the subtle

ways that value and resources marked understandings of belonging.

3.3.4 Fusion programming contains the contradictory potential to reinforce and/or disrupt totalizing discourses

The series of programming examples presented in this chapter point to important

distinctions in production for regional versus national audiences that resist and

complicate the discursive structuring of Canadian social relations. As mentioned in

relation to quotas for "multicultural" content, defining "diversity" in the context of the

CBC's programming is particularly complex because of the very different demographic

and socioeconomic challenges that mark Canada's many regions. Depending on the

priorities of different producers, "diversity" was used to reference ethnic, racial, and

social identities, but also to talk about regional distinctiveness, local affiliations, class

structures, and opinion-making—about perceptions of proximity and distance, the

familiar and the foreign. The extent to which producers knew their audiences varied

according to a number of factors, including size of the population served, the

geographical reach of each region, demographic complexity, and, to a significant extent,

individual personalities that were more (or less) concerned with audience outreach.

Nick Davis, CBC Radio's Manager of Program Development, explained to me that

local shows are mandated to "reflect and sound like the audience they service." He

continued,

> Whatever your city is, you need to reflect that. And not every city has
> the same kind of ethnic makeup, right? So […] we don't say you have
> to be this […] percentage this. Whatever your community is, you need
> to sound like that community, and if you're not sounding like that
> community, and you're not trying to engage as many people as
> possible in those communities with our content, then we got to do
> something different, right? (phone interview, 14 September 2012)

Peter Skinner, who produced the *True North Concerts*, made a similar observation when

he described the audience he serves in the North. Because the population he serves is

predominantly Aboriginal, in some ways his audience is more homogenous than typical

of parts of Southern Canada. Yet within that particular demographic there is tremendous

linguistic and geographic diversity (Peter Skinner, phone interview, 23 August 2012).

Glen Tilley, the Executive Producer for Arts and Entertainment in Newfoundland, in a

related vein, stressed that multiculturalism and diversity mean more than "not white"

when it comes to creating representative programming; awareness of the varied ways in

which difference is configured is particularly important when representing less urban

regions where diversity isn't as visible as in cosmopolitan centres like Toronto and

Montréal (Glen Tilley, interview, 15 June 2012).[155]

Though not a site from which fusion programming was produced, comments

made by a producer (Wendy Bergfeldt[156]) from one of the CBC's "less urban regions"

(Cape Breton) about her professional responsibilities and programming priorities are

relevant to unpacking the varied ways in which demographic complexity is configured

and implicated through programming. Wendy Bergfeldt's role involves a constant

balancing process, requiring both involvement and distance from the community she is

serving; involvement in the sense of being visible within the community and open to

dialogue about the needs of the region, but also distant enough to weigh the needs of

competing interest groups with those of marginalized populations (i.e., a wedding and

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[155] See Chapter 7 for an extended discussion and analysis of Canada's demographic configuration in relation to representation on *Fuse*.
[156] Wendy Bergfeldt hosts and produces Cape Breton's daily afternoon current affairs show, *Mainstreet*, and weekend arts magazine, *Island Echoes*. Though not a producer of fusion programming, Bergfeldt was one of the producers whom I contacted in my initial attempt to locate programming examples within the CBC network. Rather than speaking to the specifics of my case study, she provided information about philosophies of broadcasting and the mandate of the CBC, much of which is relevant to understanding the relationship between broadcaster and audience, and the broadcaster's role in producing the audience through forms of address. Details of the various research and recording projects with which Bergfeldt is involved are available at: http://www.cbc.ca/mediacentre/wendy-bergfeldt.html#.VqpNQCqLSUk (accessed 28 January 2016).

balancing of "expert" and "citizen" knowledge in the public interest[157]). Though

representation is unlikely to be demanded by the community—or, more to the point,

powerbrokers within the community—Bergfeldt understands her responsibilities as a

broadcaster to include awareness of the ways in which her audience is diverse and to

find ways of opening the dialogue between constituent parts, even if that involves

negotiating tensions between competing interest groups (interview, 28 June 2012).

The small size of Cape Breton (geographically and in terms of population) makes

these negotiations between intercommunity groups and broadcaster particularly visible.

Wendy Bergfeldt spoke about taking over as the host of *Island Echoes* in the early 1990s.

Launched in 1972 as a fifteen-minute Gaelic-language program, *Island Echoes* over time

has become the region's arts magazine (i.e., like *Musicraft* in Newfoundland, *Key of A* in

Alberta, or *Bandwidth* in Ottawa). This expansion of focus, however, was not without

controversy. When Bergfeldt first arrived in Cape Breton, she was conscious of the

narrow scope of program content and questioned whether it was really serving the

community to the greatest extent possible. She began by widening the focus on what

constituted "Cape Breton culture" by reaching out to Acadian and Mi'kmaw

communities for content—in the analytical terms of this dissertation, she was actively

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[157] Early in our conversation, Bergfeldt referenced an early-twentieth-century exchange between pragmatist philosophers Walter Lippmann and John Dewey as informing her approach to broadcasting. The reference to "expert" and "citizen" knowledge indexes concepts developed through this exchange. For Lippmann's original critiques, see *The Phantom Public* (1925) and *Public Opinion* (1922). For Dewey's responses, see his reviews of Lippmann's books (Dewey 1925, 1922) and *The Public and its Problems* (1927). See Hendy (2013) for a discussion of public service mandate in the twenty-first century, and the professional responsibilities of journalists and broadcasters.

renegotiating the dominance of particular voices within her produced audience. Once

she'd gained a degree of acceptance for this change, she broadened the scope, again by

reaching into minority communities. Bergfeldt emphasized that these changes were not

smoothly accomplished by telling the story of being criticized over her morning coffee:

> And then I walked into the Tim Horton's one morning right down the
> street and this nun came up to me: "I'm so mad at you! I am so cross
> at you!" And she was cross at me because I had put African Nova
> Scotians on the Gaelic show. And that was just too far—for her. But
> she was the only person I heard from […] So between '92 and '94 […]
> that attitude toward what *Island Echoes* was changed to the point
> now, probably by the time we got to '96, '97 […] anybody from any
> cultural group, anybody from any identifiable community group could
> put their art in […] And so it didn't take very long for those attitudes to
> change. But sometimes it's work and sometimes the hosts and
> producers take a little hit. (Wendy Bergfeldt, interview, 28 June 2014)

The example of meeting the critical nun in Tim Horton's highlights a feature unique to

regional broadcasting: it's possible to access direct feedback from audiences through

call-ins, through letters to the local newspaper, through the social networks in which the

producer is embedded, and even through face-to-face encounters with apparent

strangers.[158]

This embeddedness is where that careful balance between intimacy and distance

is most apparent—and most challenging. Bergfeldt explained,

> When you are deciding which criticisms you're going to listen to and
> which ones you're just going to take on advisement, that's a bit of an
> art. There's a bit of a challenge to that and you have to examine your
> assumptions all the time. And what you might have assumed in 1994

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[158] These types of feedback are of course possible on national level shows, but a lack of proximity to audiences often makes direct access more challenging.

might not necessarily be true in 2007 and certainly isn't true in 2012 […] You look at every single criticism and you say, "Okay, let's think about this." So you don't ever dismiss anything out of hand. You always have to think about it, you always have to say, "What's really underneath this? Is this person genuinely being marginalized by having this voice on the air? Or am I just not paying enough attention to this group right now? Or, what's going on? What's happening?" (Wendy Bergfeldt, interview, 28 June 2012)

There are aids, of course, in reflecting upon received criticisms. Bergfeldt pointed out that while the changes to *Island Echoes* were not universally well-received, particularly by members of Cape Breton's Gaelic population, she continued to receive invitations to cover events throughout the region. In other words, her version of the audience remained desirable and local communities remained interested in being featured on the program. Moreover, though ratings are not the only measure of a show's success, they are a useful tool when used in conjunction with other forms of feedback: after an initial slump when Bergfeldt took over *Island Echoes*, the show rebounded and surpassed its former audience share.

I've dwelled upon Wendy Bergfeldt's experiences of broadcasting in Cape Breton and her relationship with her audience in order to draw distinctions between broadcasting for a regional versus national audience. Both regional and national broadcasts are about realizing and reflecting Canada's profound diversity, but at the regional level there's potential for intimacy—and a capacity for countering totalizing narratives—that does not exist at the national level. Proximity (and sometime co-presence) to the places and people featured in broadcasts provides a context for decoding meanings that is, potentially, more nuanced and informed by insider

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knowledge. Broadcasters, moreover, are embedded in the communities they serve,

enabling a variety of means for audiences to talk back, for specific social needs to be

observed, and for audiences to generate materials for broadcasts.

In Gramscian terms that resonate with the variety of perspectives presented in

these case studies, externally defined groups may share certain basic traits but "are also

cross-cut conflicting interests, historically segmented and fragmented in the actual

course of historical formation. Thus the 'unity' of classes[159] is necessarily complex and

has to be *produced*—constructed, created—as a result of specific economic, political and

ideological practices" (Hall 1986:14). In interpreting Gramsci, Hall highlights the

complexities, contradictions, and, indeed, *the diversity*, that exists within supposed

unities. And this, perhaps, is the most important point to be taken from the case studies

presented in this chapter: that the discursive formation of Canadianness analysed and

prioritized in the remainder of this dissertation is necessarily cross-cut by competing

interests, differing production priorities, and widely divergent interpretive positions. The

same artifacts have the potential to be used to differing ends by actors within the

system and production priorities shift according to assumptions about the nature of the

audience being served.

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[159] Hall (1986) argues that Gramsci cannot be thought of as a "grand theorist" on the level of Max Weber or Emile Durkheim, but that he does contribute in important ways to the complexification of social criticism. In particular, he avoids the tendency of traditional Marxism to reduce the social order to questions of economics and class conflict. Instead, Gramsci draws attention to overlapping domains of politics, economics, culture, morality, and custom, and argues for the importance of historical specificity in any analysis of social formation and power. This resistance to reductivism and attention to complications, Hall suggests, is what makes Gramsci's ideas applicable to an analysis of race and ethnicity in the postcolonial conditions of the late-twentieth (and twenty-first) century.

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From the local specificities elaborated above, I now turn to *Fuse*—a program that was created specifically for broadcast on the national network. While many regional producers were quite clear about their intention to create programming that engaged regional and/or ethnocultural diversity, Caitlin Crockard, the producer for *Fuse*, was equally explicit in stating that they weren't trying to make a show that was about multiculturalism. In the post-2008 era, producers are assigned specific diversity targets that have to be accounted for. The production climate when *Fuse* was being broadcast, Crockard explained, was much more relaxed, with freedom to "just produce" a show without the same level of attention to representation. Though there were some specifically "multicultural" inclusions among the performers featured on *Fuse* (e.g., Kiran Ahluwalia, Mighty Popo, Lal), more often "diversity" was conceived of in terms of genre and musical style (interview, 2 September 2015). While I do appreciate Crockard's assertions of intent, ultimately I am more interested in how *Fuse* functioned within the policy climate of the time and how it—perhaps unwittingly—structured its audiences through its discourses.

In the next chapter, I explore the complexities of production for a national audience through close examination of conditions of *Fuse*'s creation and development. While Chapter 3 was about mapping the CBC as a system of communication, Chapter 4 adds complexity to this assessment by focusing on the conditions through which artifacts are produced and asking how institutional roles shape content and stories (cf. Conway 2011:12).

Chapter 4

"THE ORPHANED HYBRID": MEDIA LINES, PRODUCTION AESTHETICS, AND THE AUDIENCE

> There would be this fear of there being too much talk. Like I would sometimes design events that were music and conversation. And the idea that there would be too much talk was terrible. Like that [... talk] would take over the music element, which I really only figured out right around the time that I was leaving. I was like, "Wait! You actually just want the music. That's what we're supposed to be producing!" But, so that was also interesting that regionally it's okay to have this show that's a combination of talk and music whereas nationally people just want music. (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015)

Elsewhere, *Fuse* host Alan Neal described the steep learning curve that went along with his early forays into being a host for various music programs (including *Fuse*)—of the gap between what counted as a "perfect concert for the national audience" and what was acceptable for regional consumption; of realizing that "what you experience in the room is not always a pleasure to experience on the radio"; and of questioning the value to be found in a well-rehearsed and technically refined performance versus the documentation of a process that was dynamic but marked by tuning issues or wrong notes (interview, 4 September 2015). Alan Neal's account speaks to distinctions in production aesthetic that emphasized, at one extreme, the polished "art-as-object" performances and, at the other, programming built around liveness, conversation, and off-the-cuff music making—approaches to programming that were differently located within the CBC's overlapping networks

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This chapter explores the CBC's programming environment and questions what it means to be an "orphaned hybrid"—a program without a clearly defined home and/or purpose—in that terrain (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2017). My analysis in Chapter 3 differentiated between initiatives focused on community outreach through live performances with co-present audiences and broadcasts for a more ambiguously defined national listenership/viewership. I also pointed to distinctions in approach that prioritized, at one end of the spectrum, off-the-cuff musical encounters with a spotlight on the collaborative process and, at the other, production of a broadcastable object of presumed aesthetic worth.

From a production aesthetic perspective, *Fuse* had much more in common with regional community outreach programming initiatives (e.g., "Come By Concerts" or "Combo to Go") than nationally broadcast Music Department features (e.g., *Mundo Montréal* or *Lamento*). But, unlike outreach initiatives that were based around particular needs and changes in communities to which producers were at least proximally related, *Fuse* was obliged to simply represent "Canadian music(s)." Few assumptions about listener knowledge were possible in this context and equitable representation was complicated by geographic vastness. These assumptions about who listeners are and where they are located are important for evaluating the cultural work of the examples elaborated in Chapter 3, but also, moving forward, for interpreting *Fuse*.

In terms of Conway's model of communication, the analysis in this chapter focuses most closely on the production node (though I also reference reception by

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attempting to unpack broadcaster assumptions about audiences), asking how broadcasters' institutional roles shape their stories (see Figure 1.1, p. 20; cf. Conway 2011:12). My analysis digs into distinctions between the CBC's various media lines in terms of purpose and assumed listenership, elaborating *Fuse*'s development over its four seasons, culminating in its cancellation when it no longer fit network priorities. I begin by describing the CBC's various media lines, their respective mandates and target audiences, and where *Fuse* "fit" in this landscape. From discussion of network priorities and how *Fuse*'s production team understood their mandate, the focus shifts to the spaces *Fuse* occupied during its more than three years on the air. This section of the chapter takes the form of a timeline, detailing *Fuse*'s place in programming lineups, including program flows and associated assumptions about the types of listeners most likely to hear *Fuse*. My analysis takes into account ongoing technological transitions that gave rise to radical and widespread changes in media usage during the first decade of the twenty-first century. I also describe the rebranding and restructuring of CBC's English Services that, for radio, came to head in 2007 and 2008. From structural considerations, I then reflect on the production team's more subjective impressions of their listenership, addressing changes that resulted from experience and feedback, and the role of their imaginations in shaping their production of *Fuse*'s audience.

Chapter 4 should be read as an extension of the analysis offered in the previous chapter. In the final section, I return to the topic of national and regional distinctions in content and aesthetics introduced in Chapter 3, complicating this reading with reference

to platform-specific priorities that privileged production of polished musical works versus focus on extemporaneous process and liveness. Taken together, the analysis offered in these two chapters provides a foundation for asking questions about the function of particular aesthetic qualities and approaches to mediation—issues that are taken up in subsequent chapters.

4.1 Media lines, network priorities, and "the orphaned hybrid"

When the CBC published its 2006 strategic plan it was delivering services in English, French, and eight Aboriginal languages over seven television[160] and six radio networks,[161] as well as a range of new media platforms[162] (CBC|Radio Canada 2006a). While these services are now administered under the umbrellas of English, French, and Northern services, when *Fuse* first came on air in 2005 this integration was only starting to get underway. Until 2008, English television, radio, and cbc.ca were separate sections that reported independently to the Board of Directors, effectively impeding the potential for content production across multiple platforms and departments, and necessitating the replication of production facilities. And while, after 2008, producers

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[160] Two national television networks with 23 regional stations and 17 affiliated stations; two wholly owned 24-hour news and information services (CBC Newsworld and the Réseau de l'information de Radio-Canada [RDI]); and three specialty Television services (ARTV, The Documentary Channel, and CBC Country Canada [rebranded as BoldTV in 2008]) (CBC|Radio Canada 2006a).

[161] Four national networks (CBC Radio One and CBC Radio Two, both operating in English, and Première Chaîne and Espace musique, operating in French, broadcast over 82 regional stations; CBC North/Radio-Canada Nord; and Radio Canada International (RCI), broadcasting internationally over shortwave (CBC|Radio Canada 2006a).

[162] Including partnerships with Sirius Canada, a subscription satellite radio service that was launched at the end of 2005; four internet-based platforms (cbc.ca and Radio-Canada.ca, CBC Radio 3, and bandeapart.fm), which were consolidated following major restructuring efforts in 2007 and 2008 onto a single Web 2.0 platform (CBC|Radio Canada 2006a, 2008).

started referring to the CBC as a "content factory,"[163] in 2005 broadcasting was still

medium specific, though there were nods to changes in production practices, not least

in *Fuse*'s broadcast across a spectrum of media at various points in its production

history.

Fuse was created specifically for radio, though even for this single medium there

are varied agendas, influences, and broadcast platforms to be considered. Indeed, Alan

Neal's moment of epiphany, quoted to preface this chapter, about realizing

programming for CBC's Music Department was about featuring music, not the

conversation, is revealing of the contextual considerations that shaped content, focus,

and imagination of audiences. Neal concurrently hosted season three of *Fuse* (a

nationally broadcast weekly live performance show), *Bandwidth* (a regionally broadcast

weekly arts magazine), and *Canada Live* (a nationally broadcast live music showcase, at

the time broadcast daily)—three shows featuring broadly similar content that all aired

over radio, but across different platforms according to distinctive production agendas.

Though initially launched for broadcast on Radio One, *Fuse* became Music

Department programming in October 2006.[164] It, in other words, was a joint property

with a not-always-clear agenda as a result. *Fuse*'s primary "home" for the duration of its

run, Radio One, was chiefly the domain of news, information, and regional content:

> CBC Radio One's vision is to be recognised and valued as the definitive
> source for Canadian News, information and entertainment, connecting

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[163] The phrase "content factory" was frequently employed by CBC personnel to reference content that is conceptualized in ways that allow for transmission over multiple platforms addressing varied audiences.
[164] The specific implications of this transition in terms of program development are analysed below.

Canadians to their regions and the country as a whole. (CBC|Radio
Canada 2006b:26)

Music had a place in Radio One's "entertainment" offerings, but in specific forms:

regional arts magazines (e.g., shows like *Musicraft*, *Bandwidth*, *Our Music*, *Island Echoes*,

and *The Key of A*); live performances on regional morning shows; and specialist-curated

"non-classical" music programming that contained an extensive mix of commentary and

music (i.e., glorified disc-spin shows). Radio Two, as a complementary service, was

marketed as "Canada's leading cultural platform in all genres, the place where creativity

finds a home" (CBC|Radio Canada 2006b:26). In practice, it was the domain of the Music

Department and was, at least until its restructuring in 2008,[165] the home of western

classical music broadcasting in Canada. To augment the CBC's existing network universe,

Radio 3 developed during the late 1990s to target the youth market and independent

music scene in Canada. It initially launched as a webcasting service out of Vancouver,

but was eventually incorporated into the Radio Two lineup: from December 2005 to 17

March 2007, Radio 3 was broadcast on Saturday and Sunday nights over Radio Two.

However, the decision to restructure Radio Two as an adult-oriented service

marginalized Radio 3 from the programming agenda, and from March 2007 it has only

been available via webcast and Sirius Satellite Radio.

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[165] The transition to "the new Radio 2" was announced at the beginning of 2007, with actual changes
introduced beginning in March 2007. These changes included rebranding "Radio Two" as "Radio 2" and
inclusion of *Fuse* in Radio 2's weekend lineup. The intent of these changes was to re-cast the platform
from a "classical music station" to an "adult-oriented music service" (CBC Arts 2007).

Thinking back on the nature of *Fuse* and where it "fit" between departments and networks, Caitlin Crockard explained:

> We were kind of a weird beast in that we were funded by the Music Department but also by Radio One.[166] Like it was this weird kind of hybrid thing where we didn't really fall under anybody's supervision […] and us putting emphasis as much on the talk part, I think, made it less of a traditional music show than other stuff on Radio Two. So us being kind of this weird orphan-slash-left-to-our-own-devices, I think probably geared us more toward what we were used to, which was the Radio One listening audience. Radio Two would probably have less talking and kind of more emphasis just on the straight-up part of the music. Whereas we thought of ourselves as a show that was sort of about the full picture. The music was the most important part but hopefully during the conversations you also got to know the artists and the process a little bit as well. So we always thought of it as a full package and the fact that it went out to other places that maybe wouldn't have done the same kind of programming […] wasn't too much of a consideration. (interview, 2 September 2015)

In practice, this approach was enabled by *Fuse*'s placement within the CBC:

> Once Bill [Stunt, the founding producer,] got it started, basically the show was just Amanda and I for most of it. And we had a super amount of freedom in terms of no one ever questioned who we were putting on the show or directed any particular goals toward us. I think that would probably be very different now. […] CBC Music was based in Toronto, right? So everybody there was kind of under closer […] watch than us in Ottawa where we had no real supervisor, so to speak. So we kind of just put whatever we wanted on the radio, which was great (interview, 2 September 2015).

When Crockard referred to *Fuse* as a "weird kind of hybrid thing" she was referencing

the overlaps in agendas that ultimately resulted (1) in an unusual amount of

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[166] Radio 2/Two is largely the domain of the Music Department, though, particularly since the move to multiplatform production, it also produces content that is delivered across the full-spectrum of the CBC's available platforms, including Radio One. Radio One is more typically the home of regional, news, and information programming, though arts content is also included.

independence from both Radio One and the Music Department; and (2) the freedom to

create a program that was not governed exclusively by the production priorities of a

single department or broadcast platform. The relative independence of the production

team and distinctions in departmental priorities, particularly given *Fuse*'s joint funding

and ownership are not insignificant considerations: the Music Department tended to

privilege highly polished performances with less conversation and more music,[167] but

the majority of the production team for *Fuse* came out of a background in regional

broadcasting that emphasized liveness and conversation with implications for how they

approached content development.

That's not to say that the quality of the musical performances featured on *Fuse*

were unimportant, just that other factors than the aesthetic worth of the music were

also weighed. Season 3 host, Alan Neal, explained:

> I think there is something about that live experience that actually is
> interesting. And so […] that sort of cleaning up of the music—of
> making it […] better—again, from an A&E perspective, the value is we
> are giving our audience the best music possible. For me, I was coming
> from a current affairs background where it was the "well-what-really-
> happened?" element that I find most interesting. So even if it's a train
> wreck, it's kind of interesting to hear that happen, and then to hear
> the musicians […] respond to that. (interview, 4 September 2015).

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[167] In a telling example, Glen Tilley described producing the Radio 2 Morning Show, then hosted by Tom Power, and receiving consistent pressure from the network to place greater emphasis on the music by reducing talk time: [Tom Power] hosts the R2 Morning Show, and he talks for about, maybe four minutes an hour. And they're trying to reduce that talk time. You hear a lot—two, three songs back to back. […] So in other words, it's just wall to wall music, and it's not really curated. And they don't want to—[…] they're basically just putting anecdotal material between back to back to back songs" (interview, 15 June 2012).

Caitlin Crockard, similarly, reinforced that they were trying to capture the energy of a

process; the informal nature of performances—not polished perfection—and the

conversations in which those performances were embedded were part of the bigger

picture that the series sought to express. In Crockard's words:

> I like the imperfect nature of it, I think, after time more than I maybe
> did at the time. In that, sort of like, not to get too metaphorical, but
> one of my own personal interests is a lot of jazz music and improvised
> music […]. And sort of a lot of the point of improvised music is that
> what you get only exists in that moment and sometimes it's great and
> sometimes, you know, you hate it. Whatever. But that's okay. That's
> considered all part of the process and when it hits it, it's really exciting
> to be even in the audience for that. […] I don't know how you would
> do it differently except that you would need a lot of time to record
> stuff that maybe never makes it to air if you wanted to ever have a
> show that's only the best of the best. Right? But just kind of that
> workshoppy, informal nature of it, I think was kind of the best part
> about it. That you never were quite sure what you were going to get
> and maybe some days it's not quite what you wanted, but maybe
> some days it was. I really like the balance of that. (Caitlin Crockard,
> interview, 2 September 2015).

Though *Fuse* was broadcast over a variety of media lines, Crockard emphasized that the

version of the live performance created for Radio One was the focus; content and mix

didn't change when it was transferred to other platforms (though she did specify that

cuts for Radio 2 were slightly longer, usually accomplished with a longer playout at the

end of the show). *Fuse*'s primary home on Radio One—a talk and current affairs focused

network—in other words, and the aesthetic priorities of that network *vis à vis* the Music

Department, are factors that require consideration in assessments of audiences,

content, and the cultural work of particular approaches to programming.

4.2 ENCODING/DECODING PLATFORMS

Table 4.1: Broadcast times, platforms, and programming lineups for Fuse*.*

Date range	Time slot	Platform	Episodes	Program flow
3 July to 5 November 2005	Saturday, 9 pm ET	Radio One	1-1 to 1-10[168]	*Vinyl Tap* (with Randy Bachman) / *Fuse* / News / *Saturday Night Blues* (with Holger Petersen)
8 April 2006 to 17 March 2007	Saturday, 9 pm ET	Radio One	2-1 to 3-12	*Vinyl Tap* (with Randy Bachman) / *Fuse* / News / *Saturday Night Blues* (with Holger Petersen)
24 March 2007[169] to 20 September 2008	Saturday, 3 pm ET	Radio One	3-13 to 4-28	*Definitely Not the Opera* (Sook-Yin Lee) / *Fuse* / [?][170] / *Talking Books*[171] / *Bandwidth*
25 March to 30 September 2007	Sunday, 5 pm ET	Radio 2	3-13 to 4-3	*Cross Country Checkup*[172] / *Fuse* / *Tonic*[173]
[12 August 2006][174] to [20 September 2008]	Saturday, 6 am, 1 pm ET	Sirius 137	[2-12] to [2-28]	[?] / *Fuse* / [?] [?] / *Fuse* / *Spark*[175]

[168] The program logs for this first season are a bit inconsistent, making it difficult to discern actual broadcast time. Episodes 1-1 to 1-7 may have been broadcast on Sundays at 11 am, 1 pm, or 3 pm. My decision to privilege the 9 pm possibility relates to *Fuse*'s status as summer replacement programming and a change in the lineup that left a gap in the Saturday evening schedule.

[169] The CBC archives contain conflicting information about this date. Program logs for *Fuse* indicate that a broadcast happened at 3 pm on Saturday, 24 March 2007, but programming schedules for that date omit *Fuse* from the roster, dating 31 March 2007 as the first broadcast of *Fuse* in the 3 pm timeslot. A similar discrepancy occurs during the period of October 2007 to 2 December 2007; program rosters indicate that the 3 pm timeslot was filled by *Skylarking*. I'm more inclined to trust the dates on the program logs given that I've spoken with production personnel and musicians who confirmed that regular episodes of *Fuse* were being recorded and broadcast during this period.

[170] According to archival broadcast schedules for this time period, there was no programming in the 4 to 4:30 pm timeslot.

[171] *Talking Books*, hosted by Ian Brown, was billed as "Canada's original on-air book-club." The focus of the show was discussion of books and literature, including critical commentary about books and trends in writing (https://web.archive.org/web/20120415224648/http://www.cbc.ca/talkingbooks/ [accessed 15 September 2016]).

[172] *Cross Country Checkup*, first broadcast on 16 May 1965, is a live-to-air call-in show that typically has a focus on Canadian politics. It is broadcast at 4 pm EST. Unlike most other programs on Radio One, broadcasts are not time shifted so the hour preceding *Fuse* would have had different content in each region. Listeners in Toronto and area, for example, would have heard *Roots and Wings* in this timeslot instead of *Cross Country Checkup*.

[173] *Tonic*, a music program featuring various jazz styles, including Latin, soul, R&B, and world groove, premiered on 19 March 2007. Initially broadcast from 6 pm to 8 pm nightly on Radio 2, weekend episodes were hosted by Tim Tamashiro out of Calgary (the weekday host was Katie Malloch out of Montreal).

[174] Broadcasts on Sirius Satellite Radio began sometime during 2006. Potentially the first episode broadcast on this platform featured Amy Millan and Luke Doucet (episode 2-12). It was, in any case, the first episode in which Sirius was mentioned.

[175] *Spark*, a weekly program hosted by Nora Young, was, as of summer 2015, still being aired on Radio One. It's described as being "all about tech, trends, and fresh ideas," guiding "you through this dynamic

Date range	Time slot	Platform	Episodes	Program flow
[7 December 2007] to [2008/'09]	Streaming audio, photos, and blog	CBC Radio 3 (online service)	Selections from seasons 3 and 4[176]	User driven
2 September to 7 October 2008	Tuesday, 6 pm	Bold TV	4-15, 4-19 to 4-23	N/A

Fuse was broadcast between 2005 and 2008, in four distinct seasons, at differing days and times, and across a range of platforms (see Table 4.1)—all factors with implications for the types and sizes of audiences addressed by the broadcaster.[177] Changes in scheduling had consequences for program flows, resulting in a variety of interpretive contexts in which musicians and musics were (re)presented: what came before and what followed in the lineup inflects decisions about program content, the potential for drop-in listenership,[178] and understandings of target audiences.

When *Fuse* first came on air, it was as summer replacement programming: programming that filled a gap in established schedules during a period when there was a

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era of technology-led change, and connect[ing] your life to the big ideas changing our world right now" (http://www.cbc.ca/radio/spark/about [accessed 19 August 2015]).

[176] On 7 December 2007, Amanda Putz posted on Radio 3 blog that "after much hyping and whining (on my part), *Fuse* is finally alive and well on this very site. We have all the latest episodes that we're allowed to play. Meaning we only have a one-year window where we can legally play them on the web or anywhere else." Episodes in this initial posting included 3-19 (Priya Thomas/Royal Wood), 3-12 (Andre Ethier/Sandro Perri), 3-10 (Jon-Rae & the River/Anne Lindsay), 3-9 (Patrick Watson Band/Torngat), 2-11 (No Luck Club/Veda Hille), 3-2 (Hilotrons/Lily Frost), though more were promised as they became available. Amanda posted on the Radio 3 blog on 29 December 2007 that only artists' original songs could be included online, potentially meaning that cover songs—elsewhere identified a key components of *Fuse*–were excluded from this platform.

[177] As the CBC, with particular exceptions, follows time-shifting strategies (i.e., programs that are broadcast at 9 pm in Halifax are also broadcast at 9 pm in Toronto and Vancouver, and at 9:30 pm in Newfoundland), there is a degree of stability and similarity in the demographic reached by particular programs. That is, factors like work schedules and lifestyle are not likely to affect ability to tune-in to programs in ways that are specifically distinguishable by region. See Pegley (2008:34–35) for a discussion of the implications of time shifting versus simultaneous broadcasting.

[178] By "drop-in listenership," I'm referring to listeners who specifically tune-in for programming that precedes or follows the show in question, but whose listening bleeds into the programming space in-between.

lull in normal production. By nature, replacement programming tends to be experimental: commissioned for a short-run, it provides an opportunity to test new concepts, but minimizes the long-term risk of investing in more permanent changes to the programming schedule (Glen Tilley, interview, 7 August 2010). On 25 June 2005, the last episode of *Finkleman's 45s* aired in the Saturday night 8 to 10 pm slot on Radio One. Hosted by Danny Finkleman beginning on 5 October 1985, *Finkleman's 45s* was a disc-spin show that broadcast recordings of popular music from the '50s, '60s, and early '70s, all curated from Finkleman's idiosyncratic and "ludditic" view of the modern world. In 1986, Holger Petersen joined the Saturday evening lineup with his *Saturday Night Blues* (*SNB*) taking over the late evening timeslot. Still a staple of Radio One's A&E offerings, *SNB* is described as offering "a broad spectrum of blues-based music—everything from Mississippi Delta blues to roots rock, zydeco and swing" (CBC Music 2015), featuring a range of pre-recorded and live performances. While driven by idiomatic content, the authority of its host should not be neglected in assessments of listener appeal.[179] When *Fuse* first broadcast in July 2005, in other words, it aired in the context of a well-established programming lineup featuring (1) strong host personalities with clear curatorial agendas, and (2) content that sought to appeal to connoisseur listeners interested in "classic"—though not always mainstream—popular music.

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[179] Petersen's curation of the blues in Canada has garnered him numerous awards, including a 1992 Juno for his release of a compilation album of performances on *SNB* and, in 2008, a "Keeping the Blues Alive" award from the Memphis-based Blues Foundation.

Fuse filled the second half of Finkleman's timeslot, entering this programming

environment alongside *Vinyl Tap* (hosted by Randy Bachman). *Vinyl Tap*, which, like *SNB*,

has become a staple of CBC's music programming,[180] is described in the following terms:

> Two hours of music and stories from one of Canada's musical legends.
> Playing with The Guess Who, Bachman Turner Overdrive and as a solo
> act, Randy Bachman has provided a veritable soundtrack to the last
> thirty years of popular music. Now he's come to CBC Radio to play his
> favourite songs and tell stories from his life on the road and in the
> studio. (CBC Radio 2015)

Though musical selections focus more on classic rock, pop, and jazz than his

predecessor, emphasis is, again, on curation by an authoritative specialist. First season

inclusion of Randy Bachman on *Fuse* (episode 1-7) and references to comments made on

Vinyl Tap about gender and songwriting (episode 1-8), in this context, might be

interpreted as attempts to articulate the complementarity of components in the

Saturday evening lineup. Moreover, though Caitlin Crockard denied a specific awareness

of the season one timeslot as a motivator for content decisions,[181] the

overrepresentation of singer-songwriters and roots-based genres among the performers

may subtly reference the programming environment in which *Fuse* first aired. Figure 4.1

depicts the relatively narrow range of genres included in season one's offerings. Notably,

there were fewer shows broadcast during season one—only 10 episodes as compared to

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[180] Though strongly affiliated with the CBC, *Vinyl Tap* is purchased programming; it is not produced in-house by the CBC.
[181] Caitlin Crockard did suggest that founding producer, Bill Stunt, may have taken timeslot and programming flows into account in his decision making for *Fuse*, however I was unable to reach him to query this point.

the 28 episodes included in season four—imposing limits on potential for genre

diversity.
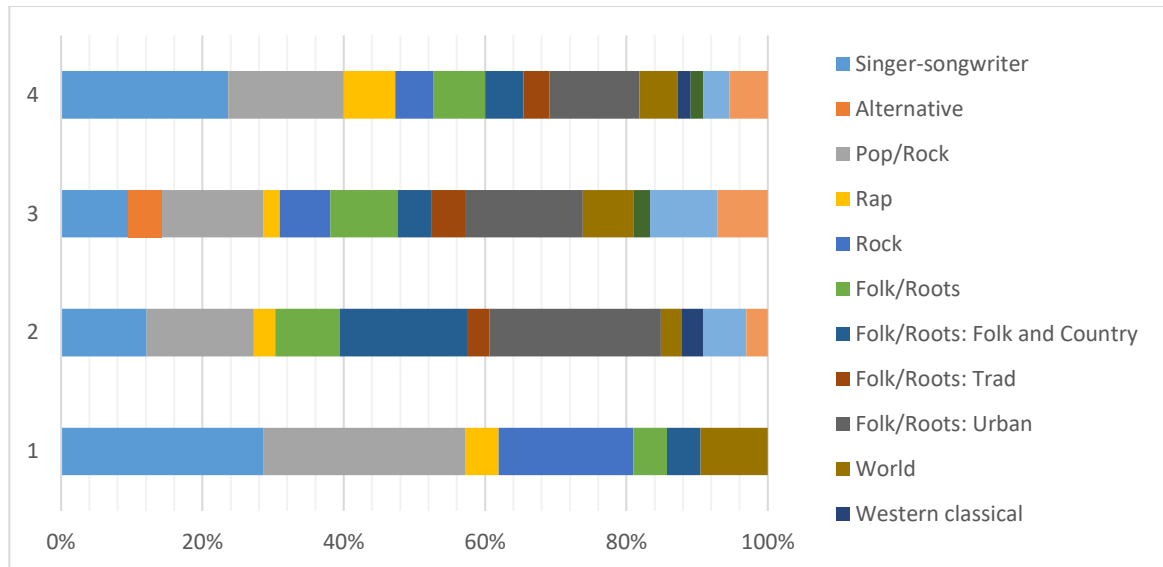
Figure 4.1: Genre representation by season of Fuse*. Calculations are based on the genre category assigned to the 151 distinct acts that appeared on Fuse. Because musician profiles for all of the lead musicians featured on Fuse were compiled regardless of the availability of an archival recording of their broadcast performance, these calculations represent the series in its entirety. See chapter 2 for definitions of genre categories and chapter 7 for discussion of genre as an element of the discursive field.*

In 2006, Canada had the highest rate of broadband subscription amongst G8

countries with 60 percent of households subscribing to high-speed internet services.

Potential for penetration was higher again with 93 percent of Canadian households

technically capable of accessing broadband services (CRTC 2007). Actual usage, however,

continues to relate to demographics (e.g., age, socioeconomic status, geographic

location). Wendy Bergfeldt, speaking about producing content for regional audiences,

described the gaps that persist in technology usage among her audience:

> I got a call from a woman yesterday who was furious with me because
> I had a Facebook contest. And she said, "You have humiliated us. For
> those of us who are not on the internet, we can't participate" […] And I
> thought, "Yeah, you know what? You're right" […] She made me aware

that there was still a quarter of the population that wanted to participate that couldn't because I hadn't given them enough options. (interview, 28 June 2012)

A quick glance at the websites for *Vinyl Tap* and *SNB* reveals that even now (in 2017),

avenues for online audience engagement are limited: Randy Bachman

(@RandysVinylTap) only joined Twitter in 2013 and doesn't maintain a program-specific

Facebook page; *SNB*'s Facebook page is only sporadically updated; and, while it's

possible to listen online, there isn't a dedicated podcast for either show. Engagements

via other forms of social networking media are not offered. In other words, there is an

online presence for both shows in the form of a website conveying information about

the hosts, when to listen, and even an occasional YouTube clip of general interest (in line

with general CBC policies that increasingly emphasize multiplatform production[182]), but

an audience interested and/or capable of being engaged through these technologies is

(and, presumably, was) not actively fostered.

As replacement programming for *Finkleman's 45s* that was situated between

Vinyl Tap and *Saturday Night Blues*, the initial audience for *Fuse* likely fit the profile of

listeners interested in previous and surrounding programming (i.e., the drop-in

listenership), rather than the interests of the *Fuse*-specific audience that subsequently

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[182] From the 1990s and accelerating toward the launch of the cbc.music.ca portal in 2008, the CBC has been consistent in emphasizing the development of new media platforms. O'Neill writes: "CBC prioritization of new media from the mid-1990s arose less from a desire to be a pioneer in new technologies than from a need to build and defend a competitive position for the CBC brand in the only truly unregulated space within the Canadian mediascape—within which consolidation and cross-media ownership were the orders of the day" (2006:182). Changes in policy, in other words, were about maintaining broadcaster relevance apace technological change.

developed. I'll return to the topic of *Fuse*'s imagined audience later in the chapter, but at this point it is worth citing Amanda Putz's comments about the audience she desired versus the audience they were provided with: she envisioned attracting "indie-loving festival and club goers," but was conscious of not alienating CBC's "regular listeners who loved *Vinyl Cafe* and *DNTO*" (Amanda Putz, email, 16 November 2015). In season one, each episode of *Fuse* ended with an invitation to email or call in with feedback (i.e., options that were suitable to the interests and abilities of Saturday evening listenership);[183] in season two the options narrowed to web-based forms of communication (i.e., forms of communication suitable for a young, hip, and connected audience who, increasingly, were the focus of ongoing restructuring at the CBC).

On 12 November 2005, *The National Playlist* replaced *Fuse* in the 9 pm Saturday timeslot. Related to earlier programming initiatives that attempted to compile a national musical canon (e.g., *50 Tracks: The Canadian Version)* and hosted by Jian Ghomeshi, the new Saturday evening show presented a countdown of the music that had been voted onto Canada's "national playlist." Like *Fuse*, the focus seems to have been on Canadian music with an emphasis on the popular side of the scene. Also like *Fuse*, the host was a young and less established voice whose approach and physical demeanor in promotional materials were congruent with changing network priorities.[184] Similarly, though a relatively new voice in broadcasting at the time, primary host Amanda Putz became an

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[183] Addresses and phone numbers were listed in the closing credits.
[184] Ghomeshi had not yet achieved star status/infamy as the host of *Q*.

active voice for popular music in Canada during her tenure on *Fuse* and was increasingly associated with programming on Radio 3.

Though not broadcast during the 2005/'06 winter season, production for *Fuse* continued with two to three episodes recorded before a live studio (or on-site) audience almost monthly between November and April. In other words, though commissioned as summer replacement programming, by the end of season one there was an apparent intention to bring *Fuse* back in subsequent seasons, a decision that was, perhaps, in step with strategic planning that emphasized development of "young and hip" audiences.

And, indeed, the "personality" of *Fuse* began to change during season two, and even more noticeably between seasons two and three. This change was multifaceted, reflecting, in Caitlin Crockard's words, a better "understanding [of] where we fell in the CBC lineup" (interview, 2 September 2015), but also referencing changes in funding, affiliation, and personnel. Recall that Crockard identified *Fuse* as an "orphaned hybrid," commenting on administrative ambiguities that meant that production was managed somewhere between Radio One and the Music Department with content resisting approaches that were typical of a particular platform. Though detailed budgets are protected information,[185] a few inferences about funding sources can be made based on a series of messages sent between various managers and producers. An email sent at

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[185] While the CBC is subject to the terms of the Access to Information Act, there are exemptions relating to creative process and the potential to compete in the media industry that, controversially, enable the CBC to limit the amount of information it releases about its budgets (Government of Canada 1985:68.1).

the end of season one suggests the transition from temporary to regular programming

with the creation of a full-time role for the host:

> I will fund the balance to make Amanda full-time until the end of the
> season, June. This is the commitment we have made to FUSE so far.
> And I agree it is necessary. We can reassess then. (Jennifer McGuire[186]
> to Rob [Renaud],[187] email, 13 December 2005)[188]

Almost a year later on 19 October 2006, Jennifer McGuire sent another email, this time

to Kathleen Fraser[189] (and copied to Mark Steinmetz,[190] Rob Renaud, Todd Spencer,[191]

and Bill Stunt[192]), elaborating details of *Fuse*'s funding structure:

> Here is the budget for FUSE. This program will move into the Music
> department. Mark will fund the AFM [American Federation of
> Musicians] commitments and I will continue to pay the staff costs until
> we finish the realignment of Radio 2 at which point it will become part
> of the overall funding allocation.

This message speaks to the ambiguities in production arrangements that Caitlin

Crockard identified and that enabled *Fuse* to develop according to the aesthetic

priorities of Radio One versus the Music Department (i.e., Radio Two). Cumulatively,

what can be taken from these messages is that by the end of season two, *Fuse* had

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[186] Jennifer McGuire is currently the General Manager and Editor in Chief of the CBC News Department.
[187] In 2011, Rob Renaud was managing director of English programming for CBC Ottawa. I have not been able to locate details about his current position at the CBC, or the position that he held at the time this email was sent. It is likely, however, that he was in an administrative/managerial role given his inclusion on this email and the position he held a few years later.
[188] The cited correspondence was among a series of documents released to me as part of a formal Access to Information request, submitted according to the terms of federal legislation on privacy and the freedom of information (Government of Canada 1985).
[189] I have not been able to locate details about Kathleen Fraser's official role at the CBC, perhaps indicative that she is no longer working at the CBC.
[190] Mark Steinmetz has been the director of Music Programming at the CBC since 2003.
[191] At the time this email was sent, Todd Spencer was the Executive Director of Production and Resources at CBC English Radio.
[192] Bill Stunt was the founding producer of Fuse, and a production manager at CBC Ottawa. He is currently the director of Media Operation and Technology.

transitioned from summer replacement programming with an uncertain future and

unstable funding base,[193] to being a feature of the Music Department's regular

programming roster—a transition marked by a greater number of episodes per season,

consistent availability throughout the regular programming season, a greater

concentration of high-profile acts, and, as noted in a message from Mark Steinmetz to

Jill LaForty[194] (email, 13 December 2007), a long-term approach to booking talent.

More obvious than these behind the scenes transitions in departmental

"ownership," was Amanda Putz's replacement by Alan Neal for season three—an

audible shift from a female to male curatorial voice. However, variations between

seasons involved more than the gender of the hosts' voices. Figure 4.3 provides a

graphic representation of the ways in which the hosts addressed their audience(s) in

their introductory remarks for each episode. Perhaps most noticeable for their

consistency in approaches to audience address are seasons one and three: in season one

the focus is quite regional, while in season three (i.e., the season that Alan Neal hosted)

the predominant mode of address is to the national audience. Motivation for this

reconceptualization of the primary addressee may, in part, relate to broadcast platform.

In season two, *Fuse* was picked up for broadcast on Sirius Satellite 137. Audience reach,

in other words, grew to include all of North America, though broadcast times (6 am and

1 pm on Saturdays) were hardly moments of high penetration. As well, Caitlin Crockard

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[193] Based on more general accounts about sources of funding for other projects and inference from the wording of messages about stabilizing funding for *Fuse*, initial funding for the series likely was sourced through monies available at the regional level and through grants from Radio One.
[194] Jill LaForty, now retired, was an executive producer of music at CBC Ottawa.

described changes in audience reach: *Fuse* was initially embedded in Ottawa's music scene(s) and audiences, but, through tapings in other cities and write-ins from across the country, she (and the hosts) became more aware of non-present audiences (interview, 2 September 2015). The variation from female to male voice between seasons two and three, in other words, may simply have highlighted ongoing changes rather than representing an abrupt departure from initial approaches.
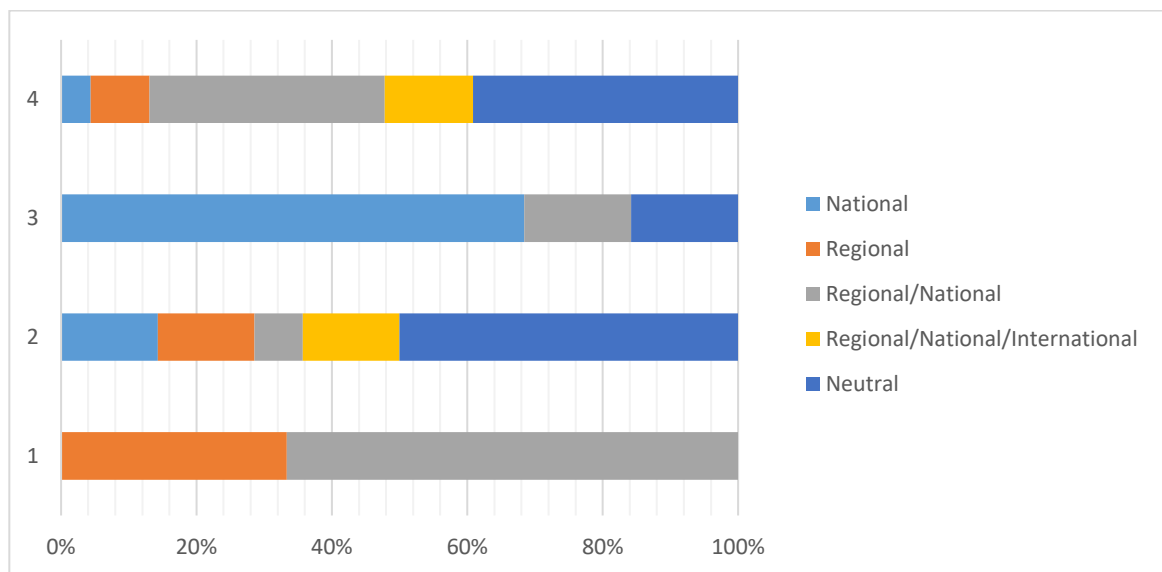
Figure 4.2: Audience conceptualization by season of Fuse. *Excluded from this calculation are episodes for which an archival recording was not available (i.e., 62 of 76 episodes are represented in this calculation). As there were significant differences in the number of episodes/season, the percentage of episodes employing particular modes of address was calculated on a per season basis. The classifications used—regional, national, international—refer to fairly direct statements of address made by the hosts (e.g., "Please give a warm Ottawa welcome" [1-2]; "Hello there Canada" [3-10]; and, "Hello to our Toronto congregation, and to those of you who are listening across Canada and beyond" [4-10]). The neutral categorization is used to refer to introductions that address an unspecified and undifferentiated audience.*

While host voice and relationship to the audience changed through season two and into season three, so, too, did the scale of the performing resources utilized on *Fuse*. Figure 4.3 represents the number of performers who were featured in individual episodes of *Fuse*. Calculations are made on a per season basis, accounting for the

percentage of episodes that featured between two and fourteen performers. Episodes with two, three, and even four musicians typically focused on solo performers (often singer-songwriters), sometimes with a single backing musician. While episodes featuring a small number of performers were the norm in the first two seasons, by the third season larger groups were increasingly recruited for broadcasts. The size of the performing groups had an effect on production costs—that is, there's a significant and quantifiable distinction between hiring two singer-songwriters to perform on a low-budget summer replacement series versus hiring two bands to play on a regular weekly program. Scale of performing resources also implicate the types of musics featured and the audiences targeted (cf. Figure 4.3)—changes that coincided with a new place in Radio One's lineup and new purpose within the overall terrain of the CBC.
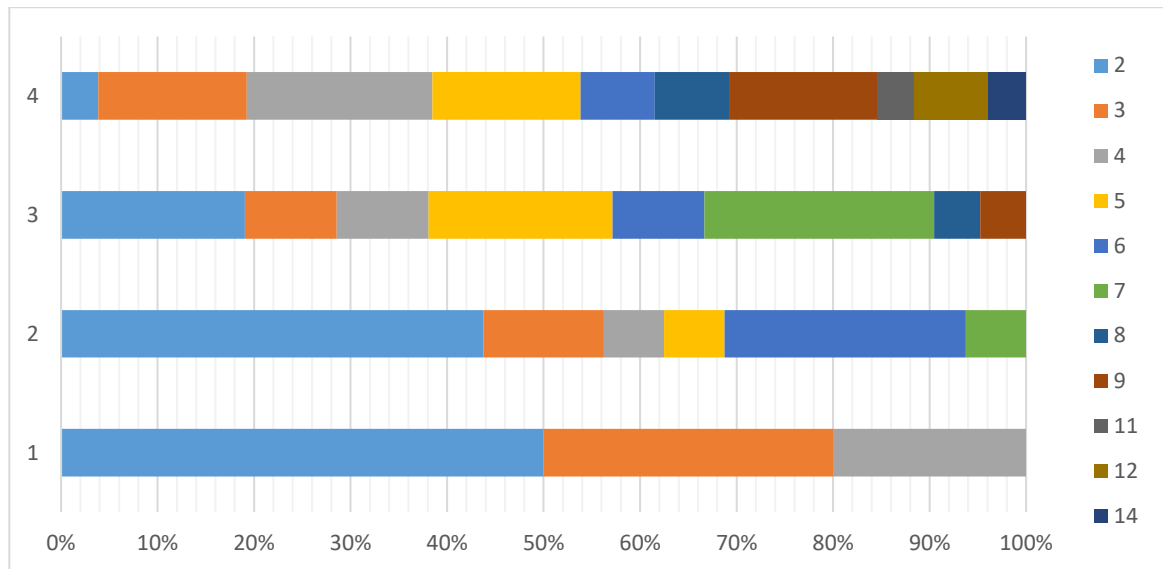
Figure 4.3: Performing resources by season of Fuse*. Each block of colour represents the number of performers appearing in a Fuse episode. Because details about performing resources were available for the entire series through the program logs, this chart represents the series in its entirety (though does exclude the three "best of" episodes that comprised performances and outtakes from other broadcasts; i.e., 73 of 76 episodes). As there were significant differences in the number of episodes/season, the percentage of episodes with different numbers of performers was calculated on a per season basis.*

In January 2007, the CBC announced wide-ranging changes to their arts and

culture programming, including the decision to refocus Radio One as a news and current

affairs hub by migrating the majority of music programming to other platforms.[195] In a

move that echoed changes in the French network accomplished earlier that decade,

Radio Two (rebranded as Radio 2 in March 2007) was reconceptualised as an "adult-

oriented music service" with a target audience over the age of 35 (CBC Arts 2007).[196]

Changes intended to update and maintain CBC's relevance in the Canadian mediascape

were implemented beginning in March 2007, including rearrangement of existing

programming lineups that directly affected *Fuse*:

> Ottawa-based musical mash-up/match-up show Fuse will move up
> from its current Saturday evening spot to replace the last hour of
> Definitely Not the Opera on Saturday afternoon on Radio One and to
> Sunday afternoon on Radio Two. (CBC Arts 2007)

The audience profiles associated with the different broadcast platforms are important

for understanding where *Fuse* fit in the CBC's programming environment. In March 2007

it moved from a Radio One timeslot where it was nested in a lineup featuring

idiosyncratic approaches to curating classic pop, rock, and blues-based genres, to a

Saturday afternoon position following *Definitely Not the Opera* (DNTO) with Sook-Yin

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[195] The changes described here were part of wider restructuring efforts instituted under the guidance of then-head of English language services, Richard Stursberg (CBC executive vice-president, 2004–2010). This was a turbulent and controversial period in the CBC's management history. Though restructuring efforts focused on relevance, growing audience share, and making the CBC a competitive player in Canada's creative industries, Stursberg's policies have been widely criticized. Analysing the scope, motivation, justification, and effect of changes instituted during Stursberg's tenure at the CBC is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Some of the critiques directed at the former head of English services are summarized in Barsky (2008). Stursberg's defense of his policies is published as a memoir of the period, *Tower of Babble* (2012).

[196] Previous to this decision, more than half of the Radio Two audience was older than 65 (CBC Arts 2007).

Lee. Hosted by a former MuchMusic[197] VJ from 2002 to 2016, *DNTO* was a magazine-style broadcast that mixed light documentary, interviews, audio essays, and some pop. Instead of being the youthful voice in Saturday evening's mature and specialized lineup, *Fuse* was instead being broadcast alongside another program with a contemporary pop culture focus.[198] With this transition, *Fuse* also became the primary platform for "live performance" on Radio One, perhaps justifying the resourcing to support the larger performing groups that were more frequently featured in seasons three and four (see Figure 4.3). Episodes broadcast on Saturday afternoons on Radio One were then re-broadcast on Sunday afternoon on Radio 2, functioning as temporary "non-classical" filler while Radio 2 transitioned to its new less-classical programming lineup. *Fuse* was removed from the Radio 2 lineup just six months later on 30 September 2007, perhaps because it didn't suit network aesthetic priorities.

While *Fuse* may not have found a niche in Radio 2, it did find an easy home in the Radio 3 lineup. Though it wasn't picked up by Radio 3 until as late as 7 December 2007, *Fuse*'s affinity with the Radio 3 audience was established early in the series. In May 2006, two episodes (episodes 2-11, 2-13) were recorded in Vancouver and co-hosted by Radio 3 personality Tariq Hussain. These episodes functioned as promotional pushes for the newly established Radio Two broadcast of Radio 3, and discreetly implied a

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[197] MuchMusic, now rebranded as Much, is a privately owned specialty television channel that, from its launch in 1984 until recent years, specialized almost exclusively in broadcast of music videos. See Pegley (2008, 1999) for a comparative case study that explores distinctions between MuchMusic and MTV.
[198] Notably, *DNTO* had been on-air since 1994 with a longstanding and well-established audience of its own. And, as Amanda Putz's comment (cited earlier in this chapter) reinforced, they were seeking a new audience while trying not to alienate "regular" listeners who loved shows like *DNTO*.

crossover in target audiences. The exchange between Amanda and Tariq at the

beginning of episode 2-13 (featuring Kinnie Starr and Skeena Reece) resonates with

Amanda Putz's description of her imagined audience (i.e., "indie-loving festival and club

goers") and the priorities assigned the new network:

> [Amanda:] We have crammed millions into Studio 1 here in beautiful
> Vancouver. Welcome to the *Fuse* airwaves, yes, coming to you indeed
> from the edge of the Pacific Ocean. We're going to try something a
> little different on *Fuse* tonight than we usually do. We want to draw
> some attention to the hippest arm of the great Mother Corp. And of
> course it comes out of Vancouver. So I brought in a ringer to share the
> hosting duties with me tonight. No it's not Shelagh Rogers[199]
> unfortunately. Not Ian Handsome-Man-Thing[200] as my mom calls him.
> But he is very handsome. His name is Tariq Hussain and he's one of the
> hosts on CBC Radio 3. If that name already sounds familiar, it's
> probably because Tariq is also a singer-songwriter of some repute.
> Tariq recently relocated to Vancouver to try his hand at hosting radio
> so please welcome to the host chair tonight, Tariq Hussain! Thank you,
> the tuqued Tariq tonight! Now this hip arm of the CBC Mother Corp
> that I'm referring to is CBC Radio 3. Can you describe it to listeners that
> might not know about it?

> [Tariq:] Yeah, Radio 3 is all about exposing Canadian music and we do
> it in a couple of different ways. Well, three different ways anyway. The
> podcast. We have a weekly podcast. We also are on Radio Two and
> now on Sirius Satellite Radio, which is all across the continent of North
> America. (episode 2-13)

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[199] Shelagh Rogers is a noted Canadian broadcaster who joined the CBC in 1980. Over the course of her
career she has been associated with cornerstones of the CBC's programming lineup, including
Morningside, *This Morning*, and *Sounds Like Canada*. Rogers left the CBC in 2008 to pursue her work on
mental health awareness. From September 2008 she has hosted *The Next Chapter*, the program that
replaced *Fuse*.

[200] This is a reference to Ian Hanomansing, a journalist with the CBC since 1986. His work includes
coverage of a number of high-profile news events, including the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill, the 1992 race
riots in Los Angeles, the 1994 Stanley Cup riot, the handover of Hong Kong from Great Britain to China,
and the Olympic Games (1996, 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2008). He was the national anchor of *Canada Now*
and *CBC News: Vancouver*. He currently reports for the CBC's flagship newscast, the *National*.

Amanda and Tariq's introduction references well-established voices that were likely familiar to CBC regulars of a certain age (consider Amanda's reference to her mother in conjunction with Ian Hanomansing), while also suggesting to listeners a degree of compatibility—a point of crossover—between *Fuse* and the "hippest arm of the great Mother Corp." Radio 3, according to CBC-insiders, is about youth, risk-taking, and new music, all disseminated via a variety of new media platforms, enabling listeners to customize their experience of the music they encounter.

Though producers did not take advantage of the full potential of new media platforms available through Radio 3, blogging and podcast versions of *Fuse* did enable forms of audience engagement that differed from traditional radio broadcasts. *Fuse* aired during a period when broadcasting was undergoing a fundamental transition— what has become widely known as the age of convergence. With the advent of new technologies and the penetration of internet, social media, and other forms of connectivity into mainstream usage, broadcasting has transitioned from traditional radio and television transmissions to content delivery. That is, while broadcasting still includes television and radio in large measures, it's increasingly focused on online hubs that enable users to control their experience and engagement with content; users (not listeners or viewers) choose variously to listen, watch, comment on, and/or share broadcaster mediated materials. While *Fuse* specifically remained a radio program, prompts to the audience to engage via the *Fuse* website and the migration of the show

in podcast form onto Radio 3 (with its accompanying blogs) cumulatively suggest a particular conceptualization of the audience.

Perhaps the clearest nod to this new approach to production took the form of the television version of *Fuse* that was broadcast on Bold TV between 2 September and 7 October 2008. Originally branded "Country Canada," CBC purchased and re-launched Bold TV as an entertainment and sports specialty channel in 2008. The pilot series of *Fuse* comprised six episodes that aired on Tuesday evenings at 6 pm, though the radio version was cancelled before anything could come of the television series.[201] Production for Bold TV seems to have been handled separately from the radio program; Caitlin Crockard knew very little about the series other than the fact that it had been filmed. As I have not succeeded in accessing recordings of the televised episodes, little else can be said, though it is worth noting that this shift in production priorities has implications for broadcaster codings and audience decodings of content, increasingly shifting aural-only production into the realm of visual forms of representation.

Fuse was cancelled in 2008 at a moment when CBC radio was undergoing substantial restructuring. The rationale given for cancellation (given in an email message to staff on 31 July 2008) was that "Radio One priorities regarding live music have changed and that while *Fuse* was once the only show on either network recording non-classical music, Radio 2's Canada Live has now become the prime venue for this."

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[201] Program schedule: September 2 (Greg Keelor/Cuff the Duke [episode 4-22]); September 9 (Voices of Praise/Sunparlour Players [episode 4-23]); September 16 (Fred Eaglesmith/Katie Stelmanis [episode 4-20]); September 23 (Melissa McLelland/Luke Doucet/Julian Fauth [episode 4-19]); September 30 (Laura Barrett/Hylozoists [episode 4-21]); October 7 (Amanda Martinez/Justin Hines [4-15]).

Moreover, as Caitlin Crockard explained, *Fuse* was an incredibly expensive show to

produce and a "logistical nightmare" to arrange:

> I mean, we were the only ones that put so much in terms of resources.
> Like, *Canada Live* goes to pre-existing concerts. You just have to pay
> for your recording engineer basically, right? We had to, like we
> travelled so we had flight costs. If we didn't travel, the bands did. We
> had to pay for their gas, we had to pay for hotels, we had to pay for
> their food. You know, all that stuff. Plus the AF of M rates that we paid
> them for actually being on the show. So it was, I understand from that
> perspective that it's a super expensive show and I think when it was
> pitched as a summer show, which it was in its first season, the idea
> was that we were supposed to grab musicians as they come through
> Ottawa. Which is how we got, you know, Sam Roberts and that kind of
> thing. But as it went on it became increasingly clear that wasn't
> possible. Like people just weren't coming in with enough time to do
> our show as well as whatever else they were doing. It just was a
> logistical nightmare. Like 90 percent of my job was logistics. So it
> became way easier [for] either us go to a city and arrange a couple of
> gigs to happen there, or ask Toronto bands to drive up from Toronto
> for the night. […] So the costs only grew with each season, right? So
> yeah, I think it was all of those things. And that Radio 2 was moving in
> a new direction very quickly. That made it kind of, they decided it was
> better to end it. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015).

Based on the limited data released to me through an Access to Information request, the

standard fee paid to musicians on *Fuse* was $250CDN. This payment, governed by the

CBC's agreement with the AFM, included a 30-minute performance, 1 year unlimited

broadcast on the CBC (the fee was slightly higher if the window included broadcast on

Sirius), and 2 hours of rehearsal time.[202] The fee for each additional hour of rehearsal

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[202] The rates and terms of performance are outlined in the Collective Agreement between the American
Federation of Musicians and the CBC. Though I was only able to access a version of the agreement that
was valid until 2006, the terms outlined in the few contracts that were made available unredacted are
consistent with the terms of this agreement. Notably, there likely were variances in rates of payment

time was $39.60CDN. These payments, Caitlin Crockard emphasized, were not the

primary concern as far as budgets went: the CBC had a dedicated budget for hiring

musicians and it was often possible to access unused "allotments" from other programs

to fund musician fees. But, while the high costs of bringing musicians to Ottawa to

perform a gig might have been justified when *Fuse* was the CBC's primary venue for live

performance, changes in network priorities, creation of new programs, and downsizing

of regional offices were all factors that combined to mitigate against continued

broadcasts.

While in hindsight the motives for cancelling *Fuse* seem clear, at the time, its

cancellation came as a surprise to the production team. The program appeared to be

gathering momentum and considerable audience following: the Bold TV version was in

production, recording sessions regularly included substantial audience waiting lists, and

at least nine performances for the coming season were already booked.[203] The primary

production personnel for *Fuse*—Caitlin Crockard and Amanda Putz—were redirected

onto other projects following cancellation: Crockard took a temporary position as the

senior producer for *The Signal* in Toronto but later lost her job entirely, and Putz worked

in production for the Ottawa music recording unit and continued as a host on Radio 3.

Indicative of the changing focus of Radio One, *Fuse* was replaced in the lineup by *The*

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based on whether the musician was a soloist versus backing voice, though I wasn't able to access exact
details about the range of payments offered to musicians. See American Federation of Musicians (2003).
[203] These bookings for the 2008/'09 season were renegotiated for inclusion on *Canada Live* (Mark
Steinmetz to Chris Boyce, Rob Renaud, Steve Pratt, Bill Stunt, Jeff Keay, Jill LaForty, email, 12 June 2008).

Next Chapter, a weekly magazine-style program about books and literature that includes interviews with authors by host Shelagh Rogers.

From its origins as low-budget summer replacement program with a regional focus in a well-established Radio One lineup, *Fuse* developed during a period of radical transition at the CBC, gradually emerging as programming that was very much in sync with priorities emphasizing development of a youth market and multiplatform production. It was, however, superfluous in the context of the "New Radio 2," which launched in 2008 and included a far greater spectrum of musics—both live and pre-recorded—than its previous almost-exclusively classical lineup. In the context of budget cuts and a new broadcasting agenda emphasizing content development for broadcast across the CBC's multiple media lines and a clearer division of Talk and Music between Radios One and 2, *Fuse*'s status as the CBC's primary venue for live non-classical recording was made redundant.

4.3 "SO PEOPLE WHO WERE INTO DISCOVERY …": CONCEPTUALIZING THE AUDIENCE AND ASSESSING RISKS

Broadcast times, program flows, platforms, departmental affiliations, and being that "orphaned hybrid": these are all factors that constrained and enabled *Fuse*'s development over its four-season run. These are also factors that had significant implications for the ways in which the production team imagined their audience—both through active contemplation and passive assumptions (cf. Foster 2009).

In September 2015, I travelled to Ottawa for the specific purpose of following up

my analysis of *Fuse* with questions to implicated personnel—of checking whether I was

asking the right questions of the program and its priorities. Just hours after getting off

the bus, I found myself in a small coffee shop at the corner of Elgin and MacLaren (a few

blocks from the National Arts Centre, Confederation Park, and the Human Rights

Monument), sitting across a table from *Fuse* producer Caitlin Crockard. While ranging

over issues of content and perceptions of musical quality, to a significant extent our

discussion focused on the practicalities of producing programming and the assumptions

behind programming decisions. I was interested in knowing who she understood *Fuse* to

be for and what sort of structural considerations—like broadcast times and platforms

discussed in the previous section—influenced her perceptions of the audience. Though

she tended to think of *Fuse*'s audience in very broad terms, three statements made at

different points in our conversation were revealing of the experiential knowledge behind

attempts to understand audiences:

> (1) When I asked about *Fuse*'s position in the programming lineup during its first
> season (i.e., between concurrently launched *Vinyl Tap* and long-running *Saturday
> Night Blues*) and the specialist listenership for those programs, Crockard
> responded:

> Bill [Stunt] would have, he would have been used to those contexts […]
> having more background in CBC and […] the kinds of music that those
> two shows programmed. So, and again, his background was probably
> more of that focus, but for me, like our timeslot was kind of just
> "here's what you get," and to be honest, until you said that, I didn't
> remember what time we were on the air in the first season. (Caitlin
> Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

(2) When I asked about who she understood *Fuse*'s target audience to be, Crockard replied:

> We didn't have a specific target person necessarily. But we did think about [...] the CBC audience and what kind of music would interest them and what stories of the musicians' would interest them and get them to listen to the show. But also [...] push them a little bit [...] you know, spark their interest enough to keep listening even if they necessarily didn't like everything that they heard. And also diversity across the genres too. So people who were into discovery I would say would be our audience. People who were into live music and who would go to live music and festivals and the kinds of folk festivals that the idea for the show sprang from. I would say that's sort of our loose audience in our head. Curious. People who are curious about music. But it wasn't as defined an audience as you'll—a lot of CBC shows you'll find are a lot more strict about who they're aiming their shows at, and we never really were. I mean, we did think about stuff in terms of is this getting too edgy or whatever. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

(3) And when I asked about whether they were thinking about their audience in terms of a community of locals or with a more national focus, Crockard answered:

> We also got more people as time went on—our audience, we started, was just people in Ottawa. But as more people came to our tapings and we went to other [cities] or would write in and ask to be on our mailing list, and they were just listeners, we probably subconsciously became more aware of our national audience that way I would imagine. So just by virtue of—and getting a better timeslot and understanding where we fell in the CBC lineup. And it's probably a combination of all those things that would shift the tone of the host a little bit I suppose. But it was never something that we discussed really. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

Taken together, these statements are revealing of an imagining of the audience that became more delimited over time and through the transitions in timeslot and platform that *Fuse* underwent. Her reference to Bill Stunt (the founding producer), as well,

acknowledged the role experience plays in understanding the programming

environment and the nature of audiences in relation to program flows; Caitlin Crockard,

as a relatively junior producer at the time, might not have been actively attuned to the

implications of appearing alongside programming that catered to the nostalgia and

specialist interests of a baby-boomer generation of listeners (cf. Frith 2007), but these

were likely considerations of a more experienced colleague.

And while Crockard denied being consciously aware of a target audience, her

comments about pushing listeners to their limits and providing a venue for new

discoveries are revealing of specific assumptions about the threshold of risk "the CBC

audience" and listeners "who were into live music and who would go to live music and

festivals" could take. Indeed, the tension between "new-youthful-adventurous" and

"established-mature-conservative" listeners was even more clearly articulated in an

email, fragments of which were cited earlier in this chapter, from Amanda Putz:

> I was trying to draw a new audience even more than appeal to the
> average CBC listener. I am not sure I thought about it consciously until
> now that you've asked, but I pictured all the indie-loving festival and
> club goers tuning in just because their favourite band was on this
> interesting CBC show. That's of course total bullshit but that's what I
> hoped for deep down! In reality I think we succeeded in *not* alienating
> regular listeners who loved *Vinyl Cafe* and *DNTO*, but introduced them
> to new music by giving the music a voice and personality beyond its
> musicality. (email, 16 November 2015)

Crockard singled out broadcasts featuring Ohbijou and Kids on TV (episode 3-3) and

Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle (episode 3-20) as verging on the limits of acceptable

risk, identifications that, in themselves, communicate boundaries. The Ohbijou and Kids

on TV concert, she explained, was "more electronic dance music" and "definitely at the edge of what we would call our comfort zone," skewed to a younger audience than they typically catered for. And following the broadcast of Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle, a performance featuring lengthy free-improvised works, the team received negative written responses from some audience members (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). *Fuse* was billed as being about risk—and related notions of unique encounters, experiments, and collaborations—but bounded by assumptions about the nature of audiences that were inflected by its broadcast circumstances, and, it should be noted, feedback from an audience that perceptibly grew from its modest roots in Ottawa.

4.4 PRODUCTION AESTHETICS AS ELEMENTS OF DISCOURSE

Though not specifically conceived as programming that engaged Canada's changing ethnocultural profile or that answered management's call for musical offerings to become "more multicultural," *Fuse* belongs to the same fusion programming category described in Chapter 3 because of its participation in discourses of risk-taking and "difference"/"diversity" (variously defined). In the final pages of this chapter, I'd like to return, once again, to the distinctions between national and regional programming, and between the aesthetic priorities of CBC's various media lines. Though overlapping points made in the previous chapter, my purpose here is to demonstrate how the structural conditions of production participate in the production of specifically Canadian audiences

possessing explicitly Canadian traits and values, and how aesthetic priorities serve to cloak counter-narratives within that discursive formation.

Most producers, regardless of their position in the CBC, recognize their role in knitting together multifaceted communities from disparate and dispersed populations. Choices about how performances were contextualized, which voices were represented, and how those voices were arranged on-air are often based on the perceived needs of populations served by the broadcaster (e.g., localized changes in policy like the introduction of new immigration strategies in Newfoundland; see Chapter 3). But performances that are potentially interpretable as an interesting hybridization of emergent cultural practices in local contexts have the same potential to appear as tokenistic inclusions when repackaged for broadcast over the national network: proximity of source and audience have interpretive implications. While, for example, Gaelic audiences in Cape Breton might have a basic knowledge of the norms of Acadian or Queer cultural expression, audiences in southern Ontario are much less likely to have a working knowledge of the sociocultural climate of the North. Likewise, an insider from Toronto's Queen Street scene has a different interpretive position—alternative forms of cultural knowledge—than a regular of the same city's Roy Thompson Hall. Interpretive challenges and listener expectations are complicated, again, when differing broadcast aesthetics are thrown into the mix.

Tellingly, Peter Skinner described a performance by Mathew Nuqingaq (an Iqaluit-based drummer and artist), who was recorded in Yellowknife for one of the *True North Concerts*[204] and later re-broadcast on a national performance show:

> During the performance that he did here in Yellowknife, he was doing this piece about how in some cases, Inuit from the North […] had to be flown down to southern Canada for hospital treatment. And his story is about how these people, some of them died in the South. It's essentially, they disappeared. And the way this song was structured, he had one part where his drumming got quieter and quieter and quieter, and he finally just stopped. And he stood there on the stage for the longest time. And it was a powerful emotional thing. And then he started up the drumming again and finished the piece. And when I sent the recording south for, I guess at this point it was still called *In [Performance …]*. It was before *Canada Live*. […] Anyway, they called back and said, "We can't leave that silence! That won't work […] silence alarms will be going off all over the country." I said, "That's the way the performance went." They insisted on editing the silence shorter. And I thought, "Okay. You know what? Yeah, there are going to be some people going, 'Hey! What's wrong with my radio?!'" But it was such an engaging performance, I think people would have sat through it. Would have waited to see what's happening. It was an incredibly suspenseful and emotional moment. […] I'm kind of laying the blame on them, but it's also not within their cultural experience. I mean we joke about it; we joke that […] the North is anything above Highway 7 in Toronto. And the Arctic is where Sudbury is. So, a lot of what I do is education it seems. (phone interview, 23 August 2012)

Similar stories were told by other regional producers. Glen Tilley, for example, spoke about needing to make strategic choices about editing a Matthew Byrne[205] concert so

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[204] For details relating to the *True North Concerts*, see Chapter 3.

[205] Matthew Byrne is a Newfoundland-born traditional singer and song collector. He performs as a solo act, as well as with the Dardanelles, a St. John's-based band specializing in the songs and dance music of Newfoundland.

that it appealed, respectively, to a national (*Canada Live*) versus regional (*Musicraft*) audience:

> I said to Matthew […] "I'm going to try to be true to […] what your big show was." And I said, "I think starting off for the region with an *a capella* tune. I know it's […] a slow beginning to your show, but that's how you set up your shows, and therefore it's very true to the show." Whereas on *Canada Live* we will cut it. I know we'll start off with him accompanying himself on guitar so it will have more life because, you know, although they say it's a live concert series, it's really only a highlight package because he'll have a half-an-hour set of an hour-and-a-half show. And you know, Andrew Craig[206] will come on and say a few things. And of course, […] because nobody in Canada knows about him, […] they'll be very leery about exposing more than one *a capella* song. […] They're just going to say, "Ah, people will be turning off the radio." (interview, 15 June 2012)

In his analysis of news coverage in translation, Conway observes that direct translations do not necessarily provide transparent windows through which alternative perspectives are directly observed. Instead approaches to translation may confirm "pre-existing assumptions about members of linguistic and cultural groups other than their own" (2011:13). Conway's comments pertain to linguistic translation strategies employed by journalists in their coverage of debates about constitutional reform during the late 1980s and early '90s. Nevertheless, his observations resonate with the concerns expressed through Peter Skinner and Glen Tilley's accounts of preparing content for regional versus national audiences: the range of positions from which content has the potential to be decoded poses incredible challenges to representation, often

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[206] Andrew Craig is a singer, multi-instrumentalist, composer, arranger, producer, director, and broadcaster. He worked as a network host for the CBC from 2004 to 2013, much of that time as the series host for *Canada Live.*

encouraging broadcasters to take a more involved role in the mediation of presented voices.

Though well-intentioned and very much attuned to demographic changes, social priorities, and the ongoing globalization of communities, the cumulative effect of these experimental programming efforts, particularly when local idiosyncrasies were repackaged, seems to be a reinforcement of the status quo—a sketching of centres and peripheries and arrangement of voices that perpetuates an understanding of multiculturalism as a palatable coding for "not white"—"diversity" made consumable and desirable for the socially powerful (cf. Cormack and Cosgrave 2013; Peterson and Kern 1996; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Ollivier 2008; Cheyne and Binder 2010).

The tensions and concerns expressed in these examples—and in Alan Neal's epiphanic realization of the music-centric focus of the national network related in the epigraph to this chapter—are relevant for analysing the interpretive problems inherent in *Fuse*. With the exception of nationally broadcast features (like the Slean/Hatzis Project or "Burning to Shine") the programming discussed in Chapter 3 had a significant live performance element, often relying on partnerships with venues and community groups to offset production costs and to generate live audiences that, according to producers, reached beyond their "regular" listenership. *Fuse*, as well, was recorded live—principally in Ottawa's Studio 40 but also in a variety of other venues across Canada—before being broadcast over a range of platforms.

Particularly in its latter seasons, producers emphasized, audiences "would fight for those tickets" (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015). There was an incredible level of live audience engagement that members of the production team associated with the energetic and extemporaneous nature of performances (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015), but also with the "value-added" aspect of unmediated witnessing. Musicians performed songs that didn't necessarily make it to air and there were significant interview segments that, of temporal necessity, were cut from the broadcast version (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015). Content, in other words, was separated from context. Because *Fuse* went out to a national audience and, moreover, it sought to provide a general representation of the "Canadian music scene," both audience and music, of necessity, were conceptualized in apparently undifferentiated and unmarked terms, tacitly privileging particular norms of Canadianness that neglected local specificities.

But, as the analysis of the circumstances of *Fuse*'s production and broadcast in this chapter has, I hope, demonstrated, proximity to audiences wasn't the only factor privileging homogenizing narratives of Canadianness. Emphasis on liveness versus clear markers of broadcaster mediation are characteristics of differing approaches to curating content that relate to network priorities, understandings of the differing functions of Radios One, Two/2, and 3, and expectations of audience demographics—the politics of aesthetics so to speak. And, indeed, this divide can be mapped onto the case studies from the previous chapter: regionally focused programming that tended to favour an

aesthetic of liveness also tended to feature on Radio One. Content was sometimes re-

broadcast on Radio Two/2, though with potential for tensions about content quality.

Content intended for the national audience and featuring high production values more

commonly featured on Radio Two/2.

As an "orphaned hybrid" in the CBC's broadcast landscape governed by the

production priorities of both Radio One and the Music Department (Radio 2), tensions

between differing priorities marked production. Liveness was an essential part of the

production aesthetic—underscored on a weekly basis when an anonymous voice

announced "Live from Studio 40, this is *Fuse*"—yet *Fuse* was never broadcast live.

Indeed, most episodes contain clicks, sudden changes in background noise, elided

words, abrupt transitions, and a variety of other cues that, to a discerning listener,

provide clear evidence of the "*recorded* live-before-a-studio-audience" performances

being edited, and sometimes re-edited into slightly longer or shorter versions, for

broadcast.[207] In considering the significance of this distinction between live and as-live,

consider Auslander's assessment of what counts as "real" for audiences: there is a

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[207] Cf. Chignall's discussion of "as live" programming (2009:88–90). He explains, "Radio is often described as an intimate media and one that fosters a simulated co-presence with its listeners. A friend that is also somehow in the same place as the listener. Liveness is a critically important part of this effect" (2009:90). Unlike Stanyek (2004) or Kun (2005), Chignall's use of co-presence is exclusively temporal—listeners and broadcasters imagine themselves to exist in the same moment, enabling experience of a listening community and connecting content to the real-life flows of time and activity of listeners. While historically programming did tend to go live-to-air, since the 1950s—and to an even greater extent in the digital era years—content is pre-recorded and presented "as live" in order to maintain this sense of liveness and co-presence. Emphasis on liveness distinguishes radio from other forms of audio media (such as podcasts and on demand streaming content)—a distinction that maps onto the CBC's media lines and differences in production for regional versus national audiences in a country comprising multiple time zones (cf. Baade and Deaville 2016).

"common assumption is that the live event is 'real' and that mediatized events are secondary and somehow artificial reproductions of the real" (1999:3). These assumptions potentially influence perception, with implications for how audiences perceive performers, production contexts, and other members of the audience—that is, how awareness of other sites from which the gaze is projected is structured.

In their introduction to *Public Modernity*, Appadurai and Breckenridge (1995) challenge western-centric theorizations of the public sphere (e.g., Habermas 1992, 1962), pointing to failures to acknowledge the complicated interrelations of practices, institutions, and discourse; inability to sustain analyses of the linkages between language and practice; and tendencies to conflate public with mass-culture. They suggest, instead, that "public culture" implies relationships between knowledge and power that are discursively created and distributed, functioning to "articulate the space between domestic life and the projects of the nation-state—where different social groups (classes, ethnic groups, genders) constitute their identities by their experience of mass-mediated forms in relation to the practices of everyday life" (1995:4–5). In Appadurai and Breckenridge's terms, broadcasts can be understood as "interocular" fields: produced spaces that are structured by awareness of other sites and perspectives from which the gaze is projected (1995:12).[208] In other words, networks of relationships

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[208] Though Appadurai and Breckenridge's terminology appears to privilege visually based forms (e.g., television, film, etc.), their conceptualization of public culture and the interocular zone is not limited to these media. From Appadurai's (1995) discussion of cricket announcers to Lelyveld's (1995) historical accounting of the administration of musical content on Indian radio, contributors to this collection of essays on the nature of public culture in postcolonial India consider the varied ways in which Indian culture and modernity have been mediated.

and potential understandings of alternative positions are realized through imagined

connections with other consumers (Anderson [1983]2006; Berland 2009; Douglas 2004).

And, too, perspective and positionality inflect capacity to perceive and be perceived in

public culture.

　　While this understanding of public culture resonates with the theoretical

assumptions that underlie my analysis—that a shared social reality is discursively

constructed (e.g., Berger and Luckmann 1966; Small 1998; Hall 1993) and that

communication results from "circulation loops" that are "produced and sustained

through articulation of linked but distinctive moments" (Hall 1980:128; cf. Conway

2011)—it also begs questions about what happens when viewpoints are only partial.

That is, what are the implications for the decoder when the moment of encoding

involves obfuscation of an omission? Liveness as a production aesthetic and index of

intimacy is not unproblematic, sometimes cloaking real interpretive distinctions

between being co-present with performers as an audience of cultural insiders versus

hearing/viewing a performance that has been cut and mixed according to the priorities

of individual broadcasters. The potential for musicians to speak for themselves—to be

strong voices countering totalizing narratives of Canadianness—was an essential

element of the liveness of *Fuse*, yet this potential was, in reality, challenged by the

circumstances of production and broadcast medium.

Chapter 5

Encounters in audiotopic space: Narrating 'fusing'

> I think it was just one of the words that we tossed out in the middle of our brainstorming and we just liked it. Because we talked a lot about fusion and fusion music, and we didn't like the connotations of that. Like, I don't know. Fusion music kind of gets a bit of a bad rap in terms of being a cheesy blend of two things that don't really belong together. But the idea of "fuse" we liked because besides sort of the "fusion" idea […] you could also talk about sparking a fuse. Like something more electric […] happening. Which we liked the action of it. The kind of […] energy. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

First and foremost, *Fuse* was about entertaining listeners with a plethora of Canadian musics in combinations that were new and unexpected. Though not explicitly built around being "more multicultural" or specifically designed for the sake of accessing co-funding incentives for engaging this priority, in concept and in mobilization of a national ideology, *Fuse* had much in common with the programming described in Chapter 3. To recap, when *Fuse* was first pitched as summer replacement programming, it was premised on the possibility of getting musicians who were passing through Ottawa to drop into Studio 40 for a live-in-studio jam session akin to a folk festival workshop. Pairings, in theory, were to be the random outcome of intersecting touring schedules. The differences between musicians—styles, genres, voices, instruments, generations, regional and ethnocultural identities—were to be the serendipitous result of co-presence in Ottawa, offering musicians opportunities to forge new relationships with previously unencountered peers, to experiment with alternative perspectives on music making, and to experience their own music through a new set of ears.

This chapter explores processes of fusing and approaches to crafting narrative coherence across the many episodes that comprised *Fuse*. Though posed as a series about accidental convergences of voices, energy generated through contact, and unpredictable outcomes, it quickly become apparent that fulfilling demands for weekly content creation could not depend on happenstance. While musicians regularly stopped over in Ottawa between gigs in Toronto and Montreal, their schedules tended to be packed to capacity; gaps in touring schedules didn't exist for casual drop-ins to the CBC.[209] The production team, by necessity, had to take an active role in recruiting, arranging, and narratively constructing "chance" encounters. And, too, the notion of "fusing" held an inherent ambiguity that, though potentially advantageous in the context of these sometimes challenging production circumstances, was not without its problems. Were the performers simply meant to perform in the same space? Perform the same repertoire? Create new arrangements? Compose and/or improvise new music? This definitional vagueness left room for performers to approach their collaborations in the ways best suited to their musics, interests, and abilities, but did not provide a readily apparent unity linking weekly broadcasts.

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[209] Musician interest in performing on *Fuse* was not the problem. As *Fuse* became better known, particularly among members of Canada's indie music scene, musicians were inclined to request performance opportunities or to propose pairings that were variously accepted or declined for reasons ranging from the availability of partnering musicians to producer attention to curatorial agendas. In fact, a number of the musicians who responded to my questionnaire mentioned listening regularly to *Fuse*, a few of whom specifically applied to the producers to participate in a broadcast. Despite the willingness of voices, production of *Fuse* ended up being focused on the recruitment of musicians and management of logistical challenges (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015; Alan Neal, 4 September 2015).

Many radio and television series use theme music or signature tunes as a means of triggering audience recognition and setting the narrative stage, but *Fuse* was premised on demonstrating the incredible diversity of "Canadian talents": a single jingle couldn't possibly encapsulate such a broad agenda. Instead, *Fuse* was unified through consistently applied narrative strategies that preferred certain topics of dialogue and music that fulfilled particular roles at specific points in the action. When component parts were assembled accordingly, the result was a consistent narrative about what it meant "to fuse": a tale that hinged on divergently oriented performers entering the studio, reflecting on their origins and current interests, and, finally, negotiating the terms of their convergence. The studio, accordingly, was cast as a point of juncture—a liminal space of encounter (or, in Kun's [2005] terms, an audiotopia)—between musician and audience networks, holding the potential to influence the trajectories followed by musicians (and audiences) as they exited the fuse space.[210]

Drawing on theorizations of hybridity, fusion, and interculturalism—or, more simply, modes of musical encounter—this chapter interrogates the definition of "fusing" mobilized in broadcasts. More to the point, it ultimately is about the definitional ambiguities and the negation of meaningful differences enacted through narrative strategies that imposed a fundamental sameness on interactions regardless of

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[210] In referencing "networks," I'm referring to the relationships of individuals and social groups implicated within an encounter, but also to the trajectories followed by actors as they move in and out of the space of encounter. In thinking about networks, I am concerned with how apparently distinct networks are made to interact—initiating new connective nodes and reshaping old—and the strategies followed by actors within networks to actively forge or negate those connections.

distinctions in content and circumstance. Indeed, my analysis echoes and responds to

Stanyek's critique of musicological studies of hybridity:

> By placing so much emphasis on the ontological status of the work,
> music scholarship has recapitualated the kind of glaring
> dehumanization and alienation that characterizes social relations
> under capitalism. It is forgotten that the articulated unities that need
> the most attention are those [that] happen intercorporeally, between
> human bodies. (2004:20)

Stanyek's approach encourages attention to the positionality of actors at the "level of

bodies in contact," rather than seeing only the resultant "work"—in the western

Romantic sense of the word—of music (2004:20).

Accordingly, this chapter starts with the source materials for *Fuse* episodes. I

describe the recruitment of musicians and expectations for the commissioned

performances. The next sections are comparative, exploring the range of musics

performed for *Fuse* in relation to the actual narrative purpose that a lineup of songs is

given. I pay attention to the disjuncture between what's in the music and what's in the

story, and how, from an analytical standpoint, this encourages attention to move from

the produced work to characteristics of the bodies in contact—characteristics that are

more fully engaged in subsequent chapters. My analysis reveals an approach to

narration that imposed a fundamental sameness on widely varied processes and

outcomes, effectively masking and delegitimizing the existence of irreconcilable

differences. While Chapter 5 paints a generalized picture of the discourses mobilized in

Fuse, Chapters 6 and 7 nuance this assessment, interrogating the hierarchies of

difference that were subtly reinforced through approaches to mediation and patterns of

representation.

5.1 SOURCING THE STORY

First and foremost, *Fuse* was about getting a minimum of two musicians into a studio

(or, in some cases, onto a stage) to prepare and perform a concert premised on

collaboration. And though the emphasis was on novelty, the actual production

circumstances imposed limits on what reasonably could be expected of musicians. As

Caitlin Crockard explained:

> We set the expectations somewhat low […]. Like they would come in at
> like, say noon, they had to perform for people at 7. They only had that
> much time to figure out what they could do together. So what we set
> in terms of expectations was, pick a song, and decide how this band
> can add to your song in some meaningful way. And we sort of said that
> is the bare minimum. But we totally left it open if they felt inspired.
> And they just did, clearly, to make something up. So, we would never
> tell people to do that because it's just, we were already putting them
> in a pretty stressful situation […]. It was like this total immersion, one
> day, crazy project, but yeah, so some people just took it further than
> others. (interview, 2 September 2015)

Musicians were encouraged to correspond about repertoire and their ideas about

collaboration before the day of the recording session, but this was not a requirement of

the gig. Nor was it something for which remuneration was offered.[211] In theory,

musicians could turn up on the day of the recording, perform three or four songs from

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[211] Details of payment were redacted from my copy of the recruiting message (see Figure 5.1), but, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is likely that the standard fee paid to musicians performing on *Fuse* was approximately CDN$250. This included a rehearsal/sound check that typically started at 1 pm on the same day as the one-and-a-half to two hour recording session.

their existing repertoire, play a favourite cover tune, and sing along with the other

musicians in the studio. Likewise, they could choose to invest in more involved

preparations and engagements with their collaborators. Both scenarios fulfilled the basic

requirements of the gig, though more experimental approaches were, perhaps, more

enthusiastically received by producers.[212]

Performers were told that *Fuse* was about bringing together songwriters and/or

bands "who have never worked together" to collaborate on each other's material, and

that the musicians ideally should "contrast as much as possible" while allowing for the

possibility of being able to play together (see Figure 5.1). Experimentation was

encouraged, but "experimentation" could mean anything from adding in vocals or a

second guitar part (i.e., skills most singer-songwriters possess) to remixing a partner's

repertoire according to alternative stylistic prerogatives. "Fusing," at least according to

the cited recruiting message was not about generation of new music, but about

recasting existing repertoires.[213]

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[212] When I first contacted Caitlin Crockard about the possibility of accessing archival recordings of *Fuse*, she offered a brief description of the series premise and volunteered to point me in the direction of pairings that exemplified what the series sought to achieve. In September 2015, I followed up on this offer, presenting Crockard with a complete listing of *Fuse* pairings and a request that she identify highpoints along with an explanation of why she considered the pairing particularly successful. Of the fourteen episodes she identified, eight were characterized by experimental and/or improvisatory approaches to collaboration. This number stands in contrast to the series as a whole: only 22 percent of episodes in the total series were characterized by experimental and/or improvisatory approaches (see Appendix E for definitions of approaches).

[213] Though I only have copies of a handful of these messages, the content of the letter reproduced in Figure 5.1 is consistent with feedback I received from musicians about their understandings of the premise for the show. Most of the 29 musicians who responded to my questionnaire recalled receiving an email (followed up with a phone call) from either Amanda Putz or Caitlin Crockard inviting them to perform.

WE WANT YOU...

I am the host and co-producer of FUSE on CBC Radio. The show is taped in Ottawa's Studio 40 in front of an audience. We've paired artists as diverse as **Sam Roberts** & **Ron Sexsmith**, **Jim Cuddy** & **Oh Susanna**, **Patrick Watson** & **Torngat**. We strive both to let our audience discover new Canadian talent, as well as hear familiar music done a new way. We would love to have Bedouin Soundclash on Fuse. Here's the lowdown for what that means:

The M.O. (Modus operandi)
Ideally we like to bring together two bands/songwriters who have never worked together before and have them collaborate on each other's material. We like the two groups/songwriters to contrast as much as possible, while still having enough in common to play together. So we'll gladly take any suggestions you have for your Fuse partner "wish list," and we'll suggest some too. It'll then come down to who's available in the same time frame.

What we need from you:
We usually need about 6-8 songs total, depending on their length. Usually three to four from each contributing group. It helps greatly if you can chat over the phone or email with your Fuse partner beforehand, to discuss ideas. But you've got the whole afternoon of the taping to work things out as well.

The extent of the Fuse is up to you. We've had Fuse partners simply add vocals or guitar parts or whatever to their collaborator's songs. But we encourage as much mutation and experimentation as possible, as it makes for a more special Fuse. Work with songs you've already got, but think of how they can be altered by your Fuse partner. And, in turn, listen to songs by your Fuse partner beforehand, thinking of what you could add to them or change. We also encourage cover tunes, so not all of your 3-4 songs each have to be originals.

More Benefits...
Fuse is broadcast on all three CBC networks: terrestrially on One across Canada, and via Sirius Satellite Radio across North America on 137. You get a lot of exposure for one day's efforts!

The Sooner the Better
Please either call or write back as soon as you can, whether you're interested or not. If your interest is dependent upon questions or concerns you have, do not hesitate to call one of us pronto. We'll be happy to discuss anything you want and alleviate those concerns.

Thanks for reading us out. Let's get Fusing.

High fives,
Amanda

p: 613.288.6536
www.cbc.ca/fuse
www.cbcradio3.com

Figure 5.1: Standard recruitment email sent to Bedouin Soundclash by Amanda Putz, 31 August 2007. Musicians were generally contacted about the possibility of performing on Fuse via a combination of written and in-person requests. To this end, a standard letter outlining the premise of the show, the extent of the commitment, and the proposed remuneration was used to recruit musicians. Several similar versions of this message were included in the documents provided when I made an official Access to Information request relating to the production of Fuse. Though these copies were partially redacted, the messages are revealing of (1) the latitude afforded musicians to conceptualize what it meant "to fuse" and (2) the resources afforded musicians for preparation and rehearsal—variables with significant implications for the actual content of broadcasts.

Moreover, the included list of past pairings—in the case of Figure 5.1, Sam

Roberts and Ron Sexsmith, Jim Cuddy and Oh Susanna, and Patrick Watson and

Torngat—itself communicated expectations of content and the desirable range of

differences between performers. This particular list—dominated by white English-

speaking male singer-songwriters—tacitly references a narrow imagining of the range of

differences contained within the Canadian music industry. Notably, the roster of past

performers was not an entirely stable feature of messages, which raises the possibility

that the bias of the cited list was simply a fluke. A message sent on 16 August 2007 by

Caitlin Crockard, for example, didn't elaborate any past collaborations. However,

another message, sent on 25 March 2008, mentioned Gord Downie and the Sadies, Feist

and Kathleen Edwards, and Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra and Rock Plaza Central as past

"fusers"—a configuration that isn't as skewed in terms of gender but still over-

represents commercially successful white performers. Audiences didn't directly come

into contact with these past performer rotas. Such lists, however, potentially did shape

performers' understandings of expectations and their "fit" in the roster, ultimately

influencing how they engaged with other actors in the fuse space.

The biases I identify in my analysis of *Fuse* persist elsewhere in the Canadian

music industry. *Now*, an online magazine based out of Toronto, for example, recently

published a series of editorials and interviews by musicians, promoters, and venue

operators working out of Toronto. The editorials were created as responses to "Music:

Racism, Power and Privilege 101," a panel presented in Toronto's Music Gallery in

November 2015. Ranging over a variety of related topics, the authors of the editorials almost uniformly named the existing structure of the Canadian music industry as inherently marginalizing to performers working outside of a narrow range of genres or who are visibly Other.

One musician, for example, focused on infrastructure (venues, sound systems, record labels, etc.) as being specifically oriented to the needs of "rock 'n' roll" (Kamau 2016); another described being positioned outside the mainstream through a "world music" genre classification based on her appearance more so than her music (Mecija 2016); and, referencing the content of the November panel, attention was drawn to the fact that current conditions result in only "a handful of largely white, indie-rock-focused record labels getting direct board approval for FACTOR funding" (Gillis 2015). In very direct terms, singer-songwriter Lido Pimienta (2016) declared:

> There is racism in the scene because the people doing the bookings are white. The people who have the money to front the bands are white. The venues and festivals are owned and run by white people. White people have more access to venues and entertainment, and therefore the entertainment is going to reflect that power.

The recruitment letter, with its list of past musicians featured on *Fuse*, can be read in a similar light. Here, in this seemingly minor note to potential "fusers," but in its realization more generally, *Fuse* was constrained by, but also replicated, existing industry structures, limiting potential to imagine alternative configurations, inclusions, and engagements with difference. Indeed, a central premise of this thesis is that structures, policies, and the potential to imagine one's position within those structures

are interrelated issues—topics that I will deal with in more detail in subsequent

chapters.

5.2 DIVERGENT APPROACHES

Without access to the interactions of the musicians in rehearsal or the unedited concert

performances that provided the source materials for broadcasts, interpreting the varied

approaches to fusing taken by musicians requires some speculation. As I will describe in

more detail in the following section, episodes featured up to eight songs, each fulfilling a

narrative purpose but also demonstrating more intrinsic characteristics of voicing, style,

and arrangement. My method for interrogating differences in approach involved

categorizing the songs featured in broadcasts according to function: did the song

introduce a performer's "unfused" sound? Did it reference a particular set of influences?

Did it have a promotional role? Or was it a point of crossover? I also considered the

type(s) of interactions between the performers. For example, was it a solo performance?

A cover song? Or a collaborative performance? And if it was collaborative, was the

approach what one musician labeled "safe"—collaboration that involves playing

together without fundamentally changing anything (Owen Pallett, episode 3-18)? Or

experimental? A remix? A mashup? Freely improvised (i.e., a "jam")? Or a new

composition?

Additionally, I coded episodes according to the overall approach to collaboration

taken by musicians. This coding took into account the types of songs included in the

performance, patterns of sonic dominance in musical arrangements (e.g., who has the

lead line? Who backs? Who solos?), and the rhetorical frames provided by hosts and

musicians. Though far from absolute—some episodes clearly fit a single classification

while others overlapped multiple categories—these labels do suggest certain patterns in

the interactions between musicians. Figure 5.2 summarizes the general approaches to

collaboration taken by the musicians featured on *Fuse*.
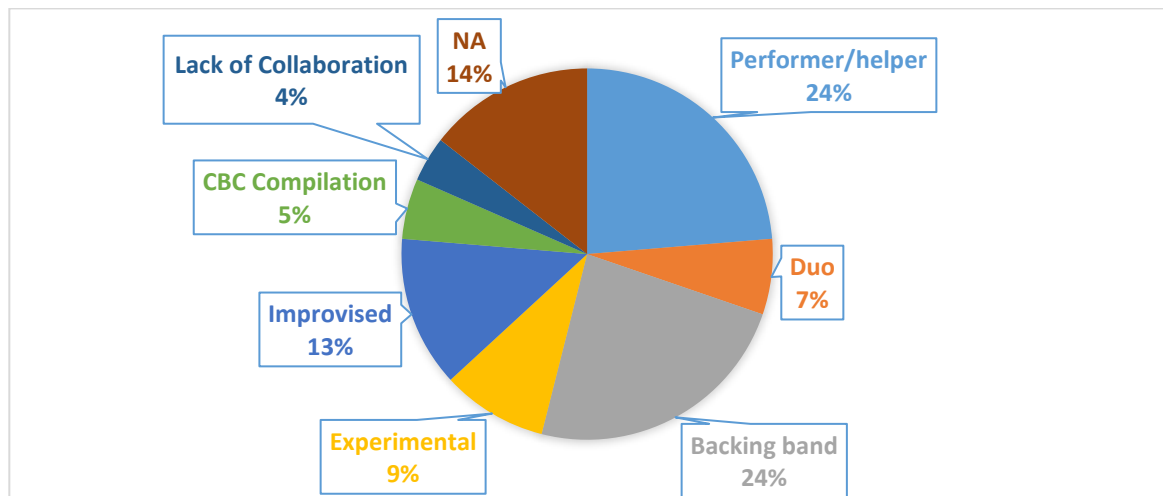
Figure 5.2: Approaches to collaboration on Fuse. *Episodes for which I do not have a recording were left uncategorized (NA) with the exception of "Best of" episodes, which are labelled as "CBC compilations" to reference the mediating role of the broadcaster. Categories are defined as follows:*

> *Performer/helper: Indicates a relatively equal "exchange of services" with each musician taking turns as lead and backing. This approach was quite typical of episodes that featured two singer-songwriters with varied levels of experience (i.e., a young/new musician and an established performer).*
> *Duo: Collaboration conceptualized as performing existing repertoire in duo form and/or providing backing on each other's music. Similar to "Performer/helper" except with a less hierarchical division of labour. This approach was most typical of pairings that featured two musicians with similar levels of performing experience.*
> *Backing band: Similar to "Icon Performer," but without the identification of one musician as iconic. This approach to collaboration often involved performers who were experienced session musicians and/or instrumental virtuosos.*
> *Experimental: Significant emphasis placed on experimentation with form and/or technique.*
> *Improvised (i.e., jam): Emphasis on improvisatory forms.*
> *Lack of Collaboration: This categorization Indicates minimal perceptible interaction between performers and was only applied to episodes in which "supporting" musicians were consistently off-mic or there was obvious resistance to interaction between the musicians.*

The vast majority of episodes were categorized as performer/helper or backing

band, referencing distinctions in experience and status between the performers.

"Performer/helper" episodes were characterized by musicians taking turns in lead and backing roles. This approach was typical of episodes featuring singer-songwriters of differing levels of experience (i.e., the ability to creatively elaborate and/or re-imagine existing repertoire was not equally developed). "Duos" followed a similar approach, but there was a less hierarchical division of roles; musicians tended to be peers with relatively equal levels of experience and ability. Episodes labelled as "backing band" typically featured a more hierarchical division of labour, with the backing band often comprising virtuosic instrumentalists with significant experience as studio musicians.[214] Collaboration, in these episodes, involved an expansion of voices and an investment in learning new repertoire—particularly by musicians who assumed the role of backers— but usually did not involve major departures from commercially produced and/or regularly performed versions of songs, and frequently exemplified "playing it safe" approaches.

Performers who understood *Fuse* as a broadcast version of a festival workshop were more likely to approach performing together with one of these "play it safe" approaches. In fact, the notion of a workshop potentially limited alternative configurations of voices, particularly for performers who had experience performing in such situations. In reflecting back on their *Fuse* performance, for example, singer-songwriters Jenny Whiteley and Stephen Fearing reveal clear expectations of the

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[214] As several documentaries about studio musicians have emphasized, this type of professional focus necessitates a virtuosic skill set that supports stylistic flexibility, capacity to rapidly learn new musics, and adaptability to changing performance circumstances (e.g., Tedesco 2003; Camalier 2013).

performance space, preparation process, probable outcomes, and even the types of

differences likely to be encountered. Their understandings and preparations were based

on previous experiences of working within this format:

> [Jenny Whiteley:] I've played a couple of workshops with you [Stephen
> Fearing] over the years, and have heard your music lots, but don't, like
> I haven't sat down and listened to a full CD […]. The great thing was I
> just played the album over and over and over […]. It's also been a nice
> discovery […] sort of like, "Oh, I've got a workshop with Stephen
> Fearing […]," you know? Like you just think, it's sort of a given. But to
> actually, like really sit down and play and listen, listen, listen to the
> details, it's been really nice, so I've learned a lot about Stephen Fearing
> on my summer vacation. […]

> [Stephen Fearing:] So the chance to work with another writer, another
> solo writer is a big thrill for me […] I hope that we will get a chance to,
> to write something and have something that you'll […] listen to in a
> couple years and go, "Hey, look at that song: Fearing-Whiteley,
> Whiteley-Fearing? Gee, I wonder if they wrote that after that
> workshop?" It's been a treat, it's been really interesting, and I think it's
> a pretty interesting show. I hope this translates to radio. It will be
> interesting to see what it sounds like coming out of a little speaker.
> (Episode 1-2)

Performing a well-known song, a cover song, demo-ing a work in progress, playing a

song from a partner's existing catalogue, and, depending on circumstances, creating

new material, are elements of a songwriter's praxis. Similarities in formal conventions,

musical language, scale, and familiarity with the workshop process, moreover, enable

collaboration with minimal rehearsal time (cf. Becker [1982]2008). Accordingly, the

notion of a workshop was well-suited to musicians from western improvisation-based

traditions (like jazz or bluegrass) who have a shared language of forms, harmonic

structures, and timbres.

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Less common, though arguably more "successful" (to use Caitlin Crockard's

word) in capturing the desired energy and spontaneity of encounters with ostensibly

unknown performers, were episodes featuring some sort of experimentation with and

testing of the boundaries separating musicians. Crockard's list of episodes fulfilling these

requirements included: Choclair and Hawksley Workman (episode 1-6), Sam Roberts and

Ron Sexsmith (episode 1-10), Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir and Sarah & Audrina

(episode 2-5), Emm Gryner and D. D. Jackson (episode 3-5), Ellen McIlwaine and Lal

(episode 3-14), Cadence Weapon and Final Fantasy (episode 3-18), Tanya Tagaq and

Apostle of Hustle (episode 3-20), Gord Downie and the Sadies (episode 4-9),[215]

Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra and Rock Plaza Central (episode 4-10), Dr. Draw and

Grand Analog (episode 4-14), Julian Fauth and Melissa McClelland (episode 4-19),

Sunparlour Players and Voices of Praise (episode 4-23),[216] C. R. Avery and the Sojourners

(episode 4-24), and Threat from Outer Space and Whitehorse Blues Allstars (episode 4-

25). Figure 5.3 depicts the approaches to collaboration modelled in this select group of

episodes. Unlike the complete series, improvised[217] and experimental[218] approaches

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[215] The music from this episode, without the intervening conversations, is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jfGqnPi68mo&list=RDjfGqnPi68mo#t=1102 (uploaded 30 April 2014 by RickyBubblesJulien; accessed 8 July 2017).

[216] One track from this episode, "Always and Forever (Swamp Mix)" is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmfhqLyd0xM (uploaded 21 May 2017 by VOP MUSE; accessed 8 July 2017).

[217] "Improvised" refers to episodes in which live improvisation was the basis of the interactions between musicians (e.g., the episode featuring Tanya Tagaq and Cadence Weapon was exemplary of this approach) (cf. Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3).

[218] "Experimental" refers to episodes in which there was a significant emphasis placed on experimenting with form and technique. Episode 3-18, in which Owen Pallett and Rollie Pemberton "remixed" songs from each other's repertoires according to their own stylistic prerogatives provides an example of an experimental approach (cf. Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3).

predominate, while straight-up "playing it safe" pairings are less conspicuous. Notably, this list reflects Crockard's memory of performances that happened up to ten years before we spoke. The listed pairings, in other words, do not represent a definitive accounting of the series. Seasons 3 and 4, moreover, appear over-represented, perhaps because these performances were more recent in Crockard's memory. Or, perhaps because these latter two seasons also included a numerically-greater quantity of episodes, effectively increasing the odds of "successes." And, as well, for these last two seasons, Crockard moved from being an associate producer to being *Fuse*'s primary producer, perhaps with the result that the musicians who captured her tastes and interests were more frequently booked.

Regardless, Crockard's list of "successes" is interesting when considered in relation to trends in representation for the series in its entirety. While the gender bias (almost 3:1 men to women) in this catalogue of exemplary episodes exaggerates imbalances found in the series as a whole (among lead performers the ratio is approximately 2:1), there is a smaller white majority featured (66 percent of performers are white versus the 80.5 percent of lead musicians featured in the series as a whole). As well, with the exception of an over-representation of urban genres (potentially referencing Crockard's cited stylistic preferences), there is a much greater diversity in performing styles represented in Crockard's list (see Chapter 7 for discussion of genres).
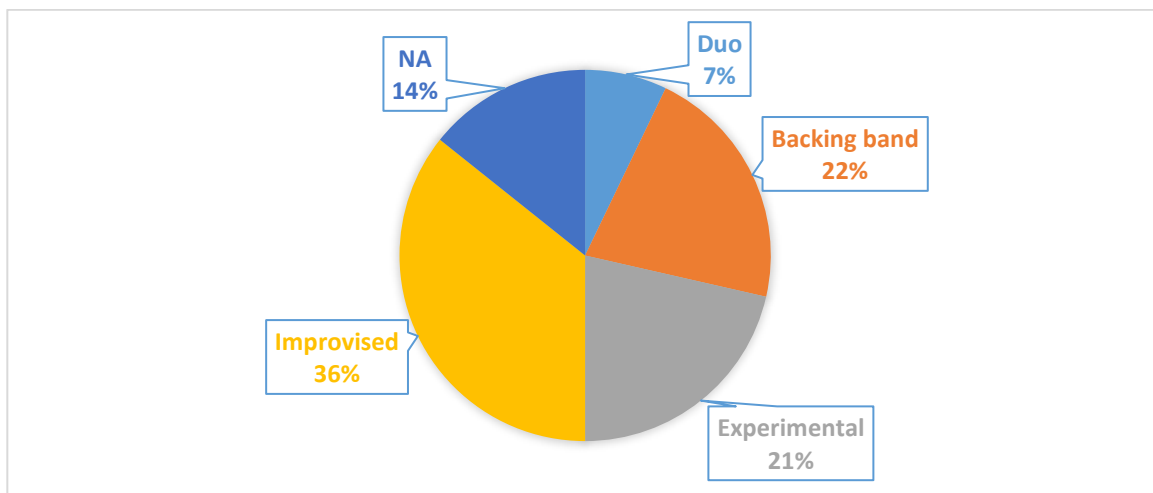
Figure 5.3: Approaches to collaboration in the fourteen exemplary episodes of Fuse *identified by producer Caitlin Crockard.*

An early example of Caitlin Crockard's "fuse" ideal was provided in the episode

featuring Hawksley Workman and Choclair (episode 1-6). She described their

performance of Hawksley's "Smoke Baby" as "something pretty special […] the air was

really electric in the studio" (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). Factors that

contributed to this dynamic, Crockard continued, were Hawksley's perspective as a

producer and his talent as a multi-instrumentalist, characteristics that she linked to his

ability to take a broader view of the performance and willingness to deconstruct his own

music. As a counterpart, Choclair's performance praxis emphasized improvised word

play and exchange, ultimately supporting a "seamless" coming together of their

approaches (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). Their remixed version of

"Smoke Baby" involved extension and transformation of the original through the

addition of a drum solo over which Choclair freestyled a part that responded to

Hawksley's lyrics and the circumstances of their performance.

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In general, Crockard's narration of the episodes that best achieved *Fuse*'s ideals

tended to focus on the experience and professionalism of particular musicians, while

underscoring the importance of their versatility and virtuosity. She also emphasized the

authority of particular voices to direct action, individual capacities for improvisation,

amount of preparation, and degree of contrast between individual styles as factors

implicating the potential for pairings to succeed. Moments of experimentation and risk-

taking were stressed as flashes of excitement in performance, and the rare creation of

new music (e.g., in episodes 2-5, 3-20, and 4-14) singled out as an unusual but

nevertheless desirable programming feature.

5.3 CRAFTING NARRATIVE COHERENCE

Tracking the ways in which the musicians were challenged and changed through

contact—with each other, with audiences, with the space, and with the broadcaster—

was central to the premise of *Fuse*. Yet content varied in sometimes significant ways.

Moreover, as Caitlin Crockard stressed, it often was difficult to appreciate exactly how

far the musicians had stretched themselves or what they had learned through the

collaborative process, particularly for the songwriters who occupied a prominent place

in *Fuse*'s roster of performers. When we spoke about the evolution of *Fuse* and the

seeming emphasis on singer-songwriters in the first season, Crockard explained:

> And then as the show progressed we definitely had a sense of what
> worked and what didn't and I think wanted more sound fusions to take
> place. […] When you put a songwriter and a songwriter together,
> musically maybe if someone had never heard either of those artists
> before, they may not be able to tell that some sort of transformation

has taken place by putting them together in a room and making them play together. Whereas if you took a throat singer and a Cuban style rock band and put them together [i.e., Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle], I think even people who have no idea who these people were could tell that there was a melding of musical styles happening. So we started to get a little bit more adventurous, I think, in that way and tried to push toward stuff that we hadn't done before on the show. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

Refinement of the programming concept was about play with degrees of difference—

about finding formulas and curating content such that audiences might more readily

detect the negotiations engaged in and the risks taken by collaborating musicians.

Musicians, influenced by the ways that they understood the conceptual principles for

Fuse and their own stylistic/technical prerogatives, provided source performances that,

more or less obviously, expressed the process of fusing. Regardless of the source

materials, the broadcaster was responsible for ensuring production of a weekly

broadcast of interest to audiences who were promised the opportunity to witness and

consume unique performances by an ever-shifting lineup of divergently oriented

musicians. The act of "fusing" implied a coming together of voices, energy generated

through contact, and unpredictable outcomes. The form that live concert performances

were edited into ensured the consist reinforcement of this narrative.

5.3.1 Introductions
As mentioned earlier in this chapter, *Fuse* didn't have a theme song or unchanging

tagline that evoked instant recognition from listeners. It did have a formula for

introducing musicians and referencing the extemporaneous and unpredictable nature of

performances. The initial sounds of *Fuse* broadcasts (at least for the first three seasons)

were always the musics and voices of featured musicians, in theory providing a common

reference point for audience members who might be unfamiliar with one—or both—of

the performers. But the voice that came to dominate the first section of the program

was almost always the host: charged with establishing a rapport with audience(s),

defining the purpose of the performance, and introducing the musicians, host

commentary sketched the parameters of the broadcast and articulated relationships

between musicians, audiences, and broadcaster alike. Following what was, in many

cases, a substantial monologue, each lead musician was greeted and invited to perform

a song, usually a piece that was a staple of his/her/their repertoire.[219]

In seasons one and two, episodes began with an approximately one-minute

voiceover section that featured lead musicians reciting a descriptive monologue over a

usually commercial recording of one of their songs. These brief statements sometimes

referenced elements of genre and style, but more commonly served an authenticating

purpose, explicating high points in careers, elaborating critical commentary and

important connections, and/or describing elements of musical learning. Voiceover

introductions were also featured in season three, though instead of reflecting on their

own musics and assertions of identity, musicians spoke over pre-recorded samples of

their partner(s) music, describing their impressions of the other musician(s). In season

four, opening voiceovers were replaced with a single short clip that was only rarely

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[219] Particularly during season four, this initial performance tended to be a solo performance in lieu of the voiceover introduction.

identified on air—the music was usually an instrumental segment from a recent

recording by one of the leads. As there were no voiceover introductions and potential

for identifying the sample often was limited,[220] later in the broadcast other strategies

were used to introduce the "unfused" sound of the performers. Such strategies included

having the musicians perform a solo piece or playing an "unfused" sample of a song that

the musicians then performed together.[221]

Following a usually anonymous announcement of the program and host names

that signalled the beginning of the "live" action of the broadcast and located the "fuse

space," [222] the host became the dominant voice. From a narrative perspective, the host's

opening monologue was arguably the most important single event in each episode. It

was the point in every episode that the host first addressed his/her audience, inscribing

its parameters through form of address (see Chapter 4). It included metaphorical

definitions of "fusing" (discussed below) and poetic descriptions of performers that

revolved around geographies and genres (see Chapter 7). Taken together, these

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[220] Even when a full "fused" performance of the sampled clip was included later in the broadcast, the short
duration of the opening sequence and, in many cases, distinctions in timbre, production quality, and
sometimes even key made identification difficult. Speaking to my own experience, recognition and
identification of opening samples often required multiple listenings or an assist from an app like *Shazam* (a
low-cost and widely used app available for Macs, PCs, and most smart phones). Originally founded in
1999, *Shazam* uses a computer or smartphone's built-in microphone to sample music being played and
then creates an "acoustic fingerprint" that can be compared against a central database. Though imperfect
in its ability to identify musical examples, especially for less commercially successful independent artists, it
is a powerful aid for identifying songs.
[221] The importance attached to distinguishing musicians seemed somewhat diminished in season four; in
many episodes the musicians simply played together, trusting in previous audience knowledge of how the
performers sounded on their own. Or perhaps reflecting growing reliance on multiplatform and online
content to make the sounds of individual musicians accessible.
[222] See chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of this announcement of liveness.

introductions outlined the terms of featured encounters, providing the framework

through which musicians were heard as familiar/strange, safe/deviant,

proximate/distant, or, most basically, similar/different. The positionality of actors, in

other words, was discursively constructed in the first few moments of weekly

broadcasts.

Figure 5.4 summarizes the different types of metaphors used to define the

process of fusing (see Appendix E for a list of metaphor types and definitions). Hosts

generally began their monologues by explaining that they were playing musical

matchmaker[223] (i.e., a future-oriented metaphor), blending differences[224] (i.e.,

combination of separate elements), putting together a recipe for musical success[225] (i.e.,

a chemical metaphor), or, according to a variety of pop culture references (i.e., pop

culture metaphors), creating a musical Frankenstein (episodes 4-6, 4-18), bringing acts

together like a magical D&D spell[226] (episode 3-18), or featuring the latest incarnation of

the Brady Bunch (episode 3-6). There was often a considerable degree of overlap

between the types of metaphors used to describe what *Fuse* was. But, in truth, the

purpose of such poetics was not a detailed guide to the nature of the process(es) being

witnessed, nor was it a hint at the probable outcome of musician collaborations; the

effect was to position musicians as different—sometimes as opposites, sometimes as

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[223] E.g., episodes 1-7, 2-3, 2-6, 2-14.
[224] E.g., episodes 1-8, 2-7, 3-11, 4-14, 4-15, 4-16, 4-24.
[225] E.g., episodes 4-5, 4-8.
[226] "D&D" refers to "Dungeons and Dragons," a fantasy role-playing game.

adversaries, and sometimes in spite of musical content or musician commentary that

resisted such a framing.
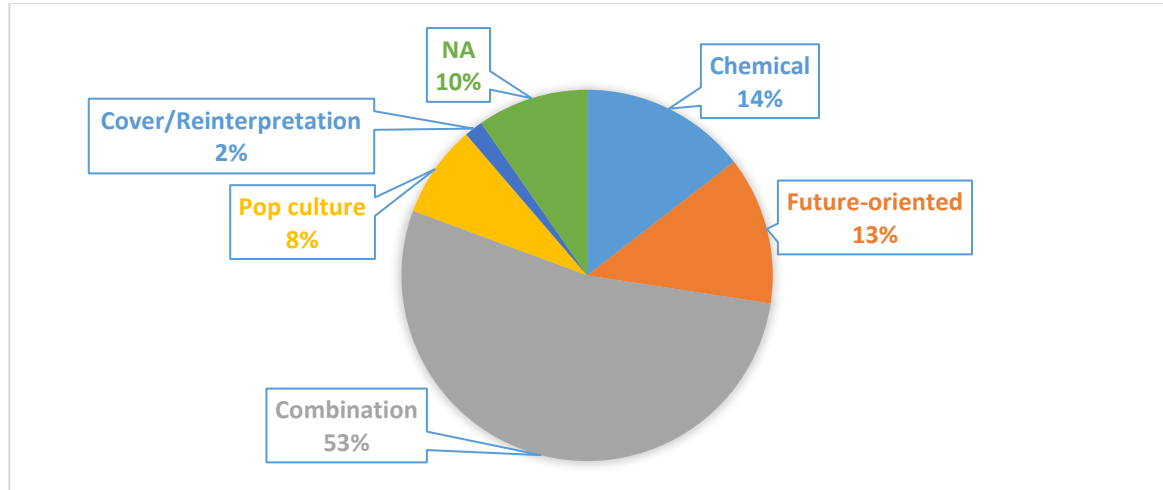
Figure 5.4: Fusion metaphors used to define the premise of Fuse. *Calculations exclude the 14 episodes for which an archival copy of the broadcast was unavailable.*

The majority of episodes used metaphors that suggested the combination of

separate elements. In one opening statement, for example, geographically dispersed

locales were brought into contact through the physical co-presence of Agnostic

Mountain Gospel Choir and Sarah Dugas and Audrina Turenne—musicians whose

sounds were rhetorically tied to the places they regularly inhabited:

> This week we have left Ottawa's cozy Studio 40 for the Wild West.
> We're broadcasting today from a happening hood in Edmonton: The
> Yardbird Suite has cleared its calendar to aid us in seeking out the best
> musical secrets from the Prairies. On *Fuse* today, this Saskatchewan-
> born host, me, is bridging smooth-voiced multilingual soul from
> Manitoba, and the rough-edged mountain blues from Alberta. Please
> welcome Calgary's Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir, and Winnipeg's
> Sarah Dugas and Audrina Tureene! (episode 2-5)

"Combination" implied a temporary coming together of elements that essentially

maintained their individual integrity, remaining unchanged on their unique trajectories.

Less common were metaphors based on more sustained interactions and influences. "Chemical" metaphors referenced varied forms of reaction—in this case, the "by-product" of shared rehearsal time, but on other occasions include culinary references as well—implying a more permanent change of state:

> On one side of the stage today, we've got a violinist who's originally from Russia who electrifies his instrument with classical riffs mixed with electronic beats. And on the other side of Studio 40's little wooden platform here, an MC originally from Guyana whose band of hip hop soulsters blend an organic feel with urban rhythms. Well, they're going to fuse their talents together today, right before this live audience's eyes and ears, and right before your ears at home. After a full afternoon of rehearsal, I can tell you that the by-product of this is going to give you a one-two punch. It'll take your breath away, even as you're compelled to get up out of your chair to dance. (episode 4-14)

Similarly, "future-oriented" metaphors referenced reproduction or family units, suggesting long-term exchange and hybridization potential, or the generation of an object that was "born" on the show, along with a with a prospective life all its own. For example:

> Welcome everyone to the show where we cross-breed two different musicians. We might pick one band for the strength of their pop hooks, and the other for their ability to write, say, a subversively clever lyric. We give them a little time on their own to figure things out and before you know it, they have a brand new breed of song. And it all more or less happens right here in front of this live studio audience that you just heard here in Ottawa. (episode 1-9)

And finally, "pop culture" metaphors refer to an iconography of popular symbols from television, film, literature, and so on that evoke combination. These references are rich in their layered meanings, but also communicate assumptions about the nature of the broadcaster's imagined audience. As the efficacy of pop imagery relies on shared

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cultural knowledge, access to this knowledge becomes one of the ways in which

belonging is communicated. Some of the more imaginative references included: *Fuse* as

a musical version of *Trading Spaces*, a US-based television show in which neighbours

swap houses for the purpose of renovating and redecorating a room (episode 1-3);

"fusing" as the outcome of a *Dungeons and Dragons* spell—"D&D" is a fantasy role

playing game that involves players assuming personas in a magic-infused alternate

reality (episode 3-18); and conceptualizing the fuse space as Frankenstein's laboratory,

referencing Mary Shelley's classic existential novel about a science experiment gone

wrong (episode 4-6). These various types of metaphors communicated the basic premise

of *Fuse* while avoiding close definition of process or solid grounds for evaluating

outcomes. Instead of elaborating vaguely defined parameters to a (more or less)

cohesive range of possibilities, poetic references connoted sometimes contradictory

possibilities for social and musical convergence.

In addition to pronouncing these metaphorical definitions, hosts also clarified the

programming mandate. To this end, Alan Neal's introductions to the episodes of season

three provide the clearest statements of mandate within the broader context of the

CBC's policies and priorities. In episode 3-10, for example, Alan explains,

> And you know, here at CBC there's often a lot of discussion about
> balance. We've got to make sure that both sides get equal time in any
> story […] ensuring nobody ever has the advantage.

And in episode 3-11 he announces,

> And as you know if you listen to this show, on *Fuse* we always try to
> aim for this blend of musical styles in the two musical acts every

episode. And sometimes the producers have these angst-ridden conversations about, you know, are the artists in this episode diverse enough, are the two acts different enough, have we tapped into enough different musical genres and stylings?

Both statements are revealing of the production priorities that were central to the premise of *Fuse*—of how intrinsic the notion of encounter with difference was to the show. These statements also speak to the CBC's institutional policies: the former statement directly references the *Journalistic Policies and Practices Manual*, and the latter references the CBC's mandate as defined in the Broadcasting Act.

5.3.2 Background/Influences
The interview-focused second segment of broadcasts highlighted the backgrounds and major influences on the featured performers. It was about establishing where performers had come from—about describing the formative moments that had shaped their trajectories into the fuse space. Musicians were asked about their families, what they grew up listening to, the process of learning their instruments, and any other determinative influences in their lives.

Cover songs were typical inclusions at this point in the broadcast, providing musicians (and hosts) with opportunities to perform alliances to other musicians and to existing networks and scenes (cf. Diamond 2011b). Typically two songs were featured in each segment of the broadcast, though there were exceptions, particularly if musical selections were more than three or four minutes in duration. Though decisions about which selections to omit don't appear to have been formulaic—most likely decisions were based on the quality of available content—it was relatively common for only a

single selection to appear in the "background/influences" segment. In these cases, a second cover song often appeared at the end of the episode, most typically framed as a point of intersection and/or demonstration of collaborative outcomes between the two musicians. Similar content, in other words, performed differing roles depending on where it was situated in the narrative arc of an episode.

5.3.3 Development

Next was an "anything goes" section of the broadcast and considerably less predictable in its content. Performers tended to be questioned on subjects topical to them, sometimes elaborating points brought up earlier in the broadcast and sometimes focusing on current or upcoming projects—that is, where they were coming from and where they were headed after *Fuse*.

In episodes that featured performers with particular interests in experimentation and collaboration, the development section was sometimes combined with the final collaboration segment. In episodes that featured less crossover between the performing resources, emphasis tended to be placed on self-promotion or inclusion of content that was not commercially available. And in episodes featuring larger ensembles, particularly in the latter seasons, discussions of musician background and ensemble development tended to bleed into this segment. Likewise, this section was completely elided with surrounding content in episodes featuring longer musical selections. Like the first two segments, there were typically two songs performed in this section (one each from the two performers/groups).

Above, I identified introductions as the primary point for defining the premise for

Fuse and the act of fusing. Definitions, however, were applied and modelled throughout

these middle segments and into the final collaborative section of the broadcast, at times

vaguely referencing the narrative arc implied by formal conventions (as in the example

cited below), and on other occasions applied as an indiscriminate stand-in for

"performing together." A sampling of the song credits that appeared in episode 2-6, for

example, demonstrates some of the more common descriptors used to narrate the act

of fusing:

> Andy Stochansky's "Shine" in its pure, more or less original form.
> Andrew is **assisting** on keys.

> The versatile voice of Andrew McPherson. "Lefty Singer." Andy
> Stochansky **playing** the Steinway with both hands over there.

> Andy Stochansky and Andrew McPherson **coming together** with a
> cover of "This is the Sea" by the Waterboys.

> Andrew McPherson channelling Bowie on "Win" and Andy Stochansky
> **donating** some percussion with a couple of brushes on the back of his
> guitar.

> Andy Stochansky with a brand new song called "Foolish Heart."
> Andrew McPherson strumming away there to his left **helping him** out.

> Andrew McPherson with "Courier Heart." Andy Stochansky **lending**
> some delicate piano pulse to that song.

> Andy Stochansky with his sociopolitical anthem, "House of Gold."
> **Fusing** with Andy is Andrew McPherson on keys.

> Andrew McPherson and Andy Stochansky, beautifully **fusing** on
> Eccodeck's "Voices have Eyes." (bolding added, episode 2-6)

The basic act of performing together is described as "coming together," "donating,"

"helping," "lending," and "fusing." When considered in conjunction with the referenced

performance, it becomes clear the terms did not define qualifiably different forms of

interaction between the performers. Though connoting forms of generosity, in practice

each word simply meant "performing together." In this particular case, the reference to

"fusing" is especially telling of its ambiguity as a descriptor: the interactions between

Andy Stochansky and Andrew McPherson are minimal throughout the episode, with

collaboration mostly taking the form of chording along or singing un-miked backing

vocals. And though "House of Gold" is cited as an example of "fusing," Andrew

McPherson's role "on keys" is inaudible. Andy sings solo, accompanying himself on a

finger-picked guitar line that mirrors and echoes the vocal line. Similarly, "Voices have

Eyes" features layered samples and rhythms, typical of a Brian Eno/world dub sensibility,

over which Andrew sings the song melody. The program logs for this song identify Andy

as playing piano, though he's not audible in the mix. Application of a single term to

varied forms of interaction and encounter on *Fuse* obscured nuances and distinctions.

This discursive ambiguity negated complexities, ultimately communicating that fusing

meant little more than co-present musicians playing together.

5.3.4 Collaboration

The collaboration segment tended to focus on the relationship between the "fusing"

musicians, querying past, current, and/or future associations and functioning as the

climactic point in the narrative arc of episodes. Commentary often focused on

impressions of the other musician(s) and the challenges of working outside of one's own

comfort zone, though admittedly inclusion of this sort of critical relational feedback was

somewhat limited. Perhaps the result of time constraints—or, as season three host Alan

Neal suggested, the problem of having a live audience to entertain (interview, 4

September 2015)—the tendency was to gloss interactions and avoid voicing opinions

that might be construed as negative.

In fact, only two of the sixty-one episodes that I analysed included musician

reactions that might be described as expressing ambivalence about the collaborative

process. In episode 4-3, for example, Lori Yates and Wendy McNeill are very

complementary of each other as singers and songwriters, but considerably less

enthusiastic about performing together. When questioned about collaborating, Wendy

is non-committal but Lori is more forthcoming. She comments on the fallacy of bringing

two lead singers together and expecting them to accomplish anything (i.e., neither can

sing harmonies so how can they join in without taking over?). While care is taken not to

be overtly negative, Lori expresses her frustration about being forced out of her comfort

zone. She comments that by the end of the rehearsal she was forgetting the lyrics to

even her own songs, suggesting the incredible challenge of attempting to meet and

assimilate new repertoires and alternative approaches to one's own catalogue of songs

in such a short period of time.

Similarly rare were expressions of enthusiasm based on unexpected moments of

synergy between the collaborators. In episode 4-14, for example, Odario Williams and

Eugene Draw—two musicians who had not met before the day of their *Fuse*

performance—enthusiastically relate plans to record "Get Live and Go" together. Their

decision to pursue a performing relationship beyond their encounter on *Fuse* reflects their perceived compatibility and the energy generated in their impromptu performance. More common were non-committal though vaguely positive comments about the experience of performing together.

The final section of each broadcast was the most revealing of the ways in which the musicians themselves conceptualized and enacted fusing. This was the point of the program where experimental content, homage performances to "iconic Canadian" musicians, and cover songs referencing common ground and crossovers between the musicians were typically featured. It was also a point at which musicians simply performed pieces from their respective regular repertories together or promoted newly released material (see Figure 5.5). As this was ostensibly the moment of convergence—the moment in which the "fused" product of the musicians' labours was aired—the ordering of voices realized in this section is particularly significant.

Figure 5.5 depicts the relative rarity of experimental approaches to fusion programming in the final segments of *Fuse* episodes. Though a less common feature, my discussion in this section focuses to a significant extent on these unusual examples, highlighting the interactions of the musicians that were as much a part of realizing the "fused" performance as the music itself. Indeed, recall Stanyek's (2004) critiques of studies of hybridity which tend to perpetuate the dehumanization of music-making through focus on the produced work: it is not enough, in other words, to analyse the music presented in the collaboration block. Indeed, much of the content included in this

part of the broadcast was not unmistakably "fused"—or, at least not dependably

recognizable as such for audiences. Differences and convergences, to a significant

extent, were narratively constructed and often depended on the nature of the "bodies

in contact," more so than qualities of the music, to anchor mobilized discourses about

difference and contact.
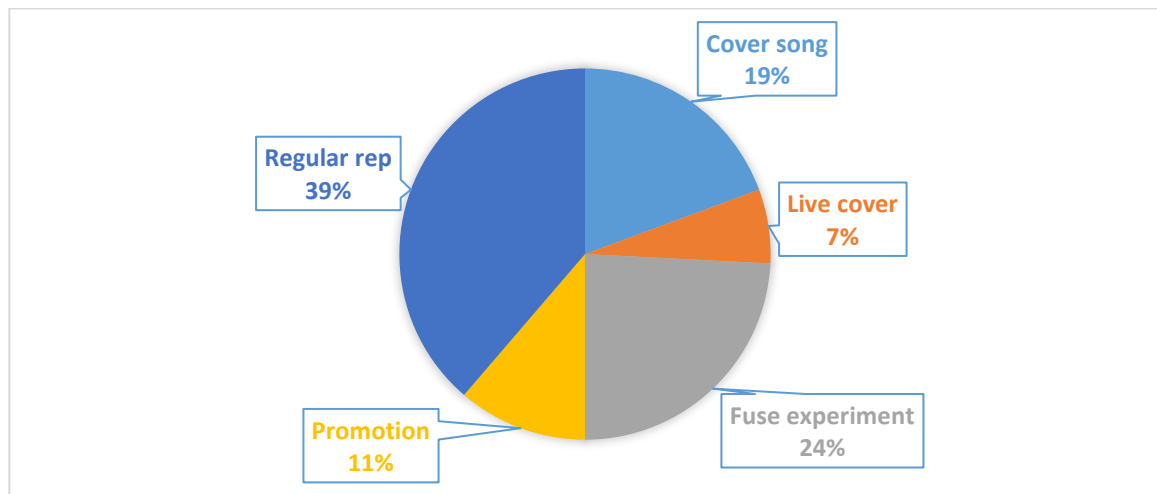
Figure 5.5: Song types featured in the final segment of a typical Fuse episode. Calculations are based on the 62 episodes for which I had archival recordings. Song types include:

> *Cover song: Songs written and/or performed by another musician. Inclusion fulfills a variety of purposes, including revealing influences and points of common ground.*
> *Live cover: Cover of a song by a collaborating musician. Inclusion of this type of song suggested that one of the featured musicians had been assigned "icon" status (see Chapter 2); performing a cover of that person's music functioned as a form of homage.*
> *Fuse experiment: New music, improvisations, mashups, and/or remixes that were framed as specifically collaborative and experimental. These types of performances generally occurred at the ends of episodes.*
> *Promotion: Cover songs selected to promote the music of another performer. These songs were often composed by a musician from the same place/scene as one of the featured performers and were heard in conjunction with dialogue about regional identities.*
> *Regular rep: Songs (including covers) identified as part of a musician's regular repertoire.*

Experimental content took several forms, perhaps best demonstrated in a unique

episode that brought performer commentary about the process of fusing to the

forefront. In episode 3-18, Cadence Weapon (aka Rollie Pemberton) explains that

working together involves working out the "hierarchy of beats" between two people:

Like I mean we had talked about it before, you know, previously of course. You know, there's different ways we've been doing it. Like there's one where I actually took one of his [Owen Pallett's] songs, and kind of made a remix of it. And I kind of had to teach him—like re-teach him how to sing to it again. In a different way because it's kind of like—well, it's like slower in a way. It's kind of like a crunk[227] version of one of his songs. Or, in the case of like, redoing one of my songs, it's like, you know, he would play me like his approximation of it over the phone or something. Where it's like, we did, we did like work on it before. Believe me we're not all making this shit up as we're going along. Definitely not.

Their process involved more than an afternoon spent in the CBC studio: it required correspondence, research, and experimentation. It also involved approaching collaboration in different ways. Owen, for example, describes the first song in the episode lineup (i.e., from the introduction segment) as an example of "playing it safe." Their rendition of "Grim Fandango" (from Rollie's *Breaking Kayfabe* album) focuses on simply trying to replicate the original version (see Figure 5.6). The commercially released version of the song features samples, changing textures, and layered electronic distortions (see Figure 5.7). Rollie and Owen's rendition on *Fuse*, however, is performed without a DJ; Owen constructs the backing texture using his violin and looping pedal, layering in the drum machine when Rollie enters on the vocal line.

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[227] Crunk is a subgenre of hip hop that originated in Memphis, Tennessee during the early 1990s. Though specifically characterized by drum machine rhythms, heavy basslines, and shouting vocals, since achieving mainstream popularity in the early 2000s, "crunk" has become a blanket term for any style of southern hip hop.
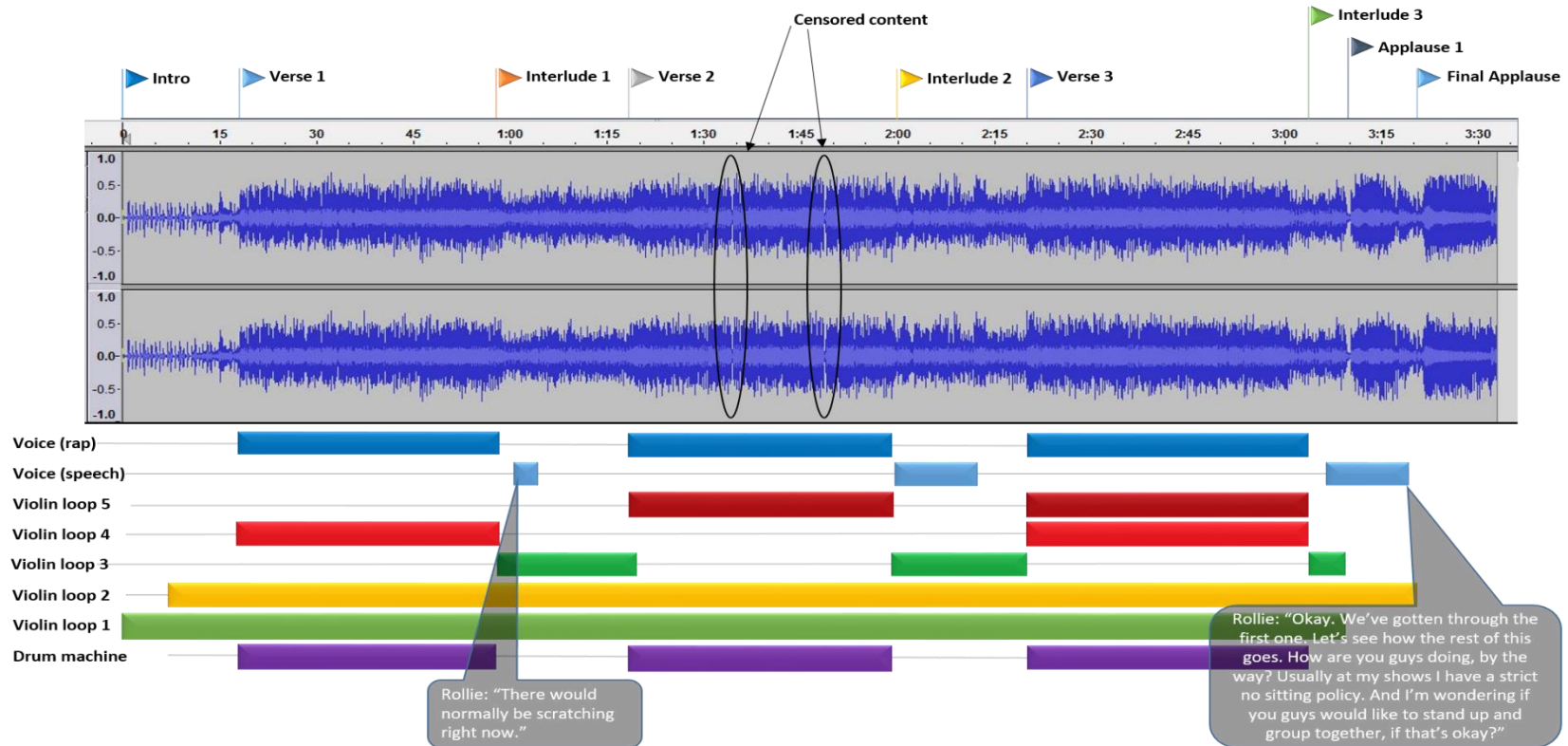
Figure 5.6: "Playing it safe" version of "Grim Fandango," performed by Rollie Pemberton and Owen Pallett (episode 3-18). Tempo for the performance is ca. 94 bpm. The flags along the timeline mark the formal structure of the song. The waveform demonstrates changes in overall volume between sections, but is also revealing of the density of the texture in different parts of the song. The amplitude of the waveform corresponds with the number of voices, indicated with coloured bands. Small cuts in the waveform, highlighted with circles, reveal where the song has been censored: the approach to censoring lyrics involved inserting split second cuts in sound to cover objectionable phrases/words. Only two are visible here, though zooming in on the waveform reveals others. The final feature to note are the text callouts: Rollie Pemberton addressed the audience at these points with descriptions that attempted to map the performance onto his "regular" version of Grim "Fandango."

The individual voices depicted with coloured bands are as follows:
Violin loop 1: pizzicato ostinato, disjunct melodic contour
Violin loop 2: descending chromatic melody, straight tone
Violin loop 3: col legno ostinato, in the manner of a clock

Violin loop 4: descending chromatic melody (based on loop 2) with tremolo, modulates up at midpoint of each verse
Violin loop 5: loop 3, transposed up one octave
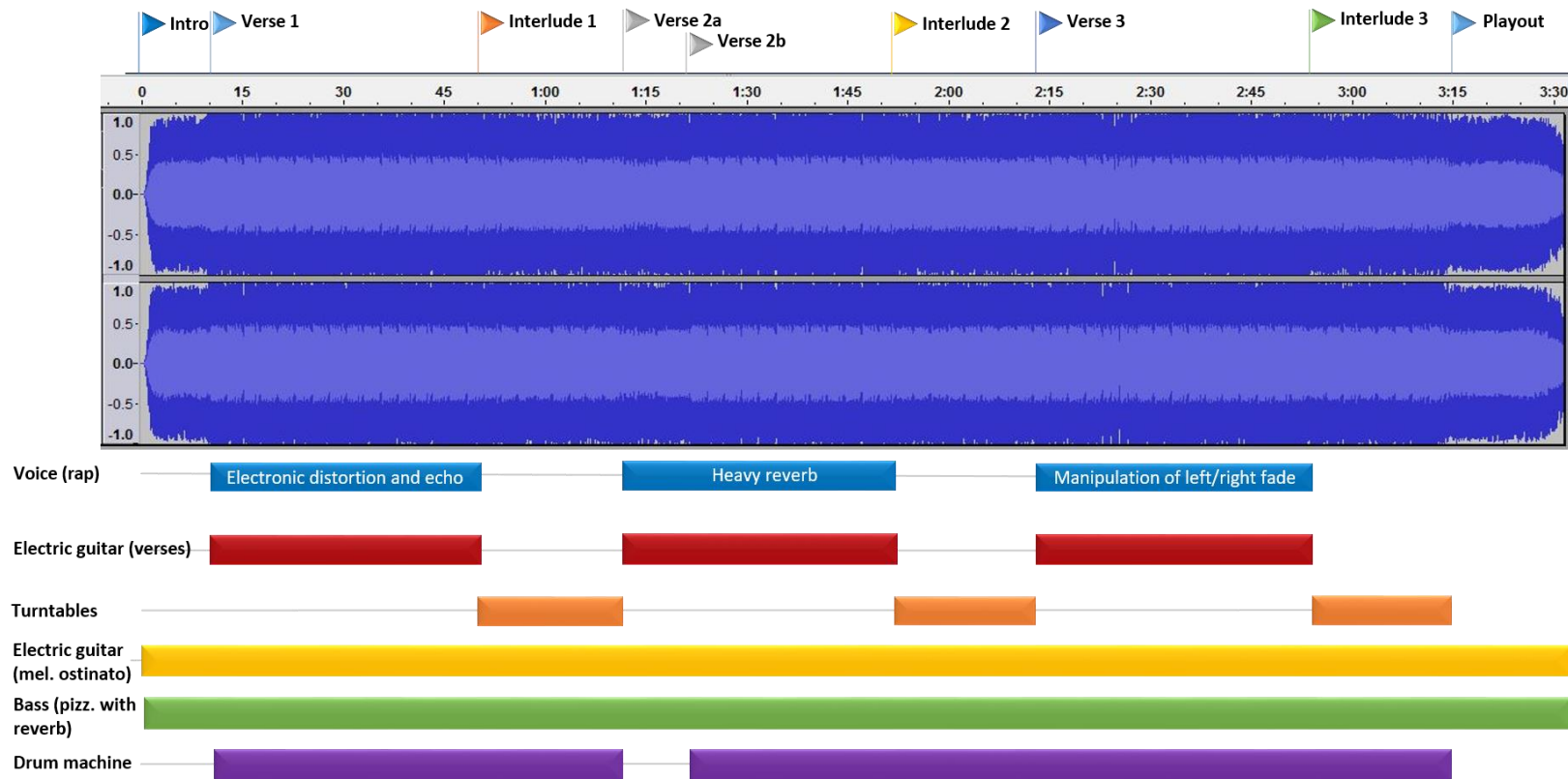
Figure 5.7: Commercial version of "Grim Fandango" from Breaking Kayfabe by Cadence Weapon. The commercial version of this song is slightly longer than the version performed on Fuse. The tempo (ca. 96 bpm) was quite similar to that of the live version with the result that the verses and first two interludes were almost identical in length. The intro of the commercial recording is shorter, but there is considerable extension in the final interlude and playout. The volume level throughout is quite consistent with less distinction between the verses and interludes, a reflection of the significant role that the turntable and electronic fill as a counterpoint to the voice. Not reflected in this transcription is the prominence of electronics throughout; the overall effect is of high production value. Despite distinctions in instrumentation and form there is a clear correspondence between the two versions of "Grim Fandango." The colours used for the individual voices reflect similarities in melodic/rhythmic material. With the exception of the Violin loop 3 (Fuse version) and Turntables (Commercial version) each voice has a point of direct correspondence.

From this "playing it safe" starting point, the episode culminates with what Rollie

labels "remixes": songs by partnering musicians that are reset according to one's own

stylistic prerogatives. Collaboration, they specify, sometimes involves extensive learning:

Owen had to relearn how to sing his own music and Rollie experimented with playing

the violin. Collaboration, they also stress, is not easy, requiring learning, adaptability,

and flexibility about how the music "should" sound. Owen introduces the final remix of

his "This is the Dream of Win and Regine" in the following terms:

> Sure, well Rollie did a remix of a song and this is it. And I'm going to
> sing along to it. This is really hard. I'd never realized what a sort of a
> kind of a machine you become when you play the song the same way
> every night for two and a half years. And then somebody comes along
> and just slows it down a few BPM and you're like, "Oh no! Can't do it!"
> But we'll do it.[228]

Owen's original version features lush string orchestration realized on violin with the aid

of a looping pedal, synthesizer, and variety of electronic interventions, all performed at

an upbeat 146–152 bpm. Rollie's remix brings the tempo down to somewhere around

120 bpm, fragmenting the lush orchestration with addition of a drum machine and

electronic distortions that emulate scratching. He later describes the result as a crunk

version of a Final Fantasy (aka Owen Pallett) number. Following the remix experiments,

both performers voice their mutual respect, while adding that it was an experience that

they'd not necessarily care to repeat. Significantly, Owen and Rollie's commentary

names distinct approaches to collaborating. That is, their explanation of what they were

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[228] Compare to Lori Yates' voiced frustrations about forgetting how to perform even her own music when challenged to collaborate and rearrange familiar versions.

doing, why, and reflections on results (and each other) become important aspects of their performances—arguably as important as the songs that result from their specific forms of interaction.

Mashups—experiments in collaborative performance involving arrangement of two or more pieces into a single song—were perhaps the most readily parsable examples of "fused" music featured on *Fuse*: musical materials from respective contributors could be identified and traced to particular performers. Though even with the clarity of sources, looking only to the musical product neglects the ways in which the performers interacted to create the combined performance. In episode 2-5, the Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir and Sarah and Andrina (then members of Madrigaya) create what Amanda identifies as the first mashup to be performed on *Fuse*. Beginning with a flamenco-style guitar riff, Sarah and Andrina enter singing a version of the well-known tango, "La Cumparsita," that was featured on their Madragaya album. The guitar leads on the transition and the rest of the Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir (banjo, bass, and percussion) enter, laying down the foundation while Bob Keelaghan sings his rendition of Tom Waits' carnavalesque tango, "Temptation." Topically, melodically, and harmonically, the two songs fit together with apparent ease. When the words and melody to "La Cumparsita" (performed by Sarah and Andrina) return, they layer over the band's ongoing rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment to the Waits cover, serving as a bridge to Bob's rendition of the final verse of "Temptation." Commentary from the musicians emphasizes their mutual appreciation of each other and describes the relative

ease with which they came together, though, notably, the idea for the mashup preceded

their introduction and the brief CBC-sponsored rehearsal: Bob came up with the idea

while familiarizing himself with Sarah and Andrina's recorded repertoire. Finding ways to

knit the different voices together relied on leadership and pre-planning from one of the

members of the Agnostics.

Creating mashups and remixes modelled forms of interaction and

experimentation that required significant investments of time and commitment to

learning on the part of contributors. Contrasting these labour-intensive approaches to

"fusing," in episode 3-10 the musicians improvise on a pre-composed tune to musically

enact their convergence. Featuring Anne Lindsay, a Toronto-based contemporary

fiddler, and the now-defunct "rock-gospel" indie band, Jon Rae and the River, the

musicians use "Silvery Slocan," a binary form, 16-bar dance tune, as the basis for

extended instrumental improvisations. The performance begins with an initial playing of

the tune on solo violin with the other musicians gradually adding in their voices. This

initial statement is slow and atmospheric, focused on the play of timbres and blend of

voices. The entrance of the rhythm section (i.e., drums and piano) supports the

transition to a dance tempo, albeit moderately paced to allow for stylization through

extended solos and improvisations featuring the various contributing musicians—much

akin to a bluegrass breakdown.

Anne explains that the purpose of the performance is to allow the audience to

witness the ways in which co-present musicians lead and react to each other:

> It reminded me a lot of some of my free improv experiences as a musician. So I thought it would be really fun and it would truly be fusing, because we have only played this tune once. And then we decided, because it was so cool what happened, that we wouldn't rehearse on it, we wouldn't work on it, we would just play it again.
> (Anne Lindsay, 3-10)

The ability of the musicians to learn the tune after a single playing is revealing of a particular skill-set that is quite common to instrumentalists working in aurally based genres, including North Atlantic fiddling traditions. The ability to improvise elaborations to that tune is facilitated by the consistent form, rhythm, and style of tunes in that genre. That is, this particular approach to modelling the process of encounter isn't so much a performative expression of negotiated difference as evidence that they share a particular set of music making skills (cf. Becker [1982]2008). The particularities of the bodies in contact—their histories and forms of knowledge—are part of the story told in this performance, providing context for deconstructing the modelled process (cf. Stanyek 2004).

The creation and inclusion of experimental content was a rarely realized feature of the collaboration segment (see Figure 5.5). Other approaches were more common and, in actuality, often more telling of musician relationships as attention, of necessity, is shifted away from the apparent hybridity of the "fused" song (cf. Stanyek). What I labelled "live covers"—cover songs performed in the context of episodes featuring performers described as Canadian legends, tastemakers, and/or scene leaders—were exemplary of this point. The episodes featuring Carole Pope (episode 3-15), Ron Hynes (episode 3-16), Murray McLauchlan (episode 4-6), and Greg Keelor (episode 4-22) all

featured partnering musicians "covering" well-known songs from a supposed mentor's

repertoire, often assuming a backing role to the "Canadian icon" they were featured

alongside.

Rather than a middle ground or point of convergence, these cover performances

effected a hierarchical ordering of voices on-air with middle-aged white singer-

songwriters most often at the aural centre. When musicians chose covers that

referenced partnering musicians, it tended to be a way of paying homage and marking

their influence in particular scenes. Covers were tools for articulating alliances and

narrating a particular version of music history that celebrated institutions like True North

Records, the ECMAs, and Toronto's Queen Street and Yorkville Scenes.[229] Contemporary

developments in other scenes, regions, and traditions did not tend to be portrayed as

embodying the same essential Canadianness.

More generally, covers provided opportunities to test the collaborative waters,

so to speak, enabling exploration of "common ground" without worry of "messing up"

the music of a co-present performer:

> But also it's just a really easy way to find common ground between
> people, especially if people are nervous. Like some of the non-jazz
> musicians I was just talking about would be timid to play on other

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[229] Performances of cover songs were important tools for both musicians and broadcasters in the *Fuse* lineup, providing a means of mapping where musicians had come from but also, at times, opportunities for musicians to demonstrate common interests, or a platform for musicians to "create in whatever way you want" without fear of offending a co-present musician (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). Moreover, as an inherently intertextual medium, they were laden with meaning, communicating a wealth of information in a temporally efficient manner that was, presumably, entertaining for audiences. Covers had the potential to provide a familiar point of entry for members of the audience who were encountering featured performers for the first time, providing a tool for placing new musicians in known networks.

people's material for fear of wrecking it, you know. Or whatever. Whereas if you're coming at a cover song, you're both approaching it from ground zero. And from an equal space. Like you're not playing on this other person's song; you're both playing on someone else's song who's not there. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015)

From the broadcaster's perspective, requiring musicians to include a cover song in the lineup was a means of hedging their bets:

A way of ensuring 'new and special' even if the two artists didn't fuse as completely as we'd have liked. It's also great middle ground. If two artists are meeting for the first time, not necessarily fans or having even heard of each other before we brought them together, then finding a common tune or two that they don't have to "learn" per se helps to put them at ease and allow a chance to give'er. (Amanda Putz, email, 16 November 2015)

Though perhaps less interesting from the perspective of process and potential for novel creation, the more typical performances featured in this segment of the broadcast—the regular repertoire, promotional material, and cover tunes—are, nevertheless, worth consideration because they are sites of discursive confusion. These are points where perceptions of difference are managed through curation, variously exaggerating differences and masking similarities between bodies and musicians in contact, while also avoiding commentary about the actual negotiations at play in the music and the studio space more generally.

Following the finale performance, each episode of *Fuse* ended with host expressions of gratitude to the musicians for their respective performances, and a credit roll listing production personnel and any partnering individuals and/or organizations. Listeners were also thanked for their participation; in seasons one, two, and four this

took the form of an expression of appreciation for tuning in, but in season three, Alan

Neal's consistent, "Thank you, Canada, for helping to light the fuse," suggested a much

more agentive role for the audience. Audiences were invited to provide feedback and,

particularly after season one, to visit the *Fuse* website for details about upcoming

recording sessions and photos from recent performances. In most episodes, a final

playout faded up under the credits. In seasons one and two, the playout tended to be

generic music with no apparent connection to the content of each episode, but in

seasons three and four the playout was often recycled from the introduction,

functioning as an audible bookend.

The formal "template" followed for broadcasts imposed a loose structure that

was capable of accommodating a variety of content within a coherent narrative that also

created an impression of unity across the entire series. It also imposed a fundamental

sameness on all of the modelled interactions: the possibility of distinct types of

difference—differences more akin to variations in accent and dialect at one end of a

spectrum and, at the other, differences of an untranslatable nature—could not

necessarily be accommodated by the confines of its narrative structure.

5.4   Obscuring meaningful differences
The importance of the broadcaster's mediating voice in preferring an understanding of

fusing as a process bringing together inherently different musicians is demonstrated in

an episode that broadcast early in *Fuse*'s run. Episode 1-4, featuring two singer-

songwriters begins, as was typical of seasons one and two, with commercially recorded

music clips over which the performers provide commentary about their

accomplishments to date. The first sample includes distorted electric guitar, drums, and

miscellaneous percussion over which Joel Plaskett states:

> Apparently I survived the Halifax pop explosion of the mid '90s. I
> helped ignite it. My previous band, Thrush Hermit, counted Sloan and
> Super Friends, Leonard Conan and Al Tuck amongst our peers. I kept
> my anchor firmly planted on the East Coast because it continues to
> inspire me and my songs. (episode 1-4)

The music cadences on Joel shouting, "What?!," and changes to the funk beat of Tom

Wilson's "Dig It." The music features electric guitar, electric organ, drums, and, toward

the end, voices. Bob Lanois speaks first, describing how he became a musician through

his brother's influence:

> I was inspired to get into a music career by my buddy, Dan Lanois,[230]
> who happens to be my kid brother.

Tom continues, almost seamlessly—an inattentive listener might miss that there are two

different speakers:

> I've lived the rock and roll lifestyle with my band, Junkhouse, and it
> almost did me in. But hey, it takes a lot to knock down a kid from
> Steeltown. I won three Junos and I count the Cash Family[231] among
> my fans. All after putting out my very first solo record at the age of 42.
> (episode 1-4)

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[230] Daniel Lanois is a producer, musicians, and songwriter. He is best known for his collaborative work with Brian Eno, famously producing U2's *The Joshua Tree* and *Achtung Baby* albums. He has also produced albums for Bob Dylan, Neil Young, Peter Gabriel, Emmylou Harris, and Willie Nelson.
[231] The Cash Family is probably a reference to brothers Andrew and Peter Cash who, individually have performed with the bands L'Étanger, Ursula, and Skydiggers. After leaving their respective bands during the mid-'90s, the brothers came together to perform as an alternative country duo.

These brief statements act as hooks, intended to capture listener interest by establishing

the credentials of the featured, though still unnamed, musicians. On their own, these

statements say very little about the relationships of the musicians: they are influential in

their own rights; they possess unique connections to a variety of influential Canadian

musician networks; and they claim strong ties to geographically distant Canadian cities.

Amanda's introduction, however, refocuses these qualities in relational terms, grafting

geography and class onto performance genre to construct their differences:

> *Fuse* is about merging, marrying and mashing up the talents of this
> country's songwriters. And today we are representing two very
> different Canadian cities. We're fusing Hamilton's gritty Steeltown
> working class rock sound with the college folk pop that's done best in
> Halifax. Yes, we're creating a brand new musical empire in Canada.
> We're going to call it, "Hamilfax." And please welcome its newest
> ambassadors, Joel Plaskett and Tom Wilson with special guest, Bob
> Lanois. (episode 1-4)

Joel and Tom are posed at opposite ends of a spectrum constructed around genre, class,

and place, though both are songwriters whose musics are, respectively, slightly more

oriented toward a highly produced pop aesthetic versus a more blues-based rock

aesthetic. And even the geographic distinction drawn here is misleading; at the time of

their performance, both musicians were living in the Halifax area and, as discussions

later in the show revealed, writing songs together.

This sort of polarizing commentary was quite typical. Figure 5.8 depicts trends in

the positioning of musicians *vis-à-vis* their performing partners. In more than half of the

reviewed episodes, introductory commentary positioned the musicians as somehow

different from each other, yet the majority of musicians featured on *Fuse* came out of

performing traditions utilizing similar musical-structural elements: harmonies, rhythms, meters, timbres, and forms. In many cases, difference was constructed by comparing unlike elements. In some cases, like that of Tom and Joel, difference was constructed by nuancing descriptions of music with references to places, and in others, episode 2-14 for example, distinctions were defined by comparing unlike elements: Jason Collett was introduced as performing "community-minded acoustic pop" and Al Tuck described as "PEI's best kept musical secret." They were pitted as opposites, yet their differences (musical genre/style versus geographic affiliation) were more the result of a turn of phrase than a musical reality.
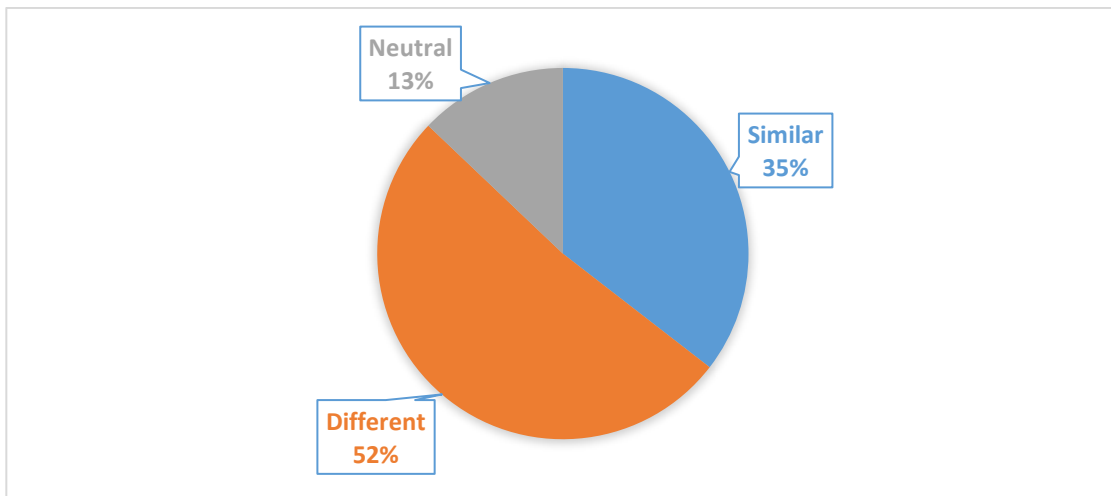
Figure 5.8: Percentage of Fuse *episodes in which host commentary positions musicians as essentially similar or different. Excluded from this calculation are episodes for which an archival recording was not available (i.e., 62 of 76 episodes are included in this calculation).*

Amanda's introduction of Tom and Joel poses the premise of *Fuse* as the "marrying up of sounds," a future-oriented metaphor that implies long-term dialectical influences between performers. However, there is an audible lack of intersection between the performers on-air; the musicians tend to take their "turns" as opportunities

to showcase their own music (see Table 5.1). Just past the midpoint of the broadcast, for example, Amanda complements the musicians on their rendition of Tom Wilson and Bob Lanois's "Fennel Square," a song from Tom and Bob's then-recently released album, *The Shack*. Joel laughs sardonically at his inclusion in the credits, perhaps providing feedback on the limited role he perceived himself to have in the performance. The "fuse version" of the song sounds to be a slightly more "unplugged" and stripped down than the commercial release, omitting the reverb, pedal steel, bass, and percussion. Tom, on lead guitar and in the solo vocal role, is accompanied by Bob Lanois on mouth organ. The mouth organ fills in some of the pedal steel riffs, but otherwise maintains its prominent solo function on the bridge. Joel's role in the "new" version of the song is to bulk out the texture, lightly doubling the chorded guitar part.

More generally, conversations about style and careers juxtapose Tom and Joel's approaches to performing: Tom's performance style is described as inherently collaborative, referencing his early career in a band and "solo" ventures that usually involved songwriting partnerships with the likes of Bob Lanois, Blackie and the Rodeo Kings, and, indeed, Joel. Joel, though he often performs with a band, is cast as a solitary singer-songwriter who thrives on the freedom of being able to go into a studio on his own. The contrast between the two musicians is highlighted throughout the episode and exemplified in the very limited ways in which the musicians interact: Tom's songs are performed with Bob as the lead accompanying voice (Joel takes a secondary backing role

that is only really noticeable in the occasional clash of guitar parts); Joel, on the other

hand, performs alone on two of his four songs (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Broadcast program for episode 1-4 featuring Joel Plaskett and Tom Wilson (with Bob Lanois). Songs are listed along with their composer, the musician who selected the song for performance on Fuse, the voice that is dominant in the broadcast recording and other voices that are prominently featured. An asterisk is used to indicate performances that were solos.

Song title	Composer	Selection by	Dominant voice	Secondary solo voice
Shine	Junkhouse	Tom Wilson	Tom Wilson	Bob Lanois
Love this Town	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	
Under a Stormy Sky	Daniel Lanois	Tom Wilson	Bob Lanois	
***Lakes of Pontchartrain**	Traditional	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	
Fennel Square	Tom Wilson, Bob Lanois	Tom Wilson	Tom Wilson	Bob Lanois
***Light of the Moon**	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	
***Let Your Old Star In**	Tom Wilson	Tom Wilson	Tom Wilson	
Happen Now	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	Joel Plaskett	

At this point, it is important to recall that *Fuse*'s *raison d'être* was not, like many

of the fusion programming examples considered in Chapter 3, to engage Canada's

changing ethnoracial profile and related production priorities: *Fuse* was about

entertaining listeners; it was not expressly about "being more multicultural." It was,

however, created at a time when the rhetoric around Canadian multiculturalism was

particularly active, generally inflecting official decision making and colouring popular

understandings of social relationships. Ollivier and Fridman have suggested that a

"diversity–unitary" (i.e., different–similar) binarism emerged in the second half of the

twentieth century and has since been naturalized in the public discourses of western

societies. This particular discursive formation, they contend, should be considered as

one of the master narratives of our time (2002:4; see also Ollivier 2008; Skrbis and

Woodward 2007), constructing relations of power which, while ostensibly supportive of

diversity and peaceable relations, also work to maintain traditional hegemonies (cf. Hall 1986).

Even as elite groups embrace celebration of diversity, calls for distinction by minority groups are dismissed as close-minded, insular, or racist. Diversity, in this sense, is acceptable only if it takes a "diverse like me" form that does not require significant structural accommodation (i.e., legal and economic changes that address disparities in education, professional opportunity, and experiences of discrimination). Such discourses contain sometimes irreconcilable differences in personal and community circumstances in purely descriptive terms: reducing "diversity" to a descriptor strips it of political power, allowing the fact of plurality to become a mask for arranging social relations and managing inequalities (Butler 2008; Hale 1999). Because "diversity" is constructed as value neutral it can be articulated to existing practices or bonded to other ideologies: by celebrating rights to culture, "diversity" is placed it at the centre of liberal democratic ideology while still allowing for its potential cooptation by profoundly unequal regimes (Bannerji 2000; Hale 1999).

Fusion programming was inherently about the arrangement of voices in relationships that articulated centres and peripheries, belonging and exclusion—arrangements that simultaneously had the potential to challenge existing hierarchies of power or to reinscribe the status quo. Audiences, for their part, were offered the opportunity to witness and consume unique performances by an ever-shifting lineup of divergently oriented performers. The act of "fusing" implied a coming together of voices,

energy generated through contact, and unpredictable outcomes—conceptually all but

designed to resonate with the omnivorous taste patterns of social elites (cf. Peterson

and Kern 1996; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Bryson 1996; Ollivier 2008; Cheyne and

Binder 2010).[232]

But while flows of conversation and music within individual episodes narrated

the convergence of distinctive elements, realities of content resulted in production of a

sort of relational/positional relativism: definitional ambiguities flattened out

understandings of difference, inscribing a functional equality on everyone subsumed

within the same consistently applied narrative. There are distinctions to be made, in

other words, between two singer-songwriters performing together versus a rapper and

classical violinist or Inuit throat singer and Cuban jazz band. Some of the more

experimental takes on the idea of fusing, such as those modelled by Final Fantasy and

Cadence Weapon (episode 3-18), involved significant investments of time and energy—

not to mention learning and re-styling—and extensive communication to realize. At the

other end of the spectrum were broadcasts involving musicians with parallel

understandings and interests performing together without actively considering the

priorities of their partner(s) (e.g., the broadcast featuring Joel Plaskett with Tom Wilson

and Bob Lanois).

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[232] Likewise, in her analysis of Paul Simon's *Graceland* album, Meintjes suggests that the album becomes a "complex polysemic sign vehicle that comes to stand for social collaboration": "This notion of collaboration is established in the music itself. The musical collaboration then comes to stand for social collaboration through a series of 'interpretive moves' […] on the part of the listener" (1990:37). Consumption of the music becomes of way of participating in the signified discourse.

Through formal conventions, *Fuse* narrated the process of supposedly disparate elements converging, temporarily co-existing in a space, and, depending on the metaphor applied, juxtaposing sounds, reacting, or interacting in a manner that contained potential for replication or metamorphosis. But, by attributing a fundamental sameness to a variety of interactions—that is, all musics, musicians, and interactions ostensibly involved a similar negotiation of difference—the ability to distinguish meaningful distinctions was negated. That's not to say that the varied subjectivities of actors were erased. Indeed, in obscuring details of process and the actual negotiations of musicians, attention moves from the praxis of musicians to extra-musical signifiers of difference. The focus, then, of the remaining chapters is the ways in which musicians were positioned relative to each other, extra-musical and extra-linguistic characteristics that are part of the discursive field, and implications for understanding *Fuse* performances as specifically Canadian.

Chapter 6

Listening between the lines: Curating the normative Canadian

Figure 6.1: Catherine McLellan performing on Fuse, broadcast 2 February 2008. The logo for Fuse—two overlapping lightbulbs, though without a full-perspective on the socket ends—is depicted in the background (photo by Emily Chen, used with permission).

When I initially emailed series producer Caitlin Crockard about *Fuse*, she explained that the concept for the series originated in folk festival workshops: informal and happenstance performances that brought together musicians connected by little else than their physical co-presence and the imagination of festival programmers (cf. Stanyek 2004). Workshop collaborations happen on stage in front of a live audience, engendering "magical moments [that] would happen kind of spontaneously" (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015; cf. email, 3 November 2010). "Fusion music," in the sense of music industry labels and categorizations, was encompassed in the notion

of "fusing," but only incidentally. As Crockard later elaborated, "*Fuse*" was coined to reference unexpected moments of synergy—a concept graphically detailed in the logo for *Fuse*. The overlapped lightbulbs with their shared "fuse" depicted the energy of converging musician trajectories, implying sudden sparks, electricity, and illumination within the liminal space of the CBC studio (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015; see Figure 6.1). From a conceptual perspective, in other words, *Fuse* depended on the illusion of liveness to achieve its goals. In reality, liveness was an aesthetic quality that was differently realized for live and listening audiences.

This chapter and the previous one begin from very similar points: the conceptual premise for *Fuse*. But while the last chapter was about narrative structure and the obfuscation of meaningful differences, this chapter is about unpacking the aesthetic priorities and naturalized worldviews that inflected approaches to mediating content and identities. It focuses on musician relationships, extra-musical signifiers of difference, how live content is edited into broadcasts, and asks "what is systematically 'outside'?" in order to make visible that which is typically unmarked (Born 2004:15). I attempt to move beyond the content of broadcasts to read what is not there and what is tacitly implied alongside more overtly proclaimed messages. My approach is necessarily speculative— I'm attempting to analyse silences as much as sounds—but nonetheless grounded in the results of my content analysis of archival recordings of *Fuse* and commentary of the involved actors.

The analysis presented in this chapter is very much in dialogue with Fleras and

Kunz's (2001) book-length study about the representation of ethnocultural diversity in

Canada's mainstream media. Though focused on the commercial media, their

commentary about the function of media systems is relevant to interpreting the CBC.

Beginning with an explanation of what multiculturalism is and what it means in terms of

broadcasting policy and social priorities, the authors' analysis focuses on the systemic

biases that continue to pervade the media in the form of naturalized worldviews.

Systemic racism, they explain, is a form of bias that is entrenched in the structures,

functions, and processes of institutions—institutions that are ostensibly universal but

are effectively exclusive (Fleras and Kunz 2001:39).

Because prejudices—broadly defined as naturalized assumptions of social, moral,

and cultural normativity—are built into the foundations of institutions, they pervade

programming outcomes and limit the potential to imagine alternatives to the current

social world. Institutional change is possible, but it takes time and the right

conditions.[233] Correcting for systemic biases is particularly difficult in the context of

budget cuts and layoffs, which effectively limit the possibility of altering the existing

institutional profile: as the CBC is unionized, new hires—including affirmative action

hires intended to slowly reshape the institutional profile of the organization—are the

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[233] As noted previously, during the 1970s and '80s affirmative action programs worked to rebalance the number of men and women working in the media. The success of these programs is palpable today in the number of women working at a high level within the CBC as presenters, producers, and managers. This rebalancing, however, happened over a generation and during a period of media growth (Wendy Bergfeldt, interview, 28 June 2012).

first to go. And indeed, a number of CBC producers acknowledged to me that the staff

over-represents particular demographic groups (educated, middle-class, white),

effectively limiting the potential for real diversity in programming because a truly

diverse range of worldviews amongst programmers is unavailable.

Each episode of *Fuse* was a mixture of conversation and music in which the host

assumed a prominent role, defining program objectives, introducing musicians and their

musics, and directing conversation through her/his line of questioning. Musicians were

given opportunities to speak about their lives and their music, but in a manner that was

directed. That is to say, the host's role was to curate the performance, presenting and

framing musicians according to the narrative priorities—and assumptions—of the

broadcaster. The authority of the broadcaster as a curator and producer of culture

rested even more firmly in the hands of the producer and recording engineer who

edited sometimes lengthy recording sessions to fit the available broadcast window.

This post-production stage involved: (1) decision-making about how to excise

material in a manner that created comprehensible conversations and that followed

some sort of narrative arc (see Chapter 5); (2) choices about which songs and which

takes of those songs made it to air; and, (3) on occasion, judgments about whether

content should be censored. The limited time available during each episode meant that

it wasn't possible to include stories that took time to set up or carefully unfold.

Conversations needed to: "a) quickly establish the artist for the audience, b) be

interesting/entertaining and c) relate back to the music they were performing on the

show" (Caitlin Crockard, email, 10 February 2017). Above all, the goal of this editorial stage was to craft programming that prioritized listener experience. This means that the quality of raw materials sometimes resulted in imbalances between voices in the broadcast cut that had little to do with ideological agendas and everything to do with the pragmatics of producing entertaining content.

From an initial description of production aesthetics that emphasized liveness and the relationality of actors within the communicative process that draws on examples from across *Fuse*'s four seasons, the remainder of this chapter moves on to focus on the mediated artifact (cf. Conway 2011:12). That is, I interrogate how the silencing and obfuscation of particular voices and narratives interpellates the listening (versus live) audience into being and participates in the discursive ordering of Canadian society (see Chapter 2; cf. Dittmer and Larsen 2007). This portion of the chapter focuses disproportionately on content broadcast during season three in order to explore notions of belonging.[234] I attend closely to how centres and peripheries—norms and deviance, safety and risk, mainstream and Other—are defined and how production priorities function as elements of discourse. Notably, I am not suggesting that these omissions, Otherings, and hierarchical orderings were intentional, but instead reveal naturalized

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[234] Two of these examples, featuring Ohbijou/Kids on TV (episode 3-3) and Tanya Tagaq/Apostle of Hustle (episode 3-18), were discussed in Chapter 4 in the context of producer assessments of content that was musically risky. My discussion takes this assessment of musical risk a step further to consider issues of authority, relationality, and normalcy/deviance. In addition to pushing the limits of musical acceptability for the perceived audience, both episodes were censored for their extra musical content before being broadcast.

assumptions about normativity, deviance, and risk that are entrenched in the broadcast

system and that reflect the worldviews of actors within that system.

My seeming focus on a single season can be attributed to a number of factors

that, in themselves, are revealing of the relationships and motivations of implicated

actors. First, *Fuse* moved from a 9 pm to a 3 pm timeslot in the Radio One lineup during

season three, perhaps imposing a different onus on broadcasters to more narrowly

define "risky" content. The CBC's policy on the inclusion of cautionary announcements,

for example, specifies that "material which may be disturbing to some segments of the

audience and particularly children—because of scenes violence, nudity, sexual behavior,

or coarse language" should be marked by a discretionary announcement before or

during the program (CBC|Radio-Canada 1994). Though the policy doesn't specify

particular times of day at which these announcements should be applied, the Canadian

Association of Broadcasters defines the period between 9 pm and 6 am as "the late

viewing period": a window in the broadcast schedule that is specifically intended for

adult audiences[235] (Canadian Association of Broadcasters 2002:Clause 10). Three of the

episodes (3-15, 3-18, 3-20) that are analysed in detail within this chapter were broadcast

after this change in the program lineup, perhaps suggesting that acceptably "risky"

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[235] The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) comprises Canada's commercial broadcasters and does not include the CBC. Indeed, CAB and the CBC have historically been at odds over issues of funding and regulation (for a history of Canada's broadcasting system, including the relationships between commercial, public, and educational broadcasters, see Raboy 1990; Peers 1969; Prang 1965). Nevertheless, their policies, and particularly their definitions of the types of content appropriate for audiences according to time of day, are broadly relevant as "barometers" of the Canadian media system.

content for a late-night broadcast was considered less appropriate for the afternoon listenership.

Second, as *Fuse* became better established in the CBC's programming schedule, the production team focused on finding ways to more explicitly model the fuse concept by including performers from a broader range of genres and styles.[236] As Caitlin Crockard explained, it was sometimes difficult to perceive the extent of the negotiations occurring in the fuse space when both musicians were singer-songwriters. But, citing the example of Apostle of Hustle and Tanya Tagaq, concerts that featured musicians performing in genres and styles that were less clearly related more readily enabled the audience to imagine *Fuse* as an intercultural convergence of sound (interview, 2 September 2015; see Chapter 5). This broadening of focus was also about challenging listeners and reaching out to "the indie-loving festival and club goers" while "*not* alienating regular listeners who loved *Vinyl Cafe* and *DNTO*" (Amanda Putz, email, 16 November 2015).[237] Given that genre categories are also marked by distinctions in race, gender, nationality, and language, issues of representation became more prominent with the broadening of musical focus (see Chapter 7).

These first two factors—the change in broadcast schedule and inclusion of a wider range of musics—point to assumptions about the nature of the listening audience, including tastes in music and social norms. The final factors motivating my focus on

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[236] Cf. Chapter 5, particularly the discussion of content included in the "Collaboration" segment of broadcasts.
[237] See Chapter 4 for discussion of how producers imagined the audience that they addressed.

season three were the coincidence of random sampling (the episodes elaborated in detail are all ones that were included in my In-depth Studies) and the availability of anecdotal evidence. As my correspondence with Amanda Putz was limited to a series of emails, I didn't have the same opportunity to query the imbalances that I noted in my analysis of episodes that she hosted. Speaking with Alan Neal in person offered greater latitude to ask questions about what I perceived as omissions and non-sequiturs in on-air narratives: I simply had greater access to the "backstories" for season three.

6.1 "LIVE FROM STUDIO 40 IN THE OTTAWA BROADCAST CENTRE, THIS IS *FUSE*!": THE POLITICS OF AESTHETICS

The experience of *Fuse* performances varied significantly for live-in-studio and radio audiences. Recording sessions typically lasted about two hours, and broadcasts, with a few exceptions, were 54-minutes long[238]—meaning, of course, that considerable portions of live concerts were necessarily excised. When I spoke with Alan Neal about his priorities as a host, he described the significant learning curve involved in translating his approach as a host/journalist working primarily in current affairs to one working in music, and the partiality of perspective afforded to the listening audience:

> I was coming from a current affairs background into a music show, and
> I hadn't quite realized how much of the interview element would be
> edited out from what was broadcast on-air, right? So frequently I
> would listen to the version that actually went to air and go, "Whoa!"

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[238] Episodes were typically 54 minutes long, though re-broadcasts on Radio 2 were slightly longer (57 minutes) because the hourly news segment on Radio 2 was slightly shorter than the Radio One newscast (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). And, too, occasionally special events necessitated shorter versions. The archival copy of episode 4-24 featuring CR Avery and the Sojourners, for example, was broadcast during the Olympics; it was only 48 minutes long.

Like it sounded so … here's a question, and here's a song, here's a question, here's a song, here's a question.[239] Like, and sometimes the actual editing of the conversation would sound somewhat choppy, or, surprisingly abrupt kind of in how they happened. Which is not a slam against the editor—against Caitlin—or anything, but I just remember thinking, […] "Wow, that was a much better conversation for the people in the studio." But of course you would tape for […] two hours, and then it would have to be down to I think it was 48 minutes if I remember correctly? […] You have to go through and find three minutes to cut out of a thing. […] And there would be a lot more explaining for a national audience that would sometimes get edited out. And there'd be these times when I'd hear it at home, going, "Is that going to make sense to somebody who wasn't in the studio?" Because I would remember having said something like, "Okay, this is just what's happened …" or, "This is how …" or describing things that would just get excised for time.[…] But it was—like sometimes what I heard on the radio didn't reflect what happened in the studio. (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015)

Fuse featured an aesthetic of liveness that was suggestive of a certain candour in communication—an opportunity to directly access an extemporaneous process and a way "to hear and see things that you haven't before" (Amanda Putz, episode 1-3). But that liveness was constructed (cf. Chignell 2009; Baade and Deaville 2016); *Fuse* was a carefully mediated object that was edited to meet particular production standards that excluded the "rougher" takes of songs and that censored content considered too "risky" for broadcast on the national network.

The suggestion of liveness was iterated as a weekly refrain—"Live from Studio 40 in the Ottawa Broadcast Centre, this is *Fuse*!"—that marked the beginning of each episode of *Fuse*. Usually proclaimed by an unidentified female voice following a one-

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[239] Spoken in a rushed manner to imply the sometimes manic pace of broadcasts.

minute commercially recorded sampler of that week's musician lineup, sometimes guest

announcers featured as nods to particular Canadian music venues, other branches of the

CBC network, and/or coming changes to the network schedule.[240] Though mainly

recorded in Ottawa, from time to time the producers of *Fuse* took production on the

road, staging performances in Halifax, Sackville, Toronto, Calgary, Vancouver, and a

number of other locales in between. They even ventured into the North on one

occasion. These excursions were opportunities to access musicians from other parts of

the country and to provide geographically distant audiences with opportunities to

partake in the "live-in-studio" audience experience.

      Though only occupying a few seconds of each weekly broadcast, these few words

were laden with meaning: they identified the show, located it within listeners'

imaginations, and cued the transition from a pre-recorded play-in to the live-action of

the audiotopic fuse space (cf. Kun 2005). When I asked Caitlin Crockard, Alan Neal, and

Amanda Putz about the choice to introduce *Fuse* with a tagline that proclaimed its

liveness, all agreed that, though technically inaccurate, it was never the intention to

mislead.[241] Moreover, they concurred, the actual content of episodes surely made clear

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[240] The regular announcer for *Fuse* was Elizabeth Bowie, though she was only ever identified in the on-air credits for episode 2-7, broadcast on 3 June 2006. Guest announcers, who were more typically identified in conjunction with their institutional affiliations, included: Steve Melanson, a representative from the Brunton Auditorium at Mount Allison University where episode 4-17 was recorded; Grant Lawrence, a voice strongly associated with Radio 3 and the independent music scene in Canada (episode 4-24 and 4-27); and, for the final episode of *Fuse* (episode 4-28), Rich Terfry, who became the voice of Radio 2's *Drive* in September 2008.

[241] Live and "as live" programming are the norms for radio production, a trend that dates to the advent of broadcast technology and early recording equipment that made pre-recording content too cumbersome a process to be effective (Chignall 2009; cf. Baade and Deaville 2016). My questions about liveness were

that broadcasts were not live-to-air. The live audience, in any case, was told upon arrival

that they were attending a recording session. Alan Neal explained:

> I didn't think at the time, really, that anyone was thinking it was
> happening live. Because, for instance, you'd be sending out promo
> clips to local shows, right? Like, so people would be hearing songs from
> it before it aired. […] I don't even think it crossed my mind, aside from
> like talking to an audience and saying, "Live from blah blah blah." I
> almost—I would hazard a guess that it's the kind of thing that sounded
> good. Like *Saturday Night Live*. Like that, "Live from Studio whatever,"
> "Live from New York." I have a feeling that it started like that and then
> nobody fixed it.

He continued,

> I don't remember anybody ever saying to me, "Let's try to make this …
> like, let's try to make everyone believe that we're live from the
> studio." […] I remember saying to the audience as part of the warm up
> every day, like, "By the way, this is completely edited later." So I
> remember that being very much part of, to the people in the room this
> was obvious, so it wasn't like anyone in the room thought that this was
> going out on-air as we spoke (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015).

Nevertheless, though not intentionally deceptive, *Fuse* depended on an aesthetic of

liveness that was a product of its conditions of production (see Chapter 4), but also

essential to the conceptual premise of the program.

This opening proclamation of liveness was followed by a burst of thunderous

applause and cheers as the host, or so one images, ran onto the stage. As soon as the

applause died down (or was faded out), introductory monologues by the host often

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generally met with surprise; the conventionality of the approach to liveness meant that the implications
remained unconsidered.

referenced the spontaneous nature of *Fuse* performances.[242] A season one episode

broadcast on 10 July 2005, for example, welcomed audiences as follows:

> This is a fine studio audience here on Spark Street today. And this is
> the fine show where we flip the switch on two hot songwriters here in
> studio in front of this amazing live studio audience. Sparks will fly and
> ignite something brand spanking new. It's a new way to hear older
> songs and new songs that you may have never heard before. (Amanda
> Putz, episode 1-2)

Just over a year later on 15 July 2006, host Amanda Putz launched the episode stating:

> Welcome to *Fuse*. CBC Radio's weekly musical mashup of genres,
> conversation, and song. And it happens live, right before your ears. We
> have left our usual Studio 40 in Ottawa for the steeply inclined streets
> of Halifax, Nova Scotia today. Caitlin, the producer, and I have been
> walking around downtown wondering if we look really obviously like
> tourists […]. At any rate, on our hunt for the best musical mashups
> across the country, we found a few East Coasters with differing music
> but very similar spirits. Fusing today, an ancient language made fresh
> and many languages made into the universal tongue of pop music.
> (Amanda Putz, episode 2-10)

Later that same year, Alan Neal, opened a 2 December 2006 broadcast with the

following description:

> Yes, hello Canada! Welcome to *Fuse*! I am here in Studio 40 in Ottawa.
> A studio where not one, but two pianos sit expectantly, slid together
> like pieces of a puzzle, ready to be taken on the ride of their lives. And
> I've got to say, personally, I cannot wait. (Alan Neal, episode 3-5)

And a 6 October 2007 broadcast from season four begins:

> Thank you! Thank you everyone! Welcome to *Fuse*, where we remake
> music, live, in front of a studio audience here and for your ears
> listening at home. Today, a precocious teenager who calls her music

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[242] See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of these opening monologues that focuses on the definitions of
"fusing" and poetic descriptions of performers offered by hosts.

> "modern folk" is being paired with some legends of Canadian roots,
> pop, soul. (Amanda Putz, episode 4-4)

Prose transcriptions fall short of capturing the energy infused into these greetings and

conceptual pronouncements; tone conveyed the excitement of on-air "live, right before

your ears" (Amanda Putz, episode 2-5) risk-taking, discovery, and adventure more than

the words themselves. What these short scripts do is provide is a starting point for

understanding what *Fuse* was about, the nature of target audiences, and the slight

changes in conceptual focus that emerged over *Fuse*'s four-season run.

6.2 "GET READY TO FUSE!": INDEXING LIVENESS

In all of the cited introductions—each sampled from a different season of *Fuse*—there's

consistent referencing of live and listening audiences as distinct entities within the same

temporal and conceptual performance space: action is framed as happening "today" and

outcomes are still to be anticipated. Looking across the series as a whole points to the

consistency with which liveness was coded: of the sixty-one episodes for which I have

archival recordings, host introductions are all presented in a combination of present and

future tenses, forty-six reference the performance happening "today," and twenty-three

describe the result of the performance as producing something "new." Only one

introduction breaks the illusion of temporal co-presence (cf. Chignell 2009), specifically

referencing the distinctive moments occupied by live and listening audiences:

> Of course, by the time listeners across Canada hear this, the red carpet
> will be rolled up, the beer taps will be dry, and the last note of music
> will be but a memory on the ocean breeze. (Amanda Putz, episode 2-1)

With considerable consistency, in other words, the live-in-studio audience indexed the

liveness of the event through its audible physical co-presence with performers and

potential (rarely realized) to interact with musicians.

In addition to this signifying role, audiences were frequently credited as agentive

elements in the fuse process. Indeed, implicit in Caitlin Crockard's description of *Fuse* as

being premised on a folk festival workshop is the energy generated through the

interaction of performers with audiences in live performance contexts. The importance

of this relationship is underscored in Amanda's conceptual pronouncements for many of

the season one episodes, including this one in which she identifies the audience as an

essential element in the "fuse" formula:

> This is the show where we hand pick two of Canada's juiciest, ripest
> songwriters, throw them in a blender, **toss in a little, you know,
> somethin' somethin' to juice it up—in this case it's the live studio
> audience**—and then see how their songs taste. It's kind of a song
> smoothie if you will. (bolding added, episode 1-8)

In fact, of the sixty-one episodes for which I have archival recordings, sixteen

introductory statements specifically emphasize the necessity of the live audience[243] and

four others emphasize the importance of a more ambiguously defined audience.[244]

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[243] Other episodes in which the live audience is identified as essential to the fuse process include: Jenny Whiteley and Stephen Fearing (episode 1-2); Kiran Ahluwalia and the Mighty Popo (episode 1-3); Joel Plaskett and Tom Wilson (episode 1-4); Randy and Tal Bachman (episode 1-7); Jim Bryson and Lynn Miles (episode 1-8); The Golden Dogs and Golden Seals (episode 1-9); Elliott BROOD and Alpha Yaya Diallo (episode 2-1); Ridley Bent, Ndidi Onukwulu, and Madagascar Slim (episode 2-2); Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir and Sarah & Andrina (episode 2-5); Andy Stochansky and Andrew McPherson (episode 2-6); Lily Frost and the Hilotrons (episode 3-2); the Skydiggers and Kyrie Kristmanson (episode 4-4); Christine Fellows and Maybe Smith (episode 4-5); Grand Analog and Dr. Draw (episode 4-14); Amanda Martinez and Justin Hines (episode 4-15); and the Sojourners and CR Avery (episode 4-24).
[244] Episodes that reference the audience as essential in more general terms include: MIR and Mary Jane Lamond (episode 2-10); Justin Rutledge and Roxanne Potvin (episode 2-16); Andrew Cash and Jenn Grant

While introductory statements from season one tended to focus on the live-in-studio audience, in latter seasons the mode of address becomes more neutral, encompassing listeners more holistically. While mode of address changed, the audience's role in the fuse process remained marked. Consider the final sentence of the discretionary warning that prefaced episode 3-18:

> Hi there, I'm Alan Neal. I've been told to warn you that the upcoming episode of *Fuse* has coarse language and listener discretion is advised. Can you have listener discretion? Anyway, **get ready to fuse now with Cadence Weapon and Final Fantasy**. (bolding added)

The implication here seems to have been active listening, or perhaps the audience-oriented equivalent of "jamming." As mentioned in the previous chapter, similarly agentive statements were often included at the ends of episodes: the audiences were thanked for "helping to light the Fuse" at the end of most season three broadcasts (e.g., episode 3-10). The phrase is evocative of ignition, sparks, fire, and illumination—concepts which contain connotations of unpredictability, brilliance, and burn out, but also the potential for creation, knowledge, and enlightenment. While the musicians were certainly the focus of such exchanges, reference to the audience through preparatory statements ("get ready to fuse") or in the host's sign off ("thank you, Canada, for helping to light the fuse"), perhaps, acknowledged the audience as providing the necessary fuel—the energy—for witnessed musical convergences.

(episode 4-2); Julian Fauth and Melissa McClelland (episode 4-19); and Finest Kind and Forest City Lovers (episode 4-28).

Yet actual audience presence, though referenced as essential to the "fuse" experience and arguably necessary for indexing the extemporaneous nature of the witnessed process, may have done more to confuse than clarify. In fact, Alan Neal queried the potential to establish an intimate connection between musicians, hosts, and audiences when performers were preoccupied with eliciting reactions from a physically co-present audience. Generating a sense of intimacy, he suggests, is necessary for an open and honest exploration of intercultural processes and creativity:

> To get what you want—like if you are wanting to be bringing the studio concert experience, absolutely, you need the audience. But the—to get at the actual idea of fusing-creation thing, would it have been more effective without the audience? Or I mean have the live audience there for eight hours while they were working? But that's demanding. (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015)

Alan Neal took over as host for *Fuse* during autumn 2006, at the beginning of season three.[245] Recall that Neal was coming to *Fuse* from a background in current affairs and that, though he was familiar with *Fuse* and had previously attended recording sessions, his understanding of the music-program-host role was not fully formed. His motivations were those of a journalist more so than those of a producer of music events in the sense defined by CBC's Music Department (see Chapter 4).

It is worth quoting Alan Neal at length to understand his ambivalence about the utility of audiences in the *Fuse* equation, and the alternative configurations of musicians and audiences he imagined as solutions to *Fuse*'s perceived limitations:

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[245] Alan Neal's first episode as host broadcast on 4 November 2006, though he was involved with production from September 2006 (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015).

And just as a sidebar, I remember thinking, like the way I actually would have loved to do the show was forget the studio audience and then just taped the entire day of working. Because I think those moments were what actually kind of were the most interesting. Like hearing them in the rehearsal saying, like, "Oh, that note, you know what we should do here is this …" Like those moments, and again, maybe this comes down to the whole polished versus edited—sorry, raw versus studio […] The magic was seeing through the day how they evolve. And there would be some really good moments. And I think that would actually be of interest to people […]

And then having me there and just asking questions during. So just, "What is the song about anyway, that you guys are doing?" Like that, I think, would have been the real—because what also always […] felt uncomfortable was the sort of vaudeville aspect of it. That there was this studio audience that you were—so the interview elements, so what you were asking people, like, […] is this an intimate conversation? Is this, like, get a reaction from the audience? […] Like very rarely were people telling poignant stories, or stories about something hurting, or something—which a lot of music would be actually coming from—that they'd be more likely to talk about one-on-one than if they were doing the flip or casual. I hope I'm not remembering that wrong either, but […] I can't think of ones where it was like some eye-opening voyage into the soul kind of thing. And so that, I think, is a[n] … unfortunate mix that, I think, could have been fixed had there not been an audience. (Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015)

Neal's comments point to the presence of a live audience as standing in the way of more intimate commentary from musicians, as well as inhibiting the ethnographic instincts of hosts. Yet, the alternative—of opening the entire rehearsal process to audiences in order to enable a deeper examination of the creative process—he acknowledged, was unrealistic given limited attention spans. Moreover, the length of *Fuse*'s slot in the broadcast schedule placed constraints on content and emphasis on music performance limited the potential for deep conversations. More importantly, Alan Neal's comments

referenced contradictions in form, content, and priorities. His understanding of *Fuse*'s premise focused on process; production of a musical object was a secondary objective.

Caitlin Crockard's narration of *Fuse* and production objectives, in contrast, focused on capturing the energy of extemporaneous live performance and entertaining listeners (see above); physically co-present audiences and conversations with musicians, from this perspective, were tools for indexing liveness rather than a means of exploring a process. This distinction, though slight, references the ambiguities of *Fuse*'s positioning in CBC's broadcast landscape that sometimes resulted in tensions between divergent network priorities and production aesthetics (see Chapter 4).

6.3 "CAN YOU HAVE LISTENER DISCRETION?": MEDIATED ARTIFACTS, HIERARCHIES, AND RISK MANAGEMENT

At the beginning of this chapter I specified that live-in-studio and radio audiences experienced *Fuse* in very different ways—that *Fuse* broadcasts were carefully curated objects that prioritized an aesthetic of liveness according to the conceptual premise of *Fuse* and the production priorities of the broadcaster. Audiences were told that *Fuse* had the potential to "get musically risky" (episode 3-3); it was about seeing what might happen when musicians, whose differences were variously defined, "get together in this space" (episode 3-20). Particularly in the season three commentary, place and space were taken as essential elements in the musical process that *Fuse* sought to explore: the Studio 40 stage was cast as a liminal zone of encounter—an audiotopia—distinct from the everyday lives of musicians and audiences, and possessing the potential for

extemporaneously sounding out new relationships and approaches to musicking, all in

apparently real time (cf. Kun 2005).[246] Fusing, in other words, involved play with

differences between disparately oriented co-present individuals in a shared space (cf.

Stanyek 2004), usually involving a degree of risk-taking for the sake of generating novel

content—or, at least, unique arrangements.

Without access to the unedited performances, analysis of the ways in which

content was mediated to achieve a desired result is to some degree speculative, based

on participant recollections and the content that remains in the archived program. What

was omitted in the broadcast version? Why were particular takes of performances

preferred over others? How were conversations (re)constructed to create

comprehensible narratives? How was the apparent liveness of the experience reinforced

or contradicted? My approach to balancing my speculations with the available content,

has been to identify points at which there appear to be obvious imbalances and

omissions: I look for evidence of editorial interventions. I attempt to look beyond the

broadcast conversations and music to understand how particular voices were assigned

authority—or, at least, were perceived as authoritative. This means exploring which

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[246] Episodes in which the studio space and/or stage were described as somehow special/distinct from the outside world include: Lily Frost and the Hilotrons (episode 3-2); Ohbijou and Kids on TV (episode 3-3); Emm Gryner and DD Jackson (episode 3-5); Barbers and Bairds (episode 3-6); Anne Lindsay and Jon Rae and the River (episode 3-10); Creaking Tree String Quartet and Kevin Breit (episode 3-11); Brothers Creeggan and Mike Evin (episode 3-13); Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle (episode 3-20); The People Project and Kobo Town (episode 3-21); Murray McLauchlan and Blackie and the Rodeo Kings (episode 4-6); Tafelmusik and Rock Plaza Central (episode 4-10); Grand Analog and Dr. Draw (episode 4-14); Ruth Minnikin, Old Man Luedecke and Two Hours Traffic (episode 4-18); Julian Fauth and Melissa McLelland (with Luke Doucet) (episode 4-19); and Katie Stelmanis and Fred Eaglesmith (episode 4-20).

musicians occupied focal points in episodes: were particular musicians questioned more

intensively than others? Were there differences in the types of questions directed at

particular musicians? Did certain musicians monopolize the airtime? From temporal

perspective, was anyone marginalized? Equally, it means querying the correspondence

between conversations and musical content: did conversations aid in the interpretation

of music? Were there topics suggested by the music that were neglected in discussion?

Approaching these questions begs attention to both semantic and musical content in

conjunction with structural considerations.

6.3.1 The temporal distribution of voices: Broadcaster mediations and authority

Working on the assumption that amount of airtime matters and acknowledging that the

broadcast schedule imposes strict limits on available time for music and narration, Table

6.1 summarizes my analysis of the temporal distribution of voices in twenty-five

episodes of *Fuse*. These twenty-five episodes were the subjects of what I called "In-

depth studies" (see Chapter 2): episodes that were analysed according to a discussion-

based tool that directed my attention to themes, definitions, nuances of narration, and

the structure of individual broadcasts. By creating transcripts (complete with time

stamps for each change of speaker, musical performance, and applause segment) for

each of these twenty-five sampled episodes, I was able to track details of voicing,

including how much time musicians were given to speak; the quantity of time spent

performing music that featured particular musicians versus the amount of time spent in

collaborative performance; and the amount of host talk time.[247] Cumulatively, the

results reinforced my impressions of the flow of voices within episodes: in a typical

episode, the host spoke for 16.4 percent of the total broadcast period, while the

combined performance and talk time for each of the featured musicians/groups

comprised an average 35.1 percent, respectively. And, with the exception of episode 1-2

in which musician talk time significantly outweighed host talk time, in the first two

seasons, talk time tended to be distributed with relative equality between the host and

musicians. In seasons three and four, musician talk time appears to have been reduced

relative to the host.

One hardly needs this type of detailed structural analysis to understand that the

host's voice takes on curatorial authority through weekly iteration. Or that in most

episodes there's a relatively equal division of time between musicians. Analysis of the

temporal distribution of voices is, nevertheless, a useful measure for identifying and

assessing the ways that voices are mediated. What this type of analysis does is highlight

subtle variations from the typical form of episodes that may point to interventions on

the part of the broadcaster—small indicators that assist in reading the silences,

grounding my speculations about where and why omissions and imbalances exist.

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[247] As time stamps were manually assigned and there were occasions when there were multiple speakers, there is considerable potential for error at the level of seconds in the calculated talk and music times. Nevertheless, these calculations should be taken as reflections of general trends.

Table 6.1: Temporal distribution of voices on Fuse. For episodes in which there are only two "fusing" musicians, calculations simply represent the amount of talk/performance time associated with the named performer. For episodes that featured a band and more than one speaker from that band, the calculations represent the combined airtime for the entire band. Perceptually, this is an important distinction that is not reflected in my calculations. Each speaker in the band actually speaks for less time than reflected in this table, sometimes with the effect that bands appear to have been granted less airtime.

	Length	Host Speech	Performer 1	Speech	Music	Total	Performer 2	Speech	Music	Total	Collaboration
1-2	0:53:49	8.86%	Jenny Whiteley	18.64%	14.52%	33.17%	Stephen Fearing	22.61%	21.09%	43.70%	7.09%
1-3	0:53:50	14.24%	Mighty Popo	10.12%	19.88%	30.00%	Kiran Ahluwalia	18.24%	18.61%	36.84%	12.57%
1-4	0:53:49	13.38%	Joel Plaskett	11.58%	28.80%	40.38%	Tom Wilson	10.90%	29.20%	40.11%	
1-7	0:53:49	14.71%	Tal Bachman	13.10%	20.66%	33.76%	Randy Bachman	22.02%	18.49%	40.51%	
1-8	0:53:58	13.19%	Jim Bryson	15.50%	18.07%	33.57%	Lynn Miles	12.23%	23.63%	35.86%	8.18%
1-9	0:53:50	17.09%	Golden Seals	12.97%	20.12%	33.10%	Golden Dogs	18.39%	17.06%	35.45%	2.72%
2-1	0:53:59	16.49%	Elliott Brood	12.72%	21.33%	34.05%	Alpha Yaya Diallo	5.06%	38.41%	43.47%	
2-2	0:54:00	12.87%	Ndidi Onukwulu	14.17%	16.85%	31.02%	Ridley Bent	5.03%	21.73%	26.76%	
2-3	0:54:00	13.12%	Alana Levandoski	9.94%	32.47%	42.41%	Colin Linden	10.09%	21.51%	31.60%	5.31%
2-5	0:54:00	14.35%	Sarah & Audrina	9.07%	16.36%	25.43%	Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir	20.83%	18.27%	39.10%	16.30%
2-6	0:54:00	11.91%	Andrew McPherson	8.43%	31.39%	39.81%	Andy Stochansky	11.91%	27.93%	39.85%	
2-12	0:54:00	16.08%	Luke Doucet	15.31%	22.87%	38.18%	Amy Millan	15.34%	22.04%	37.38%	
2-14	0:54:00	11.85%	Al Tuck	5.90%	31.57%	37.47%	Jason Collett	19.63%	18.86%	38.49%	4.88%
3-3	0:54:00	22.62%	Ohbijou	6.02%	20.71%	26.73%	Kids on TV	7.72%	34.14%	41.85%	
3-6	0:53:58	16.77%	Barbers	9.17%	32.92%	42.09%	Bairds	7.88%	19.46%	27.33%	5.96%
3-10	0:54:00	17.10%	Anne Lindsay	8.52%	33.61%	42.13%	Jon Rae & the River	7.07%	26.45%	33.52%	
3-11	0:54:35	16.24%	Kevin Breit	6.35%	22.23%	28.58%	Creaking Tree String Quartet	8.70%	36.82%	45.53%	
3-15	0:54:02	25.60%	Carole Pope	9.78%	28.25%	38.03%	Hunter Valentine	10.33%	19.09%	29.43%	
3-18	0:54:32	24.54%	Final Fantasy	13.51%	19.93%	33.44%	Cadence Weapon	16.14%	18.09%	34.23%	
3-20	0:54:30	14.89%	Tanya Tagaq	15.81%	0.00%	15.81%	Apostle of Hustle	9.60%	27.68%	37.28%	20.00%
3-21	0:56:59	21.18%	People Project	9.94%	20.47%	30.42%	Kobo Town	12.05%	21.97%	34.02%	7.37%
4-5	0:53:54	18.52%	Christine Fellows	13.33%	14.84%	28.17%	Maybe Smith	14.04%	26.00%	40.04%	5.78%
4-6	0:53:58	12.14%	Murray McLauchlan	16.62%	21.68%	38.30%	Blackie and the Rodeo Kings	21.77%	15.47%	37.25%	7.60%
4-16	0:54:00	21.60%	Bob Wiseman	20.34%	17.78%	38.12%	Catherine MacLellan	13.95%	16.11%	30.06%	4.81%
4-24	0:47:57	19.81%	CR Avery	7.51%	26.31%	33.82%	Sojourners	13.24%	16.13%	29.37%	9.28%
		16.37%		11.77%	22.15%	33.92%		13.39%	22.97%	36.36%	

The distribution of voices on-air doesn't follow a consistent pattern, but discrepancies can signal negotiations between actors and point to the mediating voice of the broadcaster, though function and motivations often remain unclear. A closer look at episode 2-14, for example, highlights the complexities of trying to unpack the motivations behind a particular approach to representing and narrating musicians and their relationships. Both of the performers who appeared on this episode were heterosexual male English-speaking singer-songwriters of European descent who were born in Canada during the 1960s—in other words they occupied similar unmarked/privileged positions in Canadian society, supporting analysis that focuses more on editorial priorities and less on historical conditions of marginality. Though overall, airtime was equitably distributed between the two featured performers, disparities in talk versus performance time point to differences in personality, rhythms of speech, and comfort levels with the broadcast medium.

Featuring the "community-minded acoustic pop" of Broken Social Scene member Jason Collett and "PEI's best kept musical secret" (aka Al Tuck), episode 2-14 is marked by imbalances in voicing between the two performers. Jason speaks for 10'36'' versus Al's more limited 3'11'' (see Table 6.1), though similar questions—in quantity and content—are asked of both musicians. Jason simply provides longer answers to posed questions and responds without much prompting; he appears to speak for himself, determining which stories to tell and how to frame his own music. The effect is a conversation that seems to focus on Jason, excavating his star status on the Canadian

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scene through references to his membership in the Broken Social Scene, recent solo

efforts, and detailed descriptions of both his musical development and the meanings

behind his music.

In contrast, Al tends to give terse responses that, at times, seem to be attempts

at a dry sort of humour that misses its mark. In equal measure, the brevity of his

responses sometimes suggests a reluctance to be interviewed and lack of interest in

actively shaping understandings of his songwriting. For her part, Amanda doesn't appear

to take the time to draw out more complete answers, often fixating on Al's connections

to PEI and the influence of Gene MacLellan without consideration of the variety of

cosmopolitan networks invoked in Al's opening voiceover:

> Life's been a bit of a roller coaster so far. I've released four albums,
> was once held up at gun point, and got a mention in Mojo Magazine,
> opened for Marilyn Manson, had my apartment go up in flames, but
> I'm still quietly making my music out on Prince Edward Island. (Al Tuck,
> episode 2-14)

Throughout the broadcast, Al's voice is marginal with the effect that he remains a

mystery.

Explaining some of the motivations behind particular editing decisions, Caitlin

Crockard referenced the concept of a "good talker": someone who is "a good

storyteller," has "a bright and interesting voice," and "a character who expresses

humanity" (Crook 2002:225). She explained that, for the sake of delivering a compelling

listening experience, voices will sometimes be intentionally imbalanced to feature a

performer who is a "good talker"—unless there is a compelling journalistic reason that

both voices must be featured equally (e.g., to get both perspectives on an important

issue) (email, 10 February 2017). Al's recollections of his interview experiences with the

CBC over the years are telling on this point. Though he couldn't recall the specifics of his

experiences on *Fuse*, Al Tuck indicated that he is usually paired with "more talkative

persons, to whom I have a tendency to defer" (email, 9 January 2017). He also suggested

that his speech patterns are not always an easy fit for the national network: "urban

Ontarian speech patterns are faster, more unceasing," and there isn't always room for

the spaces that are an essential part of the timing of "laconic speakers from more rural

areas" (email, 9 January 2017). He, in other words, did not fit the definition of a "good

talker."

While Jason occupies more talk time than Al, Al's music comprises a significantly

greater proportion of the broadcast (17'03'') than that of Jason (10'11'') (see Table 6.1).

The two musicians perform the same number of songs, but Al's, on average, are longer

(see Table 6.2). The tempo of "Snowbird," for example, is half that of Ann Murray's more

commonly known version, and "Every Red Road" is essentially performed twice as Al

decides to start over when he reached the bridge because he is in the wrong key.

The decision to include both versions of "Every Red Road" was an interesting

one. Recall Alan Neal's comments about wanting to do a version of the show that

focused more on musician processes and imperfect takes. His perspective did not

necessarily resonate with the priorities of producing music programming, which

emphasized inclusion of musical content only if it met particular performing standards.

Songs typically were re-recorded to correct for wrong notes, forgotten lyrics, or any of

the variety of things that can go wrong in a truly live performance (interview, 4

September 2015). Because "imperfect" versions were more typically edited out, the

inclusion of Al's "mistake," though an effective index of liveness, makes him appear the

less polished performer.[248] Rather than revealing Al's mistake, a cut could have been

made,[249] or a song that was recorded in front of the live audience but excluded from the

broadcast cut could have been included.[250]

Table 6.2: Broadcast program for episode 2-14 featuring Al Tuck and Jason Collett. Songs are listed along with their composer, the musician who selected the song for performance on Fuse, the voice that is dominant in the broadcast recording and song length.

Song title	Composer	Selection by	Dominant voice	Song Length
Parry Sound	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	3:39
Small and Few	Al Tuck	Al Tuck	Al Tuck	5:12
No Redemption Song	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	2:42
Snowbird	Gene MacLellan	Al Tuck	Al Tuck	5:51
Almost Summer	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	Jason Collett	3:50
Every Red Road	Al Tuck	Al Tuck	Al Tuck	6:00
Help Me Make it through the Night	Kris Kristofferson	Both	Both	2:38

I've included episode 2-14 in this discussion because it features two performers

who occupy relatively privileged positions in the Canadian social imaginary and who

perform in broadly similar styles: both are singer-songwriters performing in the pop-

rock- and blues-based styles that were typical of *Fuse*'s musical offerings (see Chapter 4).

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[248] Though mistakes were typically edited out, Al's was not the only one included on an episode of *Fuse*. Episode 3-1 featuring Jim Cuddy and Oh Susanna, for example, included a re-take of "Five Days in May" when Cuddy forgot his lyrics.

[249] An email sent from Bill Stunt to, presumably, Jenny Whiteley's manager on 25 May 2005 states that retakes will be done at the performer's discretion (N.B., the cited correspondence was among a series of documents released to me as part of a formal Access to Information request; details about the addressee of the email were redacted by the CBC). The cumulative result of such reassurances is that it is quite unusual—though not unique—for blatant errors and false starts to be included in the broadcasts.

[250] The program log listed "Food for the Moon" by Al Tuck and "Hangover Days" by Jason Collett among the performances, though they were not included in the broadcast version of the concert.

In other words, to the extent possible, I've tried to take assessments of risk and

assumptions of normalcy out of the equation in order to demonstrate the broadcaster's

role as a mediating voice, silently privileging a relational reading of musician voices. In

episode 2-14, Jason is presented as the more authoritative "star" figure introducing an

"up-and-coming" musician to a larger audience with national scope.[251] He is a confident

storyteller and the apparent focus of conversation, and though his performances are not

necessarily of polished quality, they are not marked by obvious errors. The actual

relationship of the musicians—which isn't discussed during the episode—was

considerably more complex: Jason requested Al as his *Fuse* partner, elsewhere citing him

as the best songwriter of his generation (Maple Music 2015).

6.3.2 Implying deviance: Sexuality as risky

The remaining examples detailed in this chapter explore the ways in which social

deviance—that is, individuals and behaviours that fall outside the bounds of

conventionality (Becker 1963:79)—was ascribed and how narratives that ran counter to

a narrow imagining of normativity were silenced. Consider the CBC's programming

policy on "Good taste." Policy 1.1.5 states:

> CBC/Radio-Canada programs should respect and reflect the generally
> accepted values of contemporary society.

> The broadcast audience is composed of groups differing in age,
> environment and susceptibility, whose notions of good taste may vary
> substantially. The broadcaster, therefore, cannot necessarily expect to
> enjoy the same freedom of expression of vocabulary or of visual

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[251] See Chapter 2 for a description of the different types of relationships depicted on *Fuse*, including
mentorship/promotional relationships.

presentation as is enjoyed by the book publisher, or by the live theatre or movie producer, whose readers and viewers by and large make conscious choices about what they read and see. Where matters of taste are concerned, therefore, care must be taken not to cause gratuitous offence to the audience.

Examination of any sensitive subject such as religion, politics, sex or morality will probably be objectionable to some. Good taste, nevertheless, must not be taken as implying the rigid exclusion of anything that might give offence to anybody. The type of program concerned, its time of scheduling and the composition of the audience for whom it is intended should all be taken into consideration when making judgments about good taste. (CBC|Radio-Canada 1994)

Though emphasizing that "good taste" does not imply the "rigid exclusion" of perspectives that challenge "generally accepted" opinion and mores, as an institutional policy, assessment of the "values of contemporary society" depends on the discretion of programmers and their perceptions of audiences; their imagination of audiences implicates interpellation. The limits of normativity are necessarily bounded by the worldviews and experiences of programmers.

More so than overt statements of Otherness, I am troubled by the silences that surrounded musicians—simplifications and omissions that were sometimes the result of active decision making about the nature of "good taste," but more often the effect of entrenched worldviews and assumptions about sociocultural norms. In an attempt to catch what is not there—to listen between the lines, so to speak—I shift my focus between examples in which extra-normativity is ascribed and understandings of the normative assumed. Episodes 3-3, featuring Ohbijou and Kids on TV, and 3-15, featuring Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine, both address and elide sexual identities.

6.3.2.1 Episode 3-3: Ohbijou and Kids on TV

Beginning with a high pitched but gentle drone, the episode of *Fuse* broadcast on 18

November 2006 opens to the strains of "St. Francis" from Ohbijou's *Swift Feet for*

Troubled Times album.[252] Just seconds after sisters Casey and Jenn Mecija sing the lyrics,

"St. Francis stumbled in the dark …" in voices that are almost child-like in timbre, John

Caffery and Scott Kerr of Kids on TV are heard, voicing-over the music and describing

their initial experience of hearing Ohbijou's music:

> [John Caffery(?):] When I first heard Ohbijou, I thought, "This is the best day." It was a summer day and the breeze was blowing and their totally beautiful orchestral sounds were just floating through this form.
>
> [Scott Kerr(?):] I thought I was in paradise. I thought there were like fairies perched on crystals, and all these colours were streaming by me. (episode 3-3)

As a seven-piece band comprising multiple multi-instrumentalists (including keyboards,

cello and violin, guitar and banjo, melodica, percussion, and trumpet amongst others),

Ohbijou produced a richly textured and multilayered sound. Though sometimes

described as "sounding multicultural"—a description that references the multiple

ethnicities, genders, and sexualities represented in the band's roster more so than their

musical output—Ohbijou's western pop-based sound was almost orchestral.

  With a quick crossfade, the music changes to a guitar- and drum machine-based

texture that has a nervous quality in its ostinato-like repetition of the same rhythms and

chords. This is the recorded version of "Breakdance Hunx," heard later in the episode in

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[252] A complete recording of this episode is available from Podomatic:
http://kidsontv.podomatic.com/entry/2007-01-18T09_40_47-08_00 (accessed 8 July 2017)

a "fused" form featuring voices from Ohbijou (see Figure 6.2). Casey and Jenn from

Ohbijou voice over the track, describing how "charismatic and how crazy" Kids on TV are

in performance. Though spoken in tones of obvious admiration, this description initiates

a trend of characterizing Kids on TV as extra-normative—a trend that persists

throughout the episode.

The risk and reward of fusing is reinforced in Alan Neal's introductory

monologue:

> We tend to think of *Fuse* as a show that could get musically risky.
> Where we pluck two musical acts from different scenes and we put
> them together in our scene, here in Ottawa in Studio 40. We don't
> always know exactly how it's going to work out, and tonight I think is a
> case in point. We're fusing two bands whose presence on the same the
> bill could be considered a little out of the ordinary. One of these bands
> found inspiration in the sometimes sleepy city of Brantford. The other
> found inspiration in the not so sleepy scene in bathhouses. One of
> them has teamed up with Sarah Harmer to save a tree, the other
> teamed up with Boy George to sing about "Breakdance Hunx." And in
> one band's tunes, a woman sings sweetly about real wolves wearing
> pants and shoes. In the other band they have a song called "Cock
> Wolves," where I don't think the wearing of pants seems to be much
> of a problem. We're talking about the two musical forces uniting
> tonight. Let's bring them out on stage. Ohbijou and Kids on TV.
> (episode 3-3)

His description iterates the conceptual premise for *Fuse*—an off-the-cuff uniting of

musical acts from different scenes in extemporaneous encounter—as well as

highlighting risk-taking, experimentation, and difference as essential components in the

makeup of the show. *Fuse*, in Alan's definition, becomes its own liminal scene: a musical

world separate from the everyday norms in which the musicians practise their art and

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audiences bear witness. Little is said about genre; the focus, instead, is the scenes the musicians occupy, their alliances, and their differences.

Though introductory commentary is presented as neutral observations, the foundation of a more polarized reading is laid in these first few moments of the broadcast. Ohbijou sound safe and mainstream, characterized by small-town roots, "sweet" vocals, fanciful lyrics, and collaborations with the likes of award-winning Canadian singer-songwriter Sarah Harmer. Kids on TV, on the other hand, are presented as extraordinary challenges to heteronormativity who push the limits of public decency: they occupy the *riské* space of bathhouses, use language that presents overt sociopolitical critiques that, at various points in the broadcast, warrants censorship, and collaborate with queer culture icon, Boy George.

The polarized positioning of the musicians imbues the narration and performance of musician relationality. Following Alan's opening monologue, he explains, "On the surface it sort of did seem like a weird combination, but this wasn't something that we just came up with at the CBC": Ohbijou requested their pairing with Kids on TV with the goal of challenging themselves and "stealing" some of the raw energy that pervades their performance style. This approach to narrating the musicians as fundamentally different—in this case, as safe versus risky—was quite typical, particularly after the first season of *Fuse* when the focus shifted from bringing together "Canadian songwriters" or "Canadian talents" to inclusion of a broader range of genres and styles. Indeed, as discussed in the previous chapter, in more than half of the reviewed

episodes, musicians were posed as essentially different through discursive strategies that did not always correspond to actual music content (see Figure 5.8, p. 279).

The episode comprised performances of seven songs (see Table 6.3), the flow of which is also telling of the relational positioning of musicians. Performances of Kids on TV's songs occupied 18'26'' of the episode versus performances of Ohbijou's songs, which comprised 11'11'' of the episode (see Table 6.1). This dominance, however, is complicated by the fact that voicing within songs is more evenly distributed for Kids on TV's songs, with Casey, Jenn, and Ryan Carley (another member of Ohbijou) taking on solo vocal parts (i.e., the music is adapted to include the full musical resources of both groups). Ohbijou's songs, in contrast, do not incorporate the members of Kids on TV as prominent voices, perhaps also speaking to the highly orchestrated nature of Ohbijou's seven-part arrangements.[253] Kids on TV's music becomes the vehicle for experimentation and collaboration—risk-taking—with Scott and John providing clear challenges and support as Jenn, Casey, and Ryan experiment with new skills and apparently new boundaries in performance. Ohbijou's music appears relatively untouched/unaltered—a safe and exclusive domain—through the addition of Kids on TV to their performing resources.

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[253] A musician from another multi-voiced ensemble commented on his experiences of performing on the show: "The show was a strained, forced experience as far as we were concerned. Our own band arrangements consisted of vocal harmonies that were very tightly knit, tightly controlled, tightly rehearsed; there was no room for other singers in them. We didn't really have much to offer in terms of contributing to their music either. Our songs and theirs were very far apart in terms of style, presentation, subject." Beyond distinctions in style, this account speaks to the difficulties of finding "space" in arrangements for extra voices, particularly when there are closely arranged harmonies and multiple contrapuntal lines.

Table 6.3: Broadcast program for episode 3-3 featuring Ohbijou and Kids on TV. Songs are listed along with their composer, the musician who selected the song for performance on Fuse, the voice that is dominant in the broadcast recording and song length.

Song title	Composer and/or Cover song reference	Selection by	Dominant voice	Song Length
We Don't Have to Take Our Clothes Off	Jermaine Steward	Kids on TV	Kids on TV	3:15
Wildfires	Casey Mecija	Ohbijou	Ohbijou	3:57
In Every Dream Home Heartache	Roxy Music	Kids on TV	Kids on TV	4:15
Haunted House of Rock	Whodini	Kids on TV	All	4:31
Heartbeats	Annie	Ohbijou	Ohbijou	4:02
The Woods	Casey Mecija	Ohbijou	Ohbijou	3:12
Breakdance Hunx	Kids on TV	Kids on TV	All	6:25

The final song of the episode provides a case in point, demonstrating the ways in which the musicians converged in a performance of one of Kids on TV's songs and the role of the host in narrating the extra-normative qualities of the performance (see Figure 6.2). "Breakdance Hunx," as John Caffrey explains, is intended to challenge norms of masculinity in breaking by juxtaposing dance with an overtly queer—and admittedly provocative—dialogue taken from the text of an anonymously written pulp novel. The performance features John (of Kids on TV) as an object of desire: a breakdancing "little blond white boy" whose skills "have a market value." Casey and Ryan (of Ohbijou), experimenting with approaches that involve "trash-talking," rapping, and a generally more dramatic approach to the performance space than is typical of their style, take on roles as pimps in a club, fighting for the attention and control of John's body.

The song begins with an electronic bassline and drum machine over which the sound of increasingly laboured and rhythmic heavy breathing fades up. The accompaniment is persistently minimalist, all about the dance beat and clarity of the dialogue:

[Casey/Ryan:] I'm gonna tell my friends about you.

[John:] What do you mean by that? What friends?

[Casey/Ryan:] I have friends, and they have money.

[John:] What does money have to do with anything?

[Casey/Ryan:] Certainly you must realize that you have a market value.

[John:] Market?

[Casey/Ryan:] Yeah, a little blond boy who breakdances and *chicken squawk*[254]

[John:] I see.

[Casey/Ryan:] We can make five grand a week easy off your ass, baby!

[John:] You think so?

[Casey/Ryan:] I know so.

[John:] You think so?

[Casey/Ryan:] I know so.

[John:] You think so?

[Casey/Ryan:] I know so?

[John:] You think so?!

[Casey/Ryan:] I know so!

The censored dialogue repeats four times, on each iteration the speaker switches from Casey to Ryan and back again to depict their power struggle (see Figure 6.2). The broadcaster's role as a mediator and moral commentator is signalled in this performance. As Caitlin Crockard explained, "We had to bleep that song … Because they refer to cocks in it. And we had a long discussion about whether you could say this. And you really cannot" (interview, 2 September 2015).

Instrumental breaks separate each repetition. Rather than being points for variation and elaboration, these sections persist with the same rhythm-driven accompaniment: focus is intended to shift to John as he dances for the live-in-studio audience. Perhaps more than any other cue, these interludes mark distinctions between

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[254] Asterisks refer to the insertion of a sound effect to cover the lyrics of the song.

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the live-in-studio and listening audiences' experiences and, arguably, index the liveness

of the performance. Musically, nothing is happening during these interludes, yet each

break appears to exist without cuts and concludes with applause and cheers that signal

to listeners that something has happened. Following the conclusion of the performance,

Alan attempts to fill in the gaps, describing the action while reinforcing perceptions of

Kids on TV as existing outside the norms typically assumed for CBC broadcasts:

> Kids on TV and Ohbijou performing "Breakdance Hunx." And for the
> people at home we've got to explain what just happened in the CBC
> studio. There was more booty shaking than generally happens in the
> place where Don Newman comes to work, but what we just witnessed,
> and I'll try to give it my best CBC play by play: The young gentleman on
> stage did in fact tear off his pants, make his way down the centre of
> the room, and breakdance to the crowd's delight. Later performed
> both handstands and violated the CBC symbol in a way that had not
> been done before. Obviously this has been a phenomenal performance
> for us tonight in the audience. (episode 3-3)

It was exceptional to witness a "gentleman […] tear off his pants" in the middle of a

space more typically occupied by the audience (i.e., the performance breaks the fourth

wall between stage and seats), and, more particularly, in the "place where [respected

senior journalist] Don Newman"[255] works.

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[255] Don Newman was the former senior parliamentary editor for CBC Television and, until his retirement in 2009, the host of CBC Newsworld's *CBC News: Politics*. From the 1980s he regularly anchored coverage of major political events, including federal elections and leadership conventions, visits from various world leaders, US elections, and presidential inaugurations. He was assumed to be a familiar voice and name to members of the CBC audience.
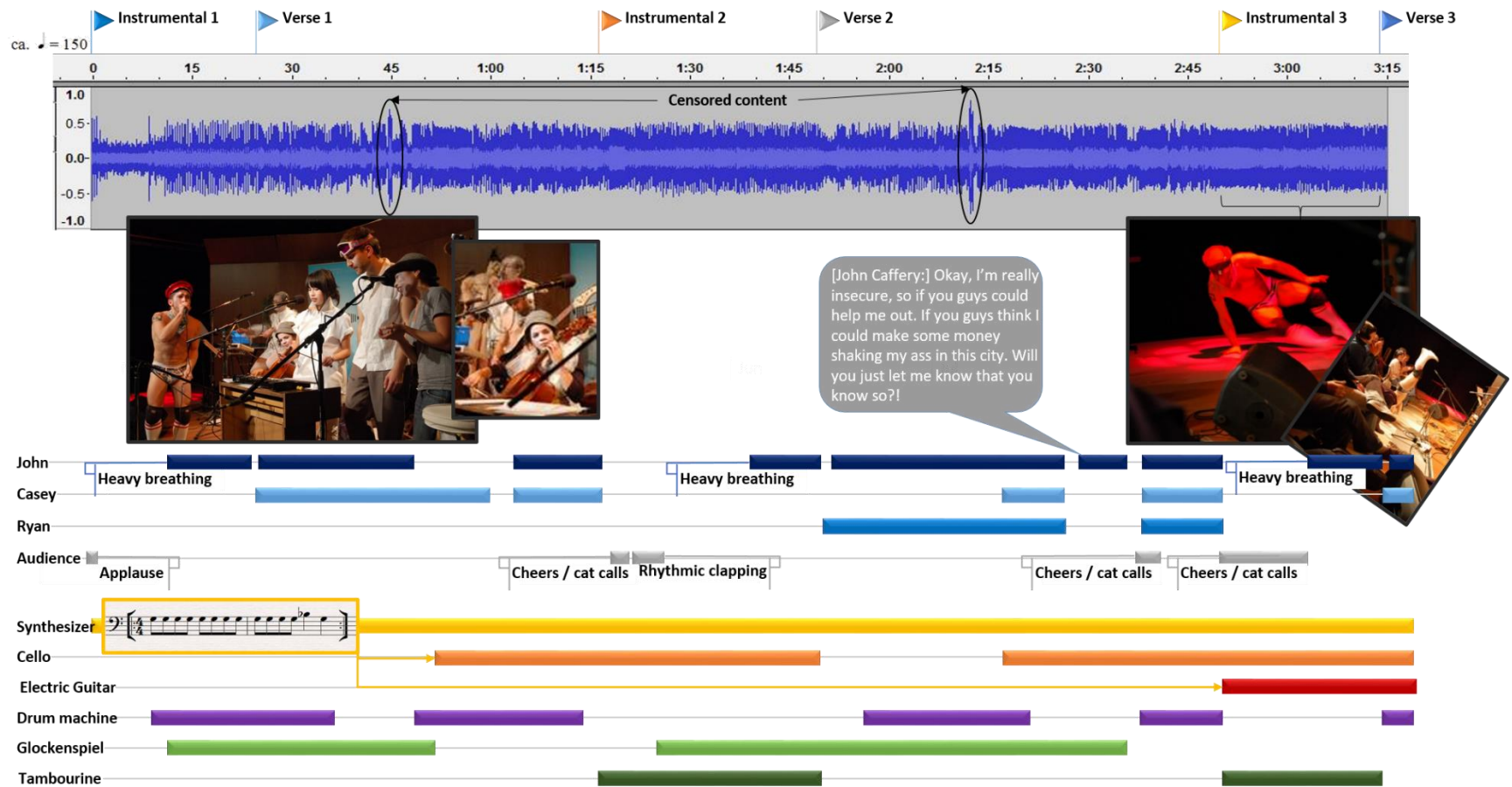
Figure 6.2: "Breakdance Hunx" by Kids on TV, remixed for Fuse featuring Ohbijou. The flags along the timeline mark the formal structure of the song. The waveform demonstrates changes in overall volume and texture. The abrupt spikes at 0'45'' and 2'12'' correspond with the insertion of a chicken squawk sample to censor objectionable lyrics. This approach to censoring content contrasts that taken in episode 3-18; censored content was simply silenced in this later episode (see Figure 5.6, p. 268). Photos are included to point to dimensions of the performance that were only available to the live audience. Coloured bars are used to depict the different voices featured in the song and the ways in which those voices were layered and/or responded to each other. The rhythmic/melodic ostinato that was the basis of the song is included as part of the synthesizer line; it provided the basic material for the cello and guitar parts that were layered overtop at various points in the performance.

Photos taken during the performance, moreover, underscore the significant distinctions in experience for live and listening audiences (see Figure 6.2). They show the breakdancing interludes that are signalled through audience applause, cheers, and cat calls included in the broadcast version—they also reveal John stripped down to his underwear, socks, hat, and knee pads. But the photos also depict details of the performance that are not signalled through sounds from the audience or post-performance commentary. The members of Ohbijou (as well as Scott Kerr) appear in white face for the performance,[256] adding a dimension of racial critique to the song that remains hidden from the listening audience and that challenges the polarizing narrative of safe/risky that is privileged in the broadcast arrangement of voices.

When I asked Casey Mecija (the former lead singer of Ohbijou) about the relational depiction of the two bands—of Ohbijou as "safe" and Kids on TV as "risky"— she agreed that this was a reasonable assessment given differences in repertoire and reputation:

> I think that if you were to listen to both of our repertoires of music, there is a way that Kids on TV incorporates conversations about politics, gender, race, sex in ways that Ohbijou's writing didn't deal with in a clear way that Kids on TV did. And so, I think by reputation of repertoire alone, you know, naming Kids on TV a more risky band makes sense. I'm not sure it makes sense if it's associated with their queerness because associating queerness with riskiness is problematic in a lot of ways. But yeah, I think that it makes sense to me. (interview, 9 September 2015)

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[256] I.e., brown faces were painted white, inverting the early twentieth-century minstrelsy tradition of white faces being painted black in performance (see Rogin 1992 for a critical analysis of this practice and social function).

Casey also added that the performance on *Fuse* was a long time ago, one of Ohbijou's

early "breaks," and that the CBC had been very supportive of her and her former band

over the years. In other contexts, Mecija has been quite critical of media, critics, and

audiences more generally for the ways in which Ohbijou was represented and received.

When Ohbijou went on indefinite "hiatus" in 2013, she wrote:

> My relationship to Ohbijou's reception is also one of ambivalence. I
> have been met with complicated responses from critics and larger
> audiences due to my race, gender and sexuality. I can't help but feel
> sadness for the ways my body [has] been inscribed as a performer. I
> can't help but feel tired by the ways that my brown, performing body
> comes into contact with the multicultural sensibilities of Canadian
> audiences. I am frustrated by the ways that my Asian-ness and my
> sexuality have been at times hidden and at times showcased to
> support notions of an "inclusive" Canadian multiculturalism. (Mecija
> 2013)

Her comments speak to the violence and erasure that media curation sometimes

imposes on musicians and the sociocultural agendas that underpin some curatorial

priorities—they also add another dimension to the photos that depict Ohbijou in white

face (see Figure 6.2). While I expected similar reflections about the experience of

performing on and later hearing the *Fuse* broadcast, it is important to note that Mecija

did not express the same reservations in reference to *Fuse* or the CBC more generally.

My concern with the relationship depicted in episode 3-3 was its apparent

simplicity—its lack of nuance—in the representation of musicians and their interests, a

narrative achieved by casting performers as different/opposites and/or omitting details

that complicated the desired story (cf. Figure 6.2). Kids on TV and Ohbijou occupied

overlapping Toronto-based scenes, and their shared interests in music and social

activism supported subsequent collaborations, including release of *Friends in Bellwoods*

in February 2007 and *Friends in Bellwoods II* in August 2009. While serving a narrative

purpose, the stark distinction drawn between the musicians resulted in depictions that

were almost caricature-like in their one dimensionality—and did not completely tally

with the performance experience offered to live audiences. When I queried him about

the simplicity of the depiction and my perception that something was missing in this

particular broadcast, Alan Neal replied:

> But, there were stories and certainly I remember with the Kids on TV
> guys, like there were a lot of … stories being told that I'm sure didn't
> make it to air. So I think you're right. I think probably you were sitting
> there going like, "Am I missing something?" because—and I hate, I
> don't know what the way around that would have been. I think also, as
> I say, for my own blame in it, I wasn't used to the idea of making a
> music—like the idea of just having, like if I'd structured all of my
> questions, and that was an early one I think—the Ohbijou/Kids on TV
> one—but if I knew, okay, like if I was doing that show now, I would
> know, one question, song, one question, song. Like I would know that
> that was all that would go to—But in reality, what they sort of would
> tell you was, "Oh, just do it and we'll edit it later." (Alan Neal,
> interview, 4 September 2015)

Neal's response acknowledged the gaps in the ways that musicians were narrated, also

pointing to limitations of an exclusively aural medium and divergent understandings of

production priorities that resulted from *Fuse*'s nebulous positioning between Radio One

and the Music Department.

6.3.2.2   *Episode 3-15: Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine*
Kids on TV, whose approach to art and activism relied on being provocatively and

"apocalyptically gay" (Kids on TV n.d.), were the only performers featured on *Fuse* in

conjunction with explicit commentary about non-heteronormative lifestyles.[257] While performance of sexuality and/or gender may not always be thematized—brought to the foreground—by the music makers and/or their mediators, silences, at times, were resounding. Silences were particularly strong when episodes featured musicians who were overtly associated with queer culture. Episode 3-15, for example, featured Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine, musicians whose genders and sexualities are explicitly referenced in their music and performing identities. When I questioned Alan Neal about the omission, he was surprised. He recalled that the relationship of the musicians had little to do with a particular interest in collaboration: Carole Pope's agent wanted her to work with another musician/band from the same label. He continued, specifying "I don't even think Hunter Valentine was that aware of Carole Pope. But you have these two queer voices […] from two very different generations, right?" (interview, 4 September 2015). Conceptually the episode was about a perceived commonality that had more to do with musician assertions of identity than shared musicality. He also added that he doubted the silence was deliberate—that if there was concern about the appropriateness of discussing sexuality on-air, "you would just never put Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine on the show" (interview, 4 September 2015).

The episode opens in typical fashion, with two commercially recorded clips of the musicians—"Transcend" by Carole Pope followed by "Break This" by Hunter Valentine—

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[257] More precisely, the only episode of the sixty-one episodes that I was able to access. There are fifteen other episodes that may have addressed sexuality.

over which the musicians describe each other, respectively, as a "legend" of rock and a

"hot chick power trio." Following the typical pronouncement of liveness and broadcast

location, Alan announces:

> I was first introduced to one of our musical acts in junior high school
> when a fellow female classmate read the work, "High School
> Confidential," as part of a poetry class. **She'd chosen it herself and was
> promptly given detention and told that "it was inappropriate for a
> young lady to read a poem that was so sexual in nature and that had
> obviously been written by a man."** Now, I don't know if that teacher is
> listening all these years later, but he might like to know that the
> woman behind that tune is here today. And **I've been listening all day
> as she corrupted—No, I've been listening all day as she rehearsed
> with three young ladies who are writing their own hard rocking tunes
> twenty-seven years after "High School Confidential" was recorded. A
> warning to the teacher in question if you're out there: it's probably
> not going to be an "entirely appropriate" episode** for you to hear. But
> please, give it up, on the stage **four women who have bent rules and
> ears with their tunes**. (bolding added, episode 3-15)

Similar to Kids on TV, Carole Pope is narrated as a provocative figure; someone who

challenges gender norms through sexualized lyrics that present, according to Alan's

somewhat sarcastic introduction, a masculine perspective and have the potential to

"corrupt … three young ladies."[258] This vague allusion to the transgressiveness of "High

School Confidential," a song released by Carole's new wave band, Rough Trade, in 1980

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[258] The reference is likely to one of the most infamous lines of the song: "She makes me cream my jeans when she comes my way." Years later, Carole spoke about the intentional androgyny of her lyrics and the assumptions made by 1980s audiences about the sexuality of the speaker: "The general public didn't get that I was gay—if you were gay you did—and when I wrote love songs, I wanted them to be interpreted however. The thing is, I really, really love men—straight men are very sexy as long as, you know, they don't try—and I think that comes across in my songs. Rock 'n' roll is about desire and passion, and I'm singing to both sexes" (Carole Pope quoted in in Reynolds 2000).

and re-released by Carole in 2000 for inclusion on the television series *Queer as Folk*, is the extent of the discussion of gender norms and sexuality in the episode.

While a narrow focus on sexuality has the potential to be heavy-handed and exoticizing, in the context of this episode the silence is somewhat perplexing. When I asked Alan Neal about the notable lack of commentary he was puzzled, recalling that he asked Hunter Valentine whether the homoerotic themes and explicit lyrics of "High School Confidential" still contained the same potential to shock and challenge audiences (interview, 4 September 2015). Moreover, while Carole is introduced in extra-normative terms, the narration of Hunter Valentine is more ambiguous. Hunter Valentine formed in a gay bar in Toronto, various members have spoken openly about their sexualities and their art, and, following their appearance on *Fuse*, in 2012 they went on to play feature roles in season three of *The Real L Word*;[259] their public personae, in other words, are tied to performances of their sexualities. These biographical details are completely elided in the conversations featured in the broadcast.

Hunter Valentine was Carole's *Fuse* partner, implying the role of foil and counterpoint—or, in the terms used to describe the performers in episode 3-3, risky and safe. The narrative approach utilized in this episode, however, was somewhat different; it belongs with a minority of broadcasts in which the musicians are narrated as essentially similar (see Figure 5.8, p. 279). The musicians all belong to a common

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[259] *The Real L Word* was an American reality series that aired on the cable station, Showtime. Created as an off-shoot of the television drama, *The L Word*, the show followed a group of lesbians through their daily lives in Los Angeles and New York.

Toronto-based Queen Street music scene, albeit separated by a generation with Hunter

Valentine, ostensibly, embodying the legacy of an icon figure. Throughout the episode

there is very little reference to the idea of "fusing" or the convergence of disparately

oriented musicians and styles, perhaps reinforcing a reading of the musicians as similar

and the episode as an opportunity for the current generation to pay homage to a

matriarch.[260]

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[260] From the perspective of temporal dominance, Carole is the focus of the episode. While the actual conversation time is relatively evenly divided between Carole and Hunter Valentine (see Table 6.1), the focus of the "serious" questions is Carole: her background and family, her music, and her creative process. Musical performance time, moreover, is dominated by Carole's music (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Broadcast program for episode 3-15 featuring Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine. Songs are listed along with their composer/cover song reference, the musician who selected the song for performance on Fuse, the voice that is dominant in the broadcast recording, their function in the playlist, and song length.

Song title	Composer and/or cover song reference	Selection by	Dominant voice	Function	Song Length
Typical	Kiyomi McCloskey	Hunter Valentine	Hunter Valentine	Unfused intro	3:32
Transcend	Carole Pope	Carole Pope	Carole Pope	Unfused intro	4:23
Crimson and Clover	Joan Jett (performer reference) Tommy James and the Shonelles (host reference)	Hunter Valentine	All	Influences	2:46
Johnny Marr	Carole Pope / references the Smiths	Carole Pope	Carole Pope	Influences	3:12
A Different Drum	Linda Ronstadt and the Stone Ponies	Carole Pope	Carole Pope	Influences	3:06
Wait and See	Kiyomi McCloskey	Hunter Valentine	Hunter Valentine	Standard rep	4:01
Weapons	Rough Trade	Carole Pope	Carole Pope	Standard rep / live cover	4:35

The networks invoked through inclusion of Joan Jett and Linda Rondstadt covers reinforce the perceived similarity of the musicians and their influences (see Table 6.4). Jett, a contemporary of Carole, and Rondstadt, a singer from the preceding generation, are/were Los Angeles-based musicians and social activists who are/were important feminist voices in the popular music industry. The significance of this iconography is somewhat minimized in the featured commentary. Hunter Valentine's reference to being inspired by "Joan Jett's sexy little version" of "Crimson and Clover" is ignored when Alan follows up by framing the performance as a cover of a song originally by Tommy and the Shondells. Like "High School Confidential"—though perhaps less overtly—Joan Jett's version of "Crimson and Clover" plays with norms of sexual desire by having a female voice sing the lyrics:

> Now I don't hardly know her,
> But I think I could love her,
> Crimson and clover.

> Well if she come walkin' over,
> Now I been waitin' to show her,
> Crimson and clover,
> Over and over.

There is, moreover, a significant distinction between invoking the influence of "the godmother of punk" (Fulton 2012) and being placed in the musical lineage of a 1960s bubblegum pop group.

In similarly diminishing terms, Linda Rondstadt's "A Different Drum" is introduced as a simple torch song that provides a crossover opportunity to "transform Hunter Valentine into the coolest sha-la-la girl group ever." In 1978, Ed Ward of the *New York Times* wrote of Rondstadt, "The former Tucson debutante … has paved the way for dozens of other women in music." She was classed as a "Queen of Rock," one of a small number of "shrewd, complex and talented businesswomen who have conquered a macho industry and [made] it work for them." Inclusion of the song is intended to reference Carole's early influences, pointing to her days on St. Nicholas Street in Toronto when she sang cover songs of women from the '60s. Carole, herself, underplays the significance of her reference, explaining that she likes the "cheesiness" of the song written by Michael Nesmith, "the rich Monkee."

This episode, perhaps more than any other, made me question the extent to which sexual narratives were blanked out through production decisions. In both Carole Pope's and Hunter Valentine's cases, their performance of gender norms and the politics of sexuality are integrally tied to interpretation of their music and overtly displayed as aspects of their public personae. Theirs was an extreme case, but what of more subtle

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nods to the possibility of non-heterosexual lifestyles as "normal"? While passing

references to heterosexual partners were regularly included as part of the flow of

conversation, parallel remarks about same-sex partners were absent. There are many

possible reasons for the singularity of this narrative—including the possibility that a

significant number of musicians of a range of sexual orientations simply didn't comment

on their partners.

It's also possible that there is—or was—an unconsidered understanding of

Canadian society as heteronormative. The 2006 Census of Canada did not collect

information on the sexuality of the population. But, in the wake of legislative change in

2005 allowing for marriage equality, information was solicited about same-sex couples

living in common-law and married situations. Of 2,731,635 people living in common-law

situations, 75,770 reported living in same-sex relationships. Of 12,470,400 people

reporting married status, 15,000 reported being in same-sex relationships. What can be

taken from these figures is that at least 0.3 percent of the population can be categorized

as LGBTQ.[261] Data available for *Fuse* performers was similarly incomplete: of the lead

performers, 7.1 percent of musicians were categorized as LGBTQ2S; 36.7 percent were

categorized as heterosexual; and no information was available for 56.2 percent of the

performers. The lack of data makes drawing any conclusions about patterns of

representation impossible. I am inclined to suggest, though, that the lack of available

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[261] While this approach to categorization is grossly reductive and neglects the tremendous diversity of sexualities and lifestyles present in the population, the lack of relevant data necessitates an overly simplistic system of categories.

data may reflect the continued existence of taboos—or at the very least sensitivities—

relating to sexuality.[262]

6.3.3 Unconsidered norms: Christian and middle class by default

While the examples elaborated above primarily narrated risk and extranormativity, they

also pointed to subtler ways in which lifestyles and normative values were coded. To this

end, I'd like to consider two other domains that, like sexuality, are difficult to parse

because of an absence of commentary: religion and class. These are, perhaps, strange

categories to group, yet they are related by the availability of relevant data, by their

significance to individual performances of identity, and by their roles in constructing

understandings of difference and belonging. Sexuality and religion, in particular, are

highly sensitized domains dogged by taboos. These are demographic categories that

have weighty moral and ethical values attached (sometimes in relation to each other)

that make discussion and access to data more difficult. In both cases, there is little or no

relevant data available through the 2006 Census of Canada, and the availability of

information for performers featured on *Fuse* is quite limited. Significantly more

information about socio-economic status is available through the 2006 Census, though

this data doesn't reflect the complex ways in which individuals are conscious of class

divides. The analysis included here points to the ways in which class intersects with race,

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[262] Marriage equality was introduced in July 2005 in Canada. This legislative change, quite recent in the 2006–08 period during which *Fuse* was in production, has potentially helped reshape mores relating to sexuality and gender roles in Canada. Perhaps more than any other topic addressed in this dissertation, conversations about appropriate language to use for sexuality and gender remain in flux. It is beyond the scope of this study to assess these changes, but I would like to acknowledge the omnipresence of performances of gender in any discussion of identity(s).

understandings of risk, and patterns of consumption, cumulatively mapping social

centres and peripheries.

6.3.3.1   Religion and the absence of commentary

Table 6.5: Population of Canada by religion, 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2005) versus religious affiliations of lead performers on Fuse. *Because musician profiles for all 177 of the lead musicians featured on Fuse were compiled regardless of the availability of an archival recording of their broadcast performance, these calculations represent the series in its entirety. Notably, the categories compared here are not completely congruent; the census data breaks down Christian denominations to a greater level of specificity and does not include Atheist, Agnostic, None, or NA categories.*

Religious affiliation	Percentage of Canada's total population	Percentage of Fuse's lead performers
Total Population	29,639,035	--
Catholic	43.65%	--
Protestant	29.20%	--
Christian Orthodox	1.62%	0.56
Christian, not included elsewhere	2.63%	13.56
Muslim	1.96%	--
Jewish	1.11%	2.26
Buddhist	1.01%	0.56
Hindu	1.00%	--
Sikh	0.94%	0.56
Eastern religions	0.13%	--
Other religions	0.22%	1.13
Atheist	--	0.56
Agnostic	--	0.56
None	--	4.52
NA	--	75.71%

Details about religious affiliations were not collected in the 2006 Census. The 2001

census, however, did record the self-reporting of religious denomination (see Table 6.5).

According to this earlier count, the majority of the Canadian population is Christian—

predominately either Catholic or Protestant. Discussion of religion generally did not

feature on *Fuse*. Moreover, the majority of musicians who responded to my

questionnaire (see Appendix F) either left the question about religion blank or

responded "none." This means that details of religious affiliation were unavailable for 80

percent of the lead performers and 5 percent declared themselves to have no religion.

The only religious denomination represented in significant proportion was Christian (see Table 6.5). Again, the lack of data about religious affiliation makes any conclusions about representation impossible. The removal of questions about religious affiliation from the 2006 Census and lack of direct commentary about religious affiliation on *Fuse*, however, do suggest the strength of the divide between information that is of public and private relevance.

Though certainly not active in promoting affiliations with any church or religious body, there was a lack of balance in representation that subtly reinforced and normalized a Christian worldview as Canadian. At least four of the performers/groups featured on *Fuse* worked in overtly Christian-associated genres (e.g., gospel) or described a performance praxis that was directly related to worship (e.g., Alanna Levandoski [episode 2-3], Jon Rae & the River [episode 3-10], Voices of Praise [episode 4-23], The Sojourners [episode 4-24]). While still a minority, the musical practices of other religious groups were not included as counterpoints. The possible exception to this statement might be Skeena Reece, whose comments and lyrics were quite spiritual in nature and made evocative reference to the iconography of Indigenous belief systems, though her worldviews are presented in terms of personal spirituality rather than organized religion.

More common, again, were passing references to musical upbringings in churches (e.g., Anne Lindsay in episode 3-10 and Dione Taylor in episode 3-7), extra definition of cultural practices and lifeways that exist outside of a mainstream Christian

set of norms and mores, and references to saints and biblical stories. Indeed, the introduction to episode 4-10—an episode in which there is no discussion of the religious views of the participating musicians—provides clear references to what counts as sacred. These comments are all the more significant for their apparent naturalness:

> Hello to our Toronto congregation and to those of you who are listening across Canada and beyond. **I'm standing in the church's sanctuary, in what would normally be the pulpit. In its place, of course, is a four-foot stage and its—along with the music we're going to hear tonight—elevating me and all the other people on it a little closer to heaven.** This is a particularly special edition of *Fuse*, and not just because we're recording it on **St. Cecilia's Day—she's the patron saint of song and dance if you didn't know** […] (bolding added, Amanda Putz, episode 4-10)

The assumed familiarity of the described space goes unquestioned and the approach to addressing the audience orders listeners according to the principles of a specifically Christian space of worship, imbuing the fuse space with a sacred quality and suggesting the potential to elevate those who occupy it toward Christian divinity.

6.3.3.2   The "murky territory" of class and assumptions of taste

One of the less common ways in which difference was marked on *Fuse* was through references to class (and education). Though often difficult to detect and even more problematic to represent, socio-economic status influences where people live, access to resources and career opportunities, and relationships to social margins and peripheries. When I asked one producer about how she deals with representation along socio-economic lines, she replied:

> It's a really important subject, but it's not something that would be raised in the same way as […] representation of women or visible

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minorities. It's just not. Because first of all, it's very hard to determine. Right? With visible minorities and women, you know, it's pretty easy to quantify. With class it's a very—that's murky territory. […] Which isn't to say that people shouldn't be conscious of […] class, but it's kind of a different kettle of fish. […] It needs a different kind of approach. You wouldn't sit in a story meeting and say, "Do we have a working class voice tonight?" Because what would that be? Who would that be? […] Who's representing the ruling class? You know? It would be very difficult. (Karen Levine, phone interview, 11 June 2012)

Yet commentary about class seeps into dialogue, cross-cutting narrations of place, genre, and ethnicity/race. Only two overt references to socioeconomic status were made in the reviewed episodes of *Fuse* (episode 1-4, featuring "Hamilton's gritty Steeltown working class rock sound with the college folk pop that's done best in Halifax," and episode 4-20, discussed below[263]), though class references arguably exist as connotations attached to particular places, genres, occupations, and even accents (including vocabulary and syntax). Lyric content in the songwriting of Ron Hynes from outport Newfoundland (episode 3-16), for example, speaks to different themes than the poetics utilized by singer-songwriter John Nicholson (aka, Royal Wood), who works as a foreign currency trader on Toronto's Bay Street, Canada's commercial financial epicentre (episode 3-19).

Consider one of the episodes in which class commentary was integrated into conversations about performer biographies and musics. Episode 4-20 begins with Amanda announcing:

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[263] In both cases, the working class persona is actively cultivated by the performer in question (respectively, Tom Wilson and Fred Eaglesmith). The broadcaster is simply building on existing narratives.

Welcome to the show where we smash, mash, weld, fuse together two genres of music that would otherwise maybe not have the chance to meet up. Today in this musical forge that we call Studio 40, you could say that we blacksmiths are **experimenting with opposites**. **Don't worry, none of them is actually heavy metal**. We're about to hear what happens when you **mix dark operatic electronics with straight up blue collar folk**. And the two musicians who are bravely mixing their styles today, please welcome Katie Stelmanis and Fred Eaglesmith. (bolding added, episode 4-20)

After the applause died down, Amanda continues,

Now Fred, your name suggests that you may have had some **First Nations heritage**, but I understand that **your name has more to do with tulips than teepees**. (bolding added, episode 4-20)

Amanda's introduction elides genre, class, race, and risk in complex layers that differentiate the performers both musically and socially. Katie—performing music that is labelled operatic in nature—is cast as the highbrow counterpart to Fred's working class music (cf. Gans 1999). Class, moreover, is overlaid with racializing rhetoric, inscribing Fred as an "ethnic"—and socioeconomic—Other through references to symbols of cultures ("tulips" [Dutch, western European, white] and "teepees" [Indigenous]) rather than intrinsic personal traits or characteristics of his music (see Chapter 7 for discussion of racializing discourses).[264]

The musicians represent varied degrees of difference from an undefined but desirable normality, but are not so distant from that norm as to offend audience sensibilities: risk is managed by the disclaimer that neither of the musicians perform

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[264] The program log, including the songs and voicings performed for this episode, is available online at: http://www.frednet.nl/radiofred/fuse.pdf (accessed 8 July 2017).

heavy metal—a genre associated with youth culture, deviance, and generally lower

socioeconomic status (Bryson 1996)—communicating assumptions about the nature of

the listening audience(s). In her classic study of heavy metal culture, Deena Weinstein

summarizes the rhetoric of rock critics and moral extremists asking, "Why should a style

of music have occasioned such rhetoric, not only from members of the lunatic fringe,

but also from responsible elements on both sides of the political spectrum?" (1991:3).

As a popular music genre, metal is relatively unique in its capacity to polarize audiences,

becoming a home for "proud pariahs" by uniting marginalized "male, white, blue-collar

youth" against middle-class values, social elites, political engagement, and, moreover,

against other groups that share their marginalized status (1991:271–2). In casting heavy

metal as beyond the realm of acceptable taste, Amanda provides a negative definition of

her imagined audience. Indeed, as Bourdieu emphasizes, elite tastes "are asserted

purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes" (1984:56), effectively classifying the

classifier.

6.3.4 The mediated interocular zone: Partial perspectives and marking mediation

In Chapter 3, I described the clarity of broadcaster mediations in "Burning to Shine" as

possessing a certain honesty—of encouraging awareness of the multiple and incomplete

perspectives from which a single event is perceived. And in my conclusions to Chapter 4,

following Appadurai and Breckenridge's (1995) description of interocular zones as

produced spaces structured by awareness of the other sites and perspectives from

which the gaze is projected, I asked what happens when viewpoints—those of producers

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as well as audiences—are only partial. More to the point, what happens when the

telltale markers of mediation recede into the background in favour of an aesthetic of

liveness that creates a false sense of intimacy by eliding the positions from which the

gaze is projected? Partial perspectives sometimes privilege a particular lifestyle or

affiliation; they can also obscure opinions that run counter to mainstream norms.

The final two broadcasts described in this chapter serve as counterpoints. The

first, the episode featuring Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle (episode 3-20),

demonstrates the variety of meanings embedded within a single broadcast and the

capacity for liveness to cloak the nature of narrative omissions. And the second, the

broadcast featuring Final Fantasy and Cadence Weapon (episode 3-18, also discussed in

Chapter 5), explores the transparency introduced through inclusion of clear markers of

mediation.

6.3.4.1   The broadcaster as censor: Enforcing good taste and limiting opinion

Episode 3-20 begins, as is typical, with commercially recorded samples over which

partnering musicians voice details of their initial encounters. The first clip features

guttural growls and throaty intakes of breath—the opening moments of "Qimiruluapik"

from Tanya's *Sinaa* album—over which Andrew Whitemen, the lead for Apostle of

Hustle, describes first hearing Tanya perform:

> The first time I heard/saw Tanya was about seven years ago—maybe
> 2000? 2001? I can't remember. Her legs were, how they say in tai chi,
> in horse stance: they were far apart, knees bent, and she began doing
> her vocalizing and it was astounding. She was absolutely channelling
> earth power.

Tanya's approach to performance, according to Andrew, is a multisensory experience. He describes her practice in terms of vocalizing instead of singing and connects her art with earth metaphors—a theme that Tanya herself elaborates during the broadcast through focus on the mysticism and emotionalism of music.

The music changes with a quick cross-fade to "Haul Away" from Apostle of Hustle's *National Anthem of Nowhere*. From the strained vocals and hocketed melody of Tanya's throat singing-inspired music, emerges an electric guitar melody and electronically distorted vocals, all accompanied by pitched drums and pizzicato bass. Tanya's comments, in contrast to Andrew's engaged—if exoticizing—description do not appear particularly serious, focusing on the potential "fun" of collaborating with a group that is "open":

> The first time I heard Apostle of Hustle, I really really wanted to sing
> with them. I knew that it would be fun, I knew that they were willing
> and open. So it was very good.

Of course, distinctions of coding and decoding may be at play here: "fun" in Inuktitut doesn't necessarily translate directly, sometimes referencing a complicated concept that includes well-being and good relations. While Tanya's use of "fun" in this introduction may have included layered connotations, her meaning was not equally available to all members of the listening or live audiences.

Alan's introduction is, again, typical of most *Fuse* episodes, describing the show as a "program where we take two artists from different places and see what happens when they get together in this space." His commentary focuses on the musicians'

experience and high profile alliances (including Carnegie Hall, Bjork, and Broken Social

Scene), relying on these networks to establish the legitimacy of the musicians. And,

though Alan's introduction emphasizes *Fuse* as a space in which performers from

different places converge, the narration of place is uneven in the rest of the episode.

The focus remains almost exclusively on Tanya as a representative of the North. In fact,

throughout the episode the focus seems to be Tanya's biography—including the places

that influenced her development—and on both naming her vocal technique and

interrogating her conceptualization of art and musicianship. In contrast, descriptions of

Andrew Whiteman (and Apostle of Hustle) rely on his connections to other bands,

elaborating his public risk-taker persona and expounding his interest in "world music"

performers like Tanya. The imbalance in questioning is reinforced when one considers

the actual breakdown of voices and performance time (see Table 6.1). Tanya speaks for

8'38" (15.8 percent of the episode) while the members of Apostle of Hustle, collectively,

speak for 5'14" (9.6 percent of the episode).

The balance of voices in the music section is more complex to parse. A total of

three songs, two pre-composed by Andrew and one a free improvisation, are performed

during the episode (Caitlin Crockard later explained that some of the other songs had to

be cut from the broadcast because each one was of such extended duration [interview,

2 September 2015]). The pre-composed music accounted for 15'05'' and the improvised

work for 10'54'' of the broadcast. Though Tanya doesn't claim authorship for any of the

pieces, she isn't simply fitting in as an extra voice on pre-composed and pre-arranged

songs. The clearances in the CBC archives reinforce this impression, noting Andrew as the composer of "My Sword Hand's Anger" and "Fast Pony for Victor Jara," but Apostle of Hustle and Tanya Tagaq as arrangers (this accreditation is unique in the program logs that I examined). The extent of the arrangement and expansion is particularly clear in "Fast Pony for Victor Jara"; Alan notes that its total duration expands to three times its original length with the addition of Tanya. When taken in conjunction, Tanya's voice is the most prominent in the episode—an imbalance that is audible even without the benefit of transcripts and my calculations.

And this is where partial perspectives become important. When I first listened to the episode, I put Tanya's dominance—her ability to occupy the sonic space both temporally and as the focus of conversation—down to a sort of exoticization that was similar in nature to the transit narratives described in Chapter 3 and, later, in Chapter 7. Tanya is queried on everything from her experience of growing up in Cambridge Bay—of describing the North, of narrating her travels to Nova Scotia for school, and the various forms of loneliness imposed by the different places in which she came of age—to the nature of her music and vocal technique. The assumption seems to be that all aspects of Tanya's life and art, while existing within a trope of Canadianness oriented around the "great white north" (cf. Brennan 2009; Berland 2009), will be unfamiliar, perhaps even unknowable, to audiences. Andrew and his music, in contrast, are left largely unexplicated—untranslated in Conway's terms (2011). This lack of translation communicates assumptions about what is familiar and/or intrinsically understandable

for audiences: Tanya's music is exotic while Andrew's is assumed to speak the same language as the imagined audience.

Let me emphasize at this point that my initial reading of the curatorial agenda was purely speculative, based only on a recognized imbalance in voicing, previous impressions of the performers, and suspicion that something was hidden from "view." When I queried my impressions with Caitlin Crockard and Alan Neal it became clear that there was another story that was purposefully obscured. Rather than an exoticizing fixation on Tanya, Andrew's sonic presence in the broadcast was cut because he voiced opinions that were "dangerously close to sounding like encouraging an uprising against the prime minister"[265] (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2016; Alan Neal, interview, 4 September 2015). Crockard clarified that the intent was not to negate an individual's right to have a political viewpoint and access to airtime, but that there were limits to what she could responsibly broadcast.

This example serves two purposes. First, it very clearly demonstrates the broadcaster's role as a mediating voice and gatekeeper, functioning to label and manage "risky" content. The aesthetic of liveness, moreover, cloaks the extent to which conversations were manipulated in the face of content that tests the limits of "good taste" (cf. CBC|Radio-Canada 1994). While small clicks, elided words, or abrupt changes in background noise all function as in/audible markers of mediation, it is nevertheless easy—particularly if the listener is at all distracted (i.e., a typical radio listener)—to

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[265] The precise content and context of Andrew's comments was not elaborated.

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imagine a free flowing conversation that is quite singular in its focus. For that matter, I'm

inclined to picture an interaction in which Andrew is little more than a "third wheel,"

with his music prompting occasional reminders that he should be included, if fleetingly,

in the conversation.

Second, it demonstrates the potential for stance to inform decoding (cf. Berger

2010). That is, the story that I initially constructed to rationalize the narrative problems

posed by this episode was informed by my preconceived imagining of the performers;

my understanding of *Fuse*'s narrative priorities and typical format; and, without doubt,

by the analytical prerogatives of this dissertation. Particularly because there were gaps

in the story being told, audiences had more options for filling in the blanks according to

their own relationships with the music, performers, and what they were made to

represent.

Indeed, the potential for a range of decodings of the same content was driven

home when I used episode 3-3 (Ohbijou/Kids on TV) as the subject of a seminar on

intercultural music making. The students all listened to the complete episode and then

weighed in, describing their impressions of the musicians and how the performances

might be understood as intercultural. The students in the class, while all

ethnomusicologists, represented a range of perspectives, including genders,

nationalities, and musical interests. One student knew the featured performers

personally. Another student had only recently immigrated to Canada and had never

before heard of the performers. And still another had a marginal awareness of one of

the musicians but had never heard of the other. The ensuing discussion revealed widely

divergent interpretations of the featured interactions and musicians. Berger notes:

> Whether one hears music as foreign or familiar—and the kinds of
> valences one attaches to such foreignness or familiarity—depends
> deeply on one's past social experiences, the ideas about music and
> identity in one's social world, and the larger political discourses within
> which one's thought is embedded. (2010:14)

Experience shapes perception, engagement, and meaning-making, revealing the

polysemous nature of a single artifact.[266]

6.3.4.2 Challenging broadcaster authority: The racialized Other

Earlier in this chapter I cited the discretionary warning that prefaced the broadcast

performance of Final Fantasy (aka Owen Pallett) and Cadence Weapon (aka Rollie

Pemberton) as an index of liveness—a way of suggesting the extemporaneous nature of

the performance and the necessity of a co-present audience. It was also one of the more

overt mechanisms employed on *Fuse* for signalling risk: the warning functioned as a pre-

emptive apology, branding the musicians as somehow challenging or extra-normative

before they were even encountered. This final example provides a counterpoint to the

other episodes described in this chapter. While it, like the others, contributes to

inscribing a hierarchical social order, the broadcaster's mediating voice is closer to the

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[266] While meaning may be polysemous, that does not mean infinite. In their analysis of Captain Canuck comics, Dittmer and Larsen (2007) invoke Louis Althusser's theory of interpellation and Michael McGee's theorization of national collectivity as a way around structuralist and post-structuralist approaches to the audience. While the former leaves the audience undertheorized, the latter runs the risk of suggesting infinite numbers of meanings of singular texts. They suggest, instead, that meaning-making relies on a continuous process of selecting and assembling existing narratives/cultural materials and interpretations, use, and feedback by audiences. Meaning-making, in other words, is agentive and context dependent, but limited by the range of materials available at any given time.

surface—more audible—emphasizing distinctions between the live-in-studio and listening audience experience and disrupting inscriptions of risk.

Following Alan's discretionary warning, the episode begins in typical fashion with commercially recorded samples of each musician and voiced-over reflections about the nature of those sounds. The first clip—unidentified—is by Owen Pallett. It begins with an off-kilter, mixed meter bassline played on the piano before the treble line, again on piano, enters. The style is minimalist, with repetitions and elaborations of a basic motif. Over this, Rollie voices:

> Uh, the first time I heard Final Fantasy, I thought, "Why does my roommate always listen to shit like this?" Like, maybe elf rock? I don't know, maybe the male equivalent to Joanna Newsome. It sounds kind of like video game music. You know, for an RPG,[267] and actually totally works that way.

Owen's song continues for a few seconds after Rollie finishes speaking, with the vocal line entering just as the sample is crossfaded and the sound of a drum machine and Rollie's "Sharks"—heard later in the episode in fused form—enters. Owen voices-over, saying:

> First time I heard Cadence Weapon, I felt I was listening to hip hop the way it was when I was in high school—or more grade school even. I'm not trying to call him, you know, retrogressive. Maybe I just haven't enjoyed it as much since then! If I had to describe the sound of Cadence Weapon to anybody, I'd probably describe seagulls bursting into flame, crashing into rivers of blood.

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[267] RPG is an acronym for "role-playing game," a game in which players assume the roles of characters in a fictional setting. Actions taken by players are shaped according to a system of rules that guide the players as they create/play out the narrative of the game. Perhaps the best-known example of an RPG is *Dungeons and Dragons*.

The opening voiceovers suggest an adversarial relationship between the musicians,

though this is undermined seconds later in Alan's introductory monologue: he describes

seeking out both musicians at the 2006 Polaris Awards with the intent of getting each of

them on the show. Both agreed, with the condition that they work together. Such

contradictions and inversions are typical of the episode and, I'm inclined to suggest,

integral for demonstrating the complexity of the relationship between the musicians:

they occupy very different musical worlds with differing stylistic priorities that aren't

always mutually appreciated, yet there's underlying respect for each other that enables

their collaboration and, perhaps, a greater-than-usual comfort level in challenging each

other—not to mention the host—on the meanings behind their words.[268]

This episode was unique in the degree to which musicians talked back and

challenged broadcaster authority, suggesting the limits of the host's ability to curate

sound and meaning for listeners. On several occasions throughout the episode, the

musicians take turns bluntly contradicting Alan's words; at one point Rollie states, "It's

cool man, you know, it's *Fuse*, we're fusing together ideas that—You might think of fact

checking." Such direct feedback on the inconsistencies that crop up in curatorial

commentary was a rare feature of broadcasts. Potential reasons for this rarity include

the possibility that such conversations were usually cut, that similar mistakes in fact by

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[268] While much could be said of the ways in which the musicians and the genres in which they perform were gendered through references to other performers, videogames, and poetics, for the sake of space I'm going to focus, instead, on articulations of audience presence, disruptions of broadcaster authority, and racializing discourses that were more prominent features of the episode.

the host(s) were atypical, or that, because of the social mores that many Canadians

observe, musicians perceived correcting the host to be impolite.

Risk was managed and difference marked in particularly overt, sometimes almost

farcical, ways throughout the episode; indeed, the broadcast, at times, seem an almost

farcical example of the ways that racial stereotypes are sounded and narratives

signalling the persistent existence of inequities in Canadian society are masked.[269] At the

beginning of the "influences" section of the broadcast, for instance, Alan prompts Rollie

to describe the ways in which video games and graphic novels have influenced and

inspired him. Rollie talks about his affinity for the X-Men—of how his minority status

supported identification with the idea of "having some sort of strangeness" as an

ingrained trait.[270] At this point, parodying Alan's persistent "for-listeners-at-home"

interruptions,[271] Owen interjects, stating "For those of you listening at home, Rollie is a

black man." Alan pipes up stating, "Owen is white. Yes. Owen, were you into comic

books?" Conversation is deflected away from issues of Otherness and the notion of

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[269] An alternative reading of this episode might suggest that the performers and broadcaster were intentionally parodying notions of risk and authority as a counter to racial prejudices that equate blackness with risk.

[270] The X-Men are fictional superheroes whose powers are the result of genetic mutations. Their stories centre on themes of social justice, inclusion, and diversity. The characters were created by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby, and are among the most recognizable and commercially successful properties of Marvel Comics.

[271] In most episodes, Alan's narration of action for the listening audience is quite discrete, typically minimizing distinctions between the live and listening audience by providing a generalized form of address (i.e., "ladies and gentlemen") and by working descriptions of visual cues into his questions and responses. Pointed comments made only for the listening audience disrupt the aesthetic of liveness normally privileged in broadcasts, pointing instead to the broadcaster as a mediating voice. This episode, however, posed interpretive challenges that were relatively unique in the series overall. At one point Rollie acknowledges the problem when he states, "Sorry for all the physical humour." Alan responds, "Yeah, I'm like 'people at home he just did a narrowed eyed closing of the fist, jabbing up in down with in the air!' "

being marked out from the majority by an intrinsic "strangeness." And while both Rollie

and Owen are described in racialized terms in this particular exchange, risk is not equally

ascribed throughout the episode. Though the broadcast begins with a general content

warning, only Rollie—the black rapper—is censored: momentary cuts in the dialogue

and the music are used to disguise potentially problematic words (see Figure 5.6, p.

268).

While Rollie is marked out in terms that appear to equate race with risk, the

effect is consistently challenged through forms of humour that subvert audience

expectations and require a greater degree of transparency about the role of the

broadcaster as a mediator. The live audience is more audible in the broadcast mix than

is typical, perhaps to provide the listening audience with interpretive cues. Similar to the

episode featuring Ohbijou and Kids on TV (episode 3-3, see discussion above), there

seems to have been a considerable physicality to the performance, and audience

responses—in the form of laughter, murmurs, and even silences—provide clues about

onstage actions. Laughter, for example, when Owen is describing the ways in which

instruments have contorted his body, signals that some sort of gesture is accompanying

his commentary. In another instance, this time playing with stereotypes of race and risk,

Rollie proclaims that he has "a lot of conversations about guns." This statement is

greeted with a pause, slight murmur from the audience, and Alan quickly filling the gap

with "Excellent." Owen pipes up, asking if that's true, and Rollie responds, "No." The

audience and Alan laugh in apparent relief that they'd simply missed the joke. Audible

cues from physically co-present actors are necessary for understanding the ways in

which Rollie's spoken words are intended to subvert expectations; comments are made

in jest but without obvious aural signals, the listener is left unsure of what is said in truth

and what has comedic intent. Physical and temporal co-presence, moreover, are shown

to be distinct, challenging the aesthetic of liveness and reinforcing awareness of the only

partial perspectives available to listeners.

6.4 Conclusions: Liveness and the interocular zone

This chapter has been about the ways in which risk was managed and the ways in which

liveness cloaked the mediating voice of the broadcaster. It began by exploring the

conceptual importance of liveness to the premise of *Fuse*, and the ways in which

liveness was constructed and indexed through broadcaster commentary. The problem of

liveness as a production aesthetic, I suggested, was that it implied a certain immediacy

and directness of communication, obscuring the distinct perspectives from which

performances were experienced. Broadcast performances were edited and mixed into

versions that were, in most cases, less than half the length of the actual live-in-studio

performance—meaning that only the best takes of songs were used and significant

sections of dialogue were cut and (re)assembled to construct comprehensible storylines

that followed the desired narrative arc of a standard *Fuse* episode (see Chapter 5).

Content wasn't identical on a weekly basis—music and conversations varied according

to the interests of particular performers—but there was a general formula followed that

resulted in similarities at a meta level. And, for that matter, analysis of the temporal

distribution of voices, in itself, is revealing of quantifiable patterns in the production of broadcasts (see Table 6.1).

The examples elaborated in this chapter attempt to de-/reconstruct the mediating process and the systemic biases that persist in media systems. What traits were normalized? What/who is systematically outside or Other? What characteristics and perspectives are perceived as too risky for broadcast? How do these assumptions shape the nature of the interpellated audience? The examples in this chapter considered sexual identities and, briefly, religion—demographic categories that are difficult to analyse due to a lack of data, but also because of persistent taboos and moralizing discourses—though I also focused on class, political opinion, and race in my analysis. My purpose in raising these wide ranging examples is to point to the fact that discrimination doesn't always exist in overt and easy to point to forms, but rather in *a sense of belonging* that's not evenly distributed to all citizens and residents of Canada.

Recall Alan Neal's surprise at the omission of commentary about sexuality in episode 3-15: "You would just never put Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine on the show" if you were concerned about engaging these issues (interview, 4 September 2015). His reaction speaks to non-deliberate acts—acts that, only when taken together, implicitly come to define normativity. This is where the notion of discursive formations as concatenations of texts through time becomes important. The examples elaborated in this chapter cumulatively point to the strength of the broadcaster's frequently silent mediating voice in arranging voices in relationships of dominance and subalternship,

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relationships that aren't so much natural as they are a reflection of unconsidered

worldviews.

Chapter 7

HIERARCHIES OF BELONGING: ALLIANCES, DIFFERENCES, AND DISTINCTIVENESS IN CANADIAN MUSIC

> When you think about a Canadian musician, you don't think of—you think of Neil Young, or you think of some other old white guy that's been playing for a hundred years. You don't think about—or you're not given the opportunity to imagine something more. Which is what I would be excited about. This idea of the musician doesn't stop there, but people can imagine it as being a profession here that is [populated by] unexpected [figures]. (Casey Mecija, interview, 9 September 2015)

In Chapter 1, I described my overall study objectives in terms of the "fort mentality" that Stó:lō author Lee Maracle identifies as characteristic of Canadian society. She claims that "We are plagued by our colonial condition," with Canadians inside an imagined fort failing to see how incomplete their stories and selves are because of what they exclude. And, "outside the fort, we hear the[ir] laughter and feel we must shed our ancient selves, move away from our homeland and give up our words" (2004:207). The walls of the fort remain invisible and inaudible to its privileged inhabitants, effectively imposing barriers to imagining, let alone experiencing, equitable coexistence.

In more tangible terms, Nakhaie (2006) points out that there are measureable differences in socio-economic opportunities, education, and civic participation between the many groups that comprise Canada's total population.[272] Given the persistence of inequalities in the face of policies intended to achieve social justice, he suggests that

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[272] Nakhaie's (2006) results are based on the findings of the Canadian Election Survey (2000) and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2000).

certain key perceptions about the nature of multiculturalism and the ideology of

Canadian values need to change. Specifically, Nakhaie advocates the need for

widespread acknowledgement that social structure imposes limits on success; success is

contingent on histories of privilege and discrimination; dominant groups need to better

promote economic and social integration; and social justice must be understood to

entail distributive and retributive forms of justice (2006:154).

Following Maracle's call for the fort to be recognized and Nakhaie's observation

of the failure of multiculturalism to enact an equitable shared reality based on principles

of social justice, in this chapter, I'm attempting to show how certain biases in

representation combine with particular ways of talking to maintain existing hegemonies.

I question whether *Fuse* breaks from dominant patterns or whether it was a

"symptomatic" expression of wider trends and debates about multiculturalism and

Canada's social order. I attempt to relate my observations of patterns of on-air

representation and discursive ordering to the demographic trends recorded in the 2006

Census of Canada (see Chapter 1; cf. Conway 2011). Notably, this comparative approach

builds on descriptions of the early twenty-first century policy climate offered in Chapters

1 through 4, shifting attention from the legislation and policy initiatives that shaped

communities, discourses, and institutional interventions in the early twenty-first century

to the on-the-ground conditions of Canada's many communities. Considering *Fuse* in this

wider context highlights the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive

multiculturalism, referencing questions raised in Chapter 1 about the function of public broadcasting in twenty-first century conditions of social plurality.

Where the previous chapter was about the aesthetic of liveness that was prioritized on *Fuse*, how this editorial approach masked broadcaster mediations, and implications for interpellating the listening audience, this chapter is about the articulation of relationships between musicians and musics, scenes and styles, and established signifiers of Canadianness. Building on related assumptions (1) that people experience music as a signifier of cultural identity, (2) that the broadcaster functions as a system of representation, and (3) that discrimination, prejudice, and bias do not always exist in overt easy-to-point-to forms in the current media system, I consider the ways in which music and musicians—and the qualities and traits they represent—came to be understood as "Canadian" or Other. My analysis, accordingly, addresses (1) the discursive alliances that encourage voices to be heard as Canadian (or Other); (2) the extra-musical connotations of genre, and (3) the divergent functions of narratives of mobility and travel and how these particular orderings of voices effect a sense of belonging and/or exclusion.

As the examples elaborated in the previous chapter demonstrate, representations of difference and normalcy can be parsed along a variety of lines ranging from sexuality to religion, and from class to constructions of ethnicity and race. These forms of difference intersect in a multiplicity of ways and in configurations that vary from town to town and region to region. This chapter focuses quite narrowly on

ethnoracial identities; the exclusion of other forms of difference from the discussion should not be taken to suggest that these other domains remain unmarked by problematic exclusions.

7.1 Hearing music as "Canadian": Aesthetics and alliances

In Chapter 1, I quoted Julion King's experience of being a musician in Canada. He spoke about his music—reggae—and the tendency to perceive it as indigenous to Jamaica even though it has existed in Canada for more than fifty years and is created and consumed by "Canadians paying our taxes" (2016). King's account shifts between the circumstances of his music and the structural conditions that limit his access to the label "Canadian": the music that he hears and the promotion that he observes within the Canadian music industry (broadly defined) reinforces an understanding of being "a long-lost outside cousin" rather than a full-fledged Canadian with no qualifiers attached (King 2016). Creating, performing, listening to, consuming, and interpreting music are activities embedded in a wider social fabric: they are implicated in discourses of Canadianness, reflecting, revealing, and replicating the unwritten rules that shape the terms of our social world(s) (cf. Foucault 1981, 1972; Small 1998). King's awareness of his music and his sense of belonging within Canadian society, accordingly, are linked with visceral forms of experiential knowledge: he's aware of the metaphorical walls that exclude him—not to mention the historically entrenched structural barriers to his participation in the music industry (cf. Nakhaie 2006)—but, from his "systematically

'outside'" position (cf. Born 2004:15), he remains powerless to assert his position within national narratives.

King's account speaks to what Canadian music (and Canadianness) *is not*. But what is Canadian music? Indeed, this is a question that has proven problematic for many scholars. Perhaps predictably given that mid-century interventions in the music industry were justified by the perceived need to foster the development of idiosyncratically "Canadian" popular music, much of the existing literature in this area focuses on defining what makes Canadian popular music distinctive (i.e., how inclusions/exclusions are defined). Scholars have taken a variety of approaches to defining distinctiveness, ranging from case studies and historical overviews to assessments of aesthetic qualities and lyric contents (e.g., Barclay et al. 2011; Edwardson 2009; Grant 1986; Lehr 1994; Mahtani and Salmon 2005; Rice 1995; Starr et al. 2008; Whitesell 2008; Wright 2004).

The problem with this approach is the breadth and depth of the field. Jian Ghomeshi's *50 Tracks*, the radio program that replaced *Fuse* in Radio One's Saturday night schedule in November 2005, exemplified the challenges of delimiting the aesthetic qualities of Canadian popular music. Ghomeshi's compiled list of essential Canadian music ranged from yodelling cowboy Wilf Carter's "My Swiss Moonlight Lullaby" (1933) to "Crabbuckit" (2004) by Toronto-based MC k-os, and from "Home for a Rest" (1990) by Spirit of the West to Joni Mitchell's "Big Yellow Taxi" (1970).[273] The list lacked clearly

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[273] The full list is available in archived version at:
https://web.archive.org/web/20050412002329/http://www.cbc.ca/50tracks/essentialcanadianmusic.html (accessed 19 December 2016). The list was compiled through input from a series of panelists (including Terry David Mulligan, Jay Ferguson, Lorraine Segato, Laurie Brown, Damhnait Doyle, Denise Donlon, Geoff

defined objectives—other than naming the "most essential" Canadian pop tunes—and

was ultimately vulnerable to some very grounded critiques of exclusions and

imbalances.

Where attempts to define aesthetic qualities have failed, relationships to the

United States and the American music industry sometimes have been emphasized (e.g.,

Grant 1986; Lehr 1994; Rice 1995; Wright 2004). This approach, again, fails to

acknowledge the diversity of the Canadian music scene. It is also vacuous as a definition:

listing what makes music, musicians, audiences, and, more generally, culture "not

American" still leaves open questions about the Canadianness of music and the nature

of the hierarchies that exist within that formation. Why should any national culture

necessarily have anything to do with another? Why must one be used to define the next

(cf. Robbins 1990:195)?

As an alternative to negative definitions, Testa and Shedden (2002) direct

attention to the "distinctive moments" that emerge through the convergence of

geographic and socio-economic circumstances. Such moments become signifiers—parts

of the discursive formation—of essentialized Canadianness. Central to Testa and

Shedden's approach is the nature of rock: as an inherently hybrid genre, rock is in a

constant state of re-invention and can only be defined reflexively in reference to a

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Pevere, Leah McLaren, Lee Aaron, Jennifer Hollett, and Emm Gryner) and listener votes. Though attempts
were made to include a variety of musics from different generations, genres, and locales, and by musicians
of varied genders and ethnoracial identities, the list was, nevertheless, skewed. Twenty-eight of the
selected tracks were released between 1960 and 1985. The majority of the selections could be categorized
as folk and/or commercial pop. Only one French language song ("Mon pays" by Gilles Vigneault) was
included. And only eleven of the performers/groups included women (Joni Mitchell is counted twice).

chronology of events. They argue that "this peculiarity characterizes popular culture in

almost every instance, and so assumptions of, and critical quests for, essences of pop-

culture forms miss the point of their material creation and development over time"

(2002:181).

Taking the case of indie musicians from the early 1990s as exemplars, Testa and

Shedden demonstrate how claiming the likes of Gordon Lightfoot and Stompin' Tom

(i.e., singer-songwriters/folk musicians who rose to prominence during the 1970s) as

musical mentors functioned to establish the "Canadianness" of acts like the

Rheostatics.[274] In a similar vein, drawing on Diamond's alliance studies model (2011b),

Brennan analyses three concept albums inspired by Group of Seven[275] paintings to argue

that the "Canadianness" of the albums and artists is not inherent in the music. Instead, it

is the result of alignment with a well-established discursive tradition that is culturally

and nationalistically Canadian (Brennan 2009:27)—in this case, tropes of stark

wilderness associated with Group of Seven imagery. The music and musicians, in other

words, are identifiably Canadian because of their active positioning within existing

networks that "encourage Canadian sounds to be *heard* as such": "Alliances [are]

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[274] The Rheostatics are a Canadian indie rock band that formed in 1978 in Etobicoke, Ontario.
[275] The Group of Seven, sometimes also referred to as the Algonquin School, was a group of landscape painters active between 1920 and 1933. Their work, which self-consciously sought to develop a distinctively Canadian style based on direct contact with the natural environment, is considered the first major Canadian art movement of national scope. The original members of the group included Franklin Carmichael (1890–1945), Lawren Harris (1885–1970), AY Jackson (1882–1974), Frank Johnston (1888–1949), Arthur Lismer (1885–1969), JEH MacDonald (1873–1932), and Frederick Varley (1881–1969). AJ Casson (1898–1992), Edwin Holgate (1892–1977), and LeMoine FitzGerald (1890–1956) were later invited to join the group. Tom Thomson (1877–1917) is also associated with the group, though he died before their official formation.

produced discursively within music itself, and in the extra-musical material (e.g.,

marketing strategies, touring practices, etc.) that produces a context in which music is

heard and understood" (Brennan 2009:22). Relationships to already established

elements of the national-cultural discursive field enable understandings of music and

musicians that have very little to do with the inherent "Canadianness" of any of the

involved actors and emblems (cf. Dittmer and Larsen 2007).

Focusing on the relationship between practice and discourse, in other words,

enables a much more flexible definition of Canadian popular music that accounts for the

ways in which music is embedded in wider social structures (cf. Diamond 1994). This

perspective allows for analysis of highly localized styles and genres, as well as music

produced for a more international market; it facilitates consideration of relationships

with the American market without insisting on definition against the border; and it

permits the commercially successful musician to be as valid a Canadian as his/her

marginal counterpart (and vice versa). Most importantly, it acknowledges the

significance of interpretive contexts—that is, the importance of encoding and

decoding—in positioning people and sounds within existing networks and geographies.

7.2 MAPPING CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES: CANADA AND ITS REGIONS
From theoretical consideration of the nature of "Canadian" music, this section turns to

the sociohistorical context in which content was created and received (cf. Conway 2011,

see Figure 1.1, p. 20)—to demographic trends in Canada contemporary to *Fuse*'s period

of broadcast and to patterns of representation observable on *Fuse*. In 2006, Canada had

a total population of 31,612,895. *Fuse*'s performing resources comprised 351 musicians

(i.e., "total performing resources"), 177 of whom were soloists and/or had significant

speaking roles (i.e., "leads") on *Fuse*.[276] Given this vast difference in population sizes—

not to mention the availability of musicians who met the performing standards required

for network-level broadcast—the potential to be fully reflective of Canada's

demographic complexities was limited. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, my analysis of *Fuse*

could only ever be considered in "symptomatic" terms: as an object of study that

provides a window into the debates, discourses, and priorities of the period.

Nevertheless, as this study is about systems of representation and the discursive

construction of society, comparing patterns of representation on *Fuse* to demographic

trends in Canada provides a foundation for understanding the significance of narrations

of place, definitions of race and ethnicity, and hierarchies of citizenship coded in the

descriptive language and performances featured on *Fuse*.

      Production for *Fuse* was based in Ottawa, though attempts were made to

represent Canada and all of its regions in accordance with the CBC's mandated

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[276] Calculations and comparisons are based on the 2006 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2008), details related in archival copies of *Fuse* broadcasts, published musician profiles, and musician responses to questionnaires (see Appendix F). The cited numbers of performers featured on *Fuse* do not account for repeat appearances in out-takes/best of episodes. Discrete performances by the same musician are also excluded: a small number of musicians (Danny Michel, Ron Sexsmith, Stephen Fearing, Tom Wilson, Luke Doucet, Colin Linden, Linsey Wellman, Emm Gryner, Kellylee Evans, Kevin Ramessar, and Paul Lowman) appeared in more than one broadcast with differing combinations of music and musicians. Arguably, these musicians should be counted twice as they were granted more audience exposure and contributed to shaping the overall representation of Canada's music scene. For the sake of simplicity, however, each musician is counted only once. "Leads" refers to the much smaller subset of musicians who assumed roles as soloists/spokespeople/leaders in the broadcast. This group, unless otherwise specified, is the focus of my analysis and commentary (see Chapter 2 for discussion of rationale).

responsibilities (see Appendix A). 78 percent of *Fuse* broadcasts were recorded in

Ontario (the majority of those in Ottawa)[277] and 58.8 percent of lead performers (and

53.0 percent of *Fuse*'s total performing resources) cited Ontario as their primary

residence at the time of their appearance on *Fuse*, a figure that significantly outweighs

representation of other regions (see Figure 7.1)—not to mention regional population

distributions (about 38.5 percent of the Canadian population reside in Ontario). This

pattern can largely be credited to the demands of a regular production schedule and the

difficulties of managing multiple busy musician itineraries. In fact, when I asked about

why Toronto featured prominently as a secondary production locale and source for

musicians, Caitlin Crockard explained:

> That's mostly logistics. Because we could ask them to drive up and only
> have to pay for the gas as opposed to have to pay for plane tickets
> from Vancouver or whatever, which we did a couple—we tried for
> more diversity when we travelled to Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon,
> although we didn't get Saskatoon artists necessarily in that episode,
> Vancouver twice, Dawson City, so we found—oh, Sackville, Halifax
> twice. So by doing that we eventually figured we could squeeze our
> budget by sending Amanda and I out to those places sort of cheaply.
> So we tried to do that a few times a year. But otherwise we were
> constricted by our budget. So we tried, and again, the original idea was
> we would try to get artists from outside of Ontario by virtue of their
> touring schedules, but that almost never worked because their tour
> schedules were always packed. (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2
> September 2015)

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[277] *Fuse* was a part of CBC's national programming schedule, but, like most of the CBC's regular
programming, logistical demands mean that production was based out of a single broadcast centre
(Ottawa). It's origins as summer replacement programming meant that it initially quite regional in focus
(see Chapter 4).

The pragmatics of production, in other words, resulted in an overrepresentation of

Ontario-based musicians that could not, with any degree of practicality, be avoided.

While understandable, this skew does reinforce a reading of Canada as organized

around a single centre and tacitly references some of the tensions that inflect

production for regional versus national audiences (see Chapter 3).
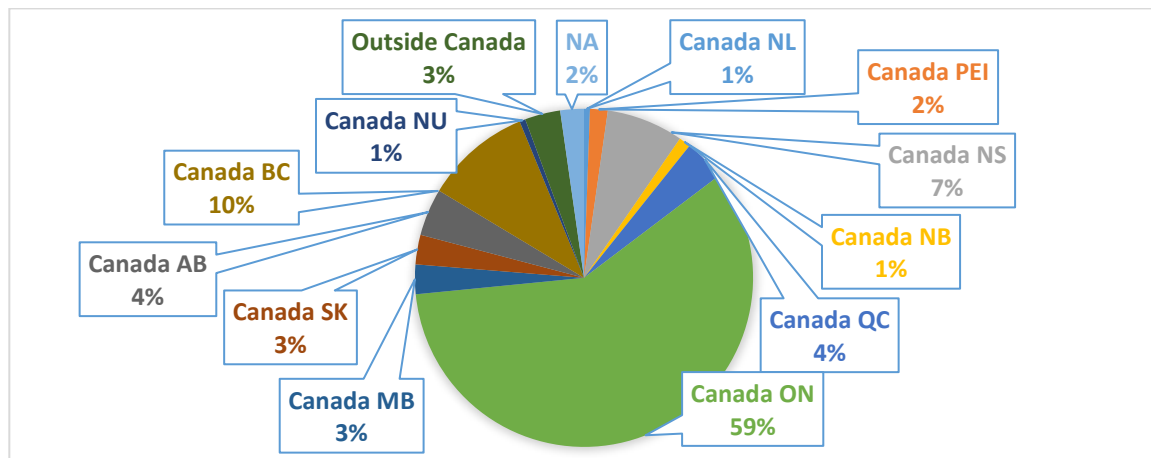
Figure 7.1: Primary regions of residence for lead musicians on Fuse. Because musician profiles for all 177 of the lead musicians featured on Fuse were compiled regardless of the availability of an archival recording of their broadcast performance, these calculations represent the series in its entirety.

In any case, from a narrative perspective, the places from which musicians came

(i.e., their hometowns) were often more important than their current living

arrangements—indeed, stories about homes and travels are the focal point of the

analysis presented in the final section of this chapter. Though referenced in differing

configurations for a variety of purposes, a few examples are telling of the significance of

hometowns in musician biographies. Ellen McIlwaine was portrayed according to her

past affiliation with Atlanta, Georgia—a centre with a long history as a popular music

production centre, associated with major developments in country music, blues and

soul, and hip hop—rather than her more recent history as a resident of Toronto and

Calgary. Her origins were integrally tied to her authenticity and authority as a slide guitar player. In another episode, Al Tuck was described as a Prince Edward Islander, though at the time of the recording his primary residence was Halifax (episode 2-14; see Chapter 6). Colin Linden's connections to Toronto were emphasized over his living in Nashville (episodes 2-3, 4-6). And Madagascar Slim's music was interpreted around his roots in Madagascar rather than his more recent abode in Toronto (episode 2-2). Analysing regional representation, in other words, needs to account for origins (and intervening trajectories) as well as current circumstances (see Table 7.1 for a breakdown of Canada's population distribution versus the hometowns of lead performers).

Table 7.1: Geographic distribution of Canada's population versus performer home provinces/regions. Bolded figures equal regional totals (Statistics Canada 2007a).

Hometowns	Percentage of total population Canada in 2006 (31,612,895)	Percentage of total lead performers on Fuse (177) by hometown
Atlantic Canada	**7.2%**	**11.3%**
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.6%	0.6%
Prince Edward Island	0.4%	2.8%
Nova Scotia	2.9%	6.8%
New Brunswick	2.3%	1.1%
Eastern Canada	**66.3%**	**39.5**
Quebec	23.9%	4.5%
Ontario	38.5%	35.0%
Prairies	**6.7%**	**5.1%**
Manitoba	3.6%	2.8%
Saskatchewan	3.1%	2.3%
Western Canada	**23.4%**	**10.2%**
Alberta	10.4%	4.0%
British Columbia	13.0%	6.2%
The North	**0.3%**	**1.7%**
Yukon Territory	0.1%	1.1%
Northwest Territories	0.1%	--
Nunavut	0.1%	0.6%
Outside of Canada[278]	19.8%	16.4%
NA	--	15.8%

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[278] In the case of the total population of Canada, this figure represents the percentage of the population who are officially defined as immigrants (i.e., "persons who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants in Canada [...] Most immigrants are born outside Canada, but a small number were born in Canada"; Statistics Canada 2007a). In the case of performers on *Fuse*, this number simply reflects the percentage of performers who cited/were introduced as having hometowns outside of Canada.

Even taking into account the places from which musicians hailed (as opposed to where they settled), there are imbalances that warrant some speculation. Performers from Quebec were significantly underrepresented on *Fuse*, a particularly notable omission when one considers that Montreal is Canada's second largest city, home to a dynamic music scene and production centre, and only about 200 kilometers from Ottawa. This imbalance perhaps relates to the politics of language that remain close to the surface in Canada's social relations and to the institutional structure of the CBC that segregates the majority of programming into French or English broadcasting streams.[279] The Prairies, and to a more significant extent, Western Canada are also underrepresented, especially given Vancouver's vibrant music scene.

In contrast, Atlantic Canada (particularly Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island) is over-represented, perhaps referencing a particular iconography of the Canadian music scene: names like Anne Murray, Gene MacLellan, and Ron Hynes; mentions of the Halifax Pop Explosion and the ECMAs (East Coast Music Awards); and descriptions of fiddling and dance traditions that provide the foundations for the region's rich musicality combine to reference particular eras and imaginings of Canadian music as Atlantic-

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[279] As detailed in Chapter 3, notable exceptions exist (e.g., intercultural projects like *Mundo Montréal* and *Rendez-vous*). On *Fuse*, the politics of language were only rarely engaged. Episode 2-5 featuring the Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir with Sarah Dugas and Andrina Turenne, two singers from Manitoba's francophone community, included songs in French and some discussion of language-based communities. Roxanne Potvin (episode 2-16) offered some commentary on bilingualism. And Al Tuck incorporated a verse in French into his performance of "Small and Few" (episode 2-14). Many of the Montréal-based musicians who appeared on *Fuse* were anglophones, and francophone bands like Torngat (episode 3-9) were instrumentalists so performances didn't necessarily engage issues of language. In the case of so-called world musicians like Mighty Popo (episode 1-3) or Alpha Yaya Diallo (episode 2-4) who perform in a variety of languages, including French, the politics of language were not obviously engaged.

centric. Introductions to episodes recorded in Atlantic Canadian locations, such as the

following recorded at Mt. Allison University in New Brunswick, reference East Coast

hospitality and represent the region and population as naturally musical:

> I am now on day four in New Brunswick and it continues to confirm
> that the most helpful, warmest people I have ever come across in my
> life are on the Canadian East Coast. These four small provinces out
> here just have a wealth of musical talent and our fusers today are
> exactly two such examples. (episode 4-17)

Similarly, in an episode featuring Ruth Minnikan (a singer-songwriter from Dartmouth,

Nova Scotia) alongside Rush Hour Traffic (from Charlottetown, PEI) and Old Man

Luedecke (a banjo player who, at the time of recording, had recently settled into the

East Coast scene), the Maritimes are presented as a locus for musical talents.[280] Ruth

states:

> It's in our blood, I think. You know, we have all the traditional music
> that came before us and now everybody's kind of putting their own
> spin on it.

Amanda replies:

> I noticed that in Fredericton at the East Coast Music Awards that
> everybody just knows each other, and they all get along like brothers
> and sisters in a good happy functional family. That's the East Coast
> scene. (episode 4-18)

Both music and belonging are framed in hereditary terms, with participants narrated as

heirs to a scene into which they were born.

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[280] A short video from the original performance is available on YouTube:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fL4-BTDnyzo (uploaded 14 February 2008 by IHeartCanCon; accessed
8 July 2017).

Narrations of place and population distribution are further complicated when one considers intersections with constructions of race and ethnicity. Recall the intricacies of broadcasting for regional versus national audiences elaborated in Chapters 3 and 4: different regions have different representational needs that don't always translate in a straightforward manner to national audiences. Visible minorities[281] comprised 16.2 percent of the Canadian population in 2006, but in all of the Atlantic Provinces this average was considerably lower: 1.14 percent in Newfoundland, 1.36 percent in Prince Edward Island, 4.17 percent in Nova Scotia, and 1.85 percent in New Brunswick. Scottish, English, Irish, and Acadian ancestries remained the prominent ethnocultural influences in the region, though, as the "Come by Concerts" case study in Chapter 3 illustrates, this demographic configuration may be changing. References to places, in other words, are laden with meanings that far exceed postal addresses and that depend on the positionality of listeners to decode. In privileging the Atlantic Provinces as bastions of Canadian musicality, the sum result of the referenced networks and narrations on *Fuse* is a synecdoche of the music scene that privileges specific sites and a particular ethnocultural spectrum as the essence of Canadian cultural production (cf. Conway 2009).

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[281] Statistics Canada defines visible minorities as "persons; other than Aboriginal peoples; who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada 2007d).

7.3 QUALIFYING CANADIANNESS: CONSTRUCTING ETHNICITY, RACE, AND NATIONALITY

Before I can return to the topic of how particular sounds come to be heard as Canadian,

some explanation of the demographic categories that feature in my analysis is needed.

These categories have an overtly political dimension with potential for replicating the

social inequalities and forms of marginalization that this dissertation, more broadly,

seeks to name. I have, nevertheless, opted to employ these rather problematic labels in

an attempt to identify trends in representation that cut across a larger population than

can be accounted for in site-specific examples. I am, as well, limited by my data sources,

most specifically the 2006 Census of Canada. Though sometimes built on problematic

assumptions—for example, the premise that difference has a visual dimension (i.e.,

"visible minorities")—its categories are created based on the self-reporting of Canadians

in a constitutionally mandated forum and have been tested and refined through more

than twenty years of use. As my sample of musicians was so small as to resist

assessment of statistical significance and in order to facilitate comparison between data

sources, I've used the classification system provided by Statistics Canada in my analysis

of *Fuse*. My data sources include on-air dialogue by musicians and hosts, published

musician profiles, and responses to questionnaires that were distributed to lead

musicians (see Appendix F).

Table 7.2 compares representation of ethnoracial groups in Canada's total

population, Ontario's total population, and the performing resources utilized on Fuse.

The categories included in Table 7.2 were based on the 2006 Census of Canada section

on visible minorities: "Persons; other than Aboriginal peoples; who are non-Caucasian in

368

race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada 2007d).[282] I have, however, made some

amendments to Statistics Canada's system. Namely, I've included the categories

"Aboriginal"[283] and "white." These additions are intended to support a more holistic

overview of the Canadian population by shifting the gaze so that everyone is labelled—

not just individuals who are visibly Other. The inclusion of the "Aboriginal" category is

intended to signal the special status of Indigenous peoples within Canada—not as a

qualification of their Canadianness. This inclusion also speaks to distinctions in data

collection employed in the 2006 Census, which distinguished between Aboriginal and

non-Aboriginal populations. In contrast, the addition of the "white" category is intended

to signal the intersections between ethnicity, nationality, race, and other social signifiers

that seep into popular discourse. In considering these rather blunt categorizations, I'm

attempting to interrogate how centres and peripheries—belonging and difference—are

constructed and mapped onto the bodies and music(s) of performers.

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[282] Census categories, in turn, rely on definitions from the Employment Equity Technical Reference Papers published by Employment and Immigration Canada in 1987.

[283] I've followed the definition provided by Statistics Canada that "Aboriginal" refers to "those persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit, and/or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada, and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation" (Statistics Canada 2007a).

Table 7.2: Assertions of ethnicity/race in Canada, Ontario, and on Fuse. Because musician profiles for all 177 of the lead musicians featured on Fuse were compiled regardless of the availability of an archival recording of their broadcast performance, these calculations represent the series in its entirety.

	Percentage of total population of Canada (2006 Census)[284]	*Percentage of total population of Ontario (2006 Census)*	*Percentage of leads on Fuse*
Total population	31,241,030	12,028,895	177
Total visible minority population	**16.2%**	**22.8%**	**17.5%**
South Asian	4.0%	6.6%	2.3%
Chinese	3.9%	4.8%	0.6%
Black	2.5%	3.9%	10.2%
Filipino	1.3%	1.7%	1.1%
Latin American	1.0%	1.2%	1.7%
Arab	0.9%	0.9%	--
Southeast Asian	0.8%	0.9%	--
West Asian	0.5%	0.8%	--
Korean	0.5%	0.6%	--
Japanese	0.3%	0.2%	1.1%
Other visible minority	0.2%	0.5%	0.6%
Multiple identifications	0.4%	0.6%	--
Aboriginal	**3.8%**	**2.0%**	**2.8%**
White[285]	**80.0%**	**75.2%**	**80.0%**

According to these calculations, the proportion of visible minority (17.5 percent), Aboriginal (2.8 percent), and white (80.0 percent) lead performers featured on *Fuse* provided a reasonably equitable representation of national averages in 2006 (respectively, 16.2 percent, 3.6 percent, and 80.0 percent). But this reflectiveness breaks down when more descriptive categorizations are considered: unspecified blackness is significantly overrepresented on *Fuse* in relation to the general population of Canada,[286] while other minority groups are not included at all. Moreover, there isn't attention paid to defining aspects of ethnicity for the white performers featured on *Fuse*, and surely

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[284] All calculations are made based on census data summarized at Statistics Canada (2007b) and from my own analysis of musician representation on *Fuse*.
[285] As the census doesn't categorize any part of the population as "white" (respondents are invited to identify their ethnic origins so data is available about the number of people who cite "Canadian," "English," "Welsh," "Russian," etc. as their heritage), I've derived this figure by calculating the difference between the non-Aboriginal population of Canada and the visible minority population of Canada.
[286] Similar patterns of over-representation have been widely noted in sports and particular sectors of the North American popular music industry.

amongst the approximately 80 percent of white performers featured on *Fuse* there are

distinctions to be made. Indeed, various European ethnic groups have been racialized as

"not white" historically and into the present (e.g., the eastern Europeans who settled

the Prairies, the Italians who arrived *en masse* after the Second World War, or the

German-descended Canadians who were interned during the First World War). The

categories employed in this dissertation do not reflect these sociohistorical complexities.

The total effect both exaggerates distinctions and results in an oversimplified binarism—

similar and different, insider and outsider, or, in more racialized terms, black and white

(cf. Rogin 1992)—that cannot accommodate the dynamic ways in which musicians and

audiences alike perform their identities.

In order to understand the differentiations that happen within ethnoracial

categories, I compared assertions of racial and national identity(s). That is, some

performers identify (or are ascribed status) as Canadian, but sometimes qualifiers are

attached. For some performers this means hyphenated identities that reference

affiliations with other nationalities (e.g., Italian–Canadian), and for others it means an

expression of belonging within a major linguistic community (e.g., French Canadian).[287]

And for others still it means a declaration of citizenship status (i.e., non-nationals or ex-

pats) or focus on extra-territorial affiliations. Figure 7.2 provides a visual comparison of

[287] It's worth considering what it means that performers from Quebec (Canada's largest and most concentrated French speaking region) are significantly underrepresented among performers (see Table 7.1) and that French speaking Canadians are "ethnicized" through inclusion of a qualifier on their status as Canadians. It's beyond the scope of this project to more fully elaborate the politics of language and representation at the CBC. This topic, however, has been discussed extensively elsewhere (e.g., Conway 2011; Thomas 1992; Raboy 1990).

the ways in which nationality and race were constructed relative to each other. Given

that about 80 percent of the featured performers were white, imbalances were

inevitable, nevertheless a few patterns stand out.
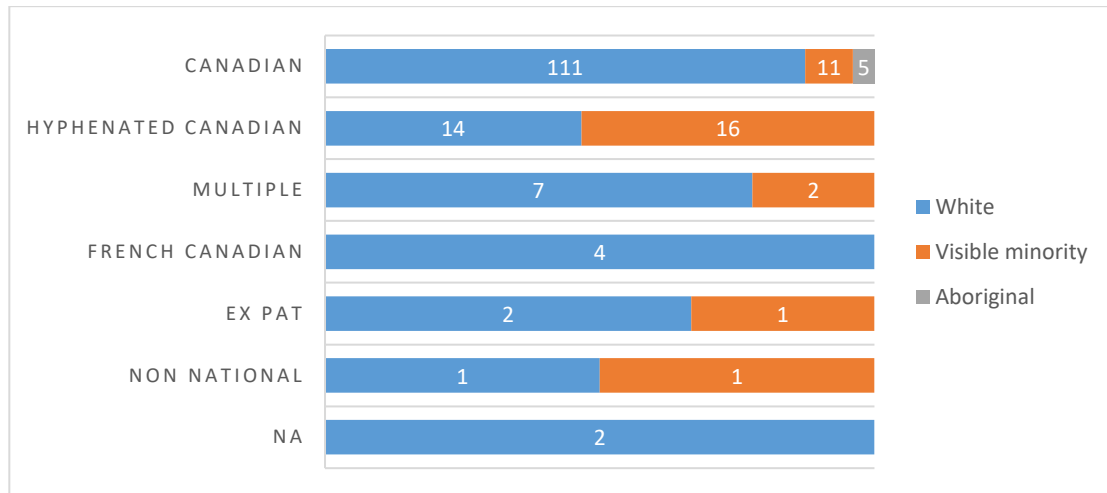
Figure 7.2: Nationality versus race of lead performers on Fuse. While the coloured bars provide a proportionate comparison of racial representation within each category of nationality, the numbers indicate the actual number of performers. Though all of the Aboriginal performers who appeared on Fuse are included in the "Canadian" category, issues of representation, special status, and sovereignty are more complex. Some performers claim/are ascribed Aboriginal heritage but claim/are ascribed Canadian nationality. Others claim/are ascribed Aboriginal heritage and claim/are ascribed Aboriginal identities as their citizenship. These complexities are not reflected in my analysis.

Among the "unqualifiedly" Canadian performers—a category that comprises 124

musicians, 111 of whom are white—only one musician was born outside of Canada. The

biography of this one musician, Murray McLauchlan, and his Canadianness are

potentially significant. Gillian Roberts introduces her study of how literary prize-winners

are received and honoured depending on their citizenship and perceived "Canadian-

ness" by quoting an October 1992 editorial published in the *Toronto Star*. The editorial

announces and praises Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* for winning the Booker

Prize. Roberts analyses the editorial, noting that its task goes beyond celebration: it

"offers Ondaatje's *Canadian* credentials" (2011:3) by acknowledging his Sri Lankan

origins but, in offering him up as "a perfect model of modern Canada" (quoted in

Roberts 2011:3), the rhetoric "naturaliz[es] Ondaatje's Canadianness as a personal

development, rather than a legal question" (2011:4). She states:

> Ondaatje moves from being a guest in Canada, as suggested by the
> metaphor of adoption, to encapsulating Canadian cultural success and
> values, not only occupying the Canadian host position, but also acting
> as Canadian culture's representative, an exemplary figure held up for
> emulation. (2011:4)

Murray McLauchlan can be considered in similar terms, though, admittedly, his origins in

Scotland don't require much rehabilitation to exist comfortably within creation stories of

Canada that cast the British and French as founding peoples. He is a multi-award

winning songwriter, broadcaster, and member of the Order of Canada. He was an early

voice in Toronto's Yorkville music scene, produced by True North Records, and

enmeshed in networks of musicians who are frequently held up as exemplars of

Canadian popular music, including Neil Young, Tom Wilson, Ron Hynes, and Bruce

Cockburn. His unqualified inclusion as Canadian, in other words, is hardly challenging to

the imagining of Canadianness described in the epigraph to this chapter.

The aptness of Roberts' (2011) analysis of claims to nationality is reinforced

when one considers the way in which visible minority populations break down relative

to categories of Canadianness (see Figure 7.3): only 35 percent of visible minority

performers were presented as unqualifiedly Canadian (versus 79 percent of white

performers). These performers—Rollie Pemberton (aka Cadence Weapon), Trevor Chan

(No Luck Club), Steve Johnston and Joy Clarke (Voices of Praise Gospel Group), Kareem

Blake (aka Choclair), Kellylee Evans, Emm Gryner, Brian Kobayakawa (Creaking Tree String Quartet), Amanda Martinez, Andy Kim, and Dione Taylor—had almost all achieved a level of critical and/or commercial success as musicians prior to their appearance on *Fuse*. Rollie Pemberton, for example, was recruited while attending the Polaris Awards in 2006; he was a nominee for the best full length album of the year. Emm Gryner had been named David Bowie's favourite Canadian act. Andy Kim's song, "Rock Me Gently," went to number one on Billboard in 1974. And Dione Taylor had already performed for both the Queen of England and President of the United States when she was invited to collaborate on *Fuse.* All were born in Canada,[288] most spoke in a "neutral" Canadian English accent,[289] and most performed in a narrow range of genres that included folk/roots, jazz, and singer-songwriter—genres that fit fairly comfortably on the same spectrum as that referenced by Murray McLauchlan.
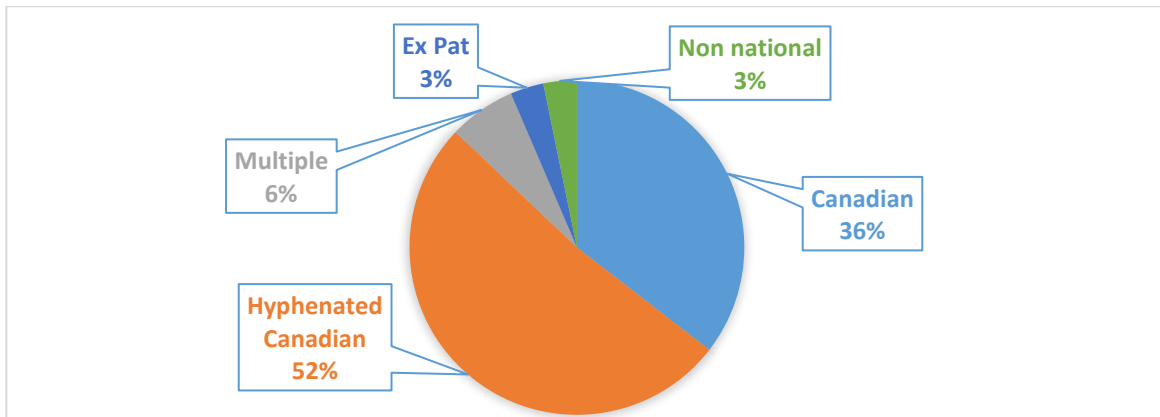
Figure 7.3: Categories of nationality among visible minority performers featured on Fuse*. Because musician profiles for all 177 of the lead musicians featured on* Fuse *were compiled regardless of the availability of an archival recording of their broadcast performance, these calculations represent the series in its entirety.*

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[288] More accurately, 8 of 11 of the visible minority "Canadian" performers were born in Canada. Details regarding hometown were unavailable for the remaining three musicians in this category; Ottawa and Scarborough were cited as places of residence at the time of recording.

[289] See Chapter 2 for discussion of accents.

7.4 GENRE CONNOTATIONS: THE INTERSECTIONS AND OVERLAPS OF GENRE, ETHNICITY, RACE, AND NATIONAL BELONGING

From this broad context of demographic trends in Canada and patterns of representation, I'd like to return to the place where this chapter started: this idea that certain sounds come to be heard as Canadian. Indeed, Brennan's (2009) notion that the Canadianness of musical sounds depends on the discursive alliances constructed around those sounds has a certain resonance with premises elaborated earlier in this dissertation. In Chapter 1, I interrogated Hall's (1993) explanation of national cultures as systems of representation that are discursively formed, explaining that the qualities of the sounds, silences, and musics heard in broadcasts—the ways in which voices exist in proximity to each other—are all aspects of a discursive formation, shaping and challenging the nature of the national public produced through address of the imagined audience (cf. Kun 2005; Small 1998). In this context, descriptions of genre and the association of particular musicians with specific performing styles were far from neutral observations—just consider Julion King's understanding of himself through the lens of reggae: he is a "long lost cousin."

Kapchan and Strong explain that defining genres is about labelling and limiting forms, creating objects that are identifiable and knowable. In creating limits, forms become "available for re-marking, erasure, reinscription, redefinition. […] Genres, like utterances, are permeable and unruly. Given to multiple interpretations, arising intersubjectively, they defy uniformity of response" (1999:243). Negus defines genre as "the way in which musical categories and systems of classification shape the music that

we might play and listen to, mediating both the experience of music and its formal organization by an entertainment industry" (1999:4). This definition derives from Negus's experiences as a working musician caught up in definitions of genre: venues demand performances in particular genres, fans react to particular classifications, and the industry insists on music that fits marketing categories. Genre, in other words, is produced by the interactions of the music industry (and its related institutions) with musicians and audiences: it becomes the means through which potential for creativity is both revealed and limited. The categorizations available on *Fuse* were most certainly caught up in the structures of the music and broadcasting industries, with implications for the range of sounds considered appropriate for the show's imagined audience(s) and the creative scope afforded performers, but also implicating (sometimes quite overtly) social boundaries as forms were deconstructed, redefined, and the limits of "us" and "them" reinscribed.

A first glance at the long list of performers featured on *Fuse* suggests an impressively varied listing of personalities, genders, ancestries, and musical styles (see Appendix C). The categories summarized in Figure 7.4—and defined more closely in Appendix E—are based on descriptors provided by the musicians themselves, host narrations, and definitions adapted from Pegley's content analysis of MuchMusic programming (cf. Pegley 2008:9–10). While I do acknowledge the range of social and musical differences depicted on *Fuse*, the diversity of the musicians, their performances, and the "boundary-breaking" potential of "fusing" were often rhetorical constructs

based on elaborate poetics about the positionalities and personalities of musicians more

so than inherent features of the music—or for that matter, the people.

In reality, the musicians comprising the categories "singer-songwriter,"[290]

"folk/roots,"[291] "pop/rock,"[292] and "rock"[293] tended to perform music with similar

characteristics of form, harmony, timbre, rhythm, and metre. More to the point,

musicians working within these categories frequently share common assumptions about

the nature of their art: most are familiar with 32-bar song form, 12- or 16-bar blues

structures, western harmonies and blues scales, and rhythmic patterns and metric forms

that range from basic rock to heavy blues, but extend to bossa novas, waltzes, and jigs.

That is, they have a knowledge base that typifies the praxis of musicians working in

Euro- and Afro-American English-language popular music traditions. The musical

distinctions between performers, in other words, tend to reference particular

configurations of these characteristics—a proclivity for acoustic versus electronic

instrumentation, an affinity for pre-composed songs versus more exploratory use of

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[290] "Singer-songwriter" refers to a musician who primarily performs his/her own music, is usually a solo act, and sings with accompaniment of a single instrument (usually piano or guitar).

[291] "Folk/roots" is a catch-all category that includes music based on early American popular musics (e.g., blues, country, bluegrass). Because the initial result of casting such a wide net was an extreme concentration of musicians within this single category, I revised this category into three (sometimes overlapping) subcategories (i.e., "trad," "folk/country," and "urban"). "Folk/Roots" remains a catchall, usually referring to "guys with guitars" who are performing in a style that resists close categorization but that is rooted in urban and rural twentieth-century American genres. Performers in this catchall are often quite virtuosic on their instruments, have experience as session musicians, and are comfortable improvising within broadly western scales and forms. See Appendix E for a complete list of definitions of genre categories.

[292] Pegley describes "pop/rock" as being "characterized by tuneful, singable melodies, and 'lighter' instrumental timbres, it is usually production-heavy" (1999:10).

[293] "Rock" is a genre that "evolved from the blues, it is characterized by electric guitars, bass, drums (and sometimes keyboards)" (Pegley 1999:10).

blues forms, or, more simply, identification as a rock versus blues musician—rather than

approaches to music making that fall outside the realms of western tonality, Euro-

American instrumentation, and forms. In other words, musicians belong to overlapping

art worlds with the result that they have access to similar conventions and expectations

for the production of their musics (Becker [1982]2008).
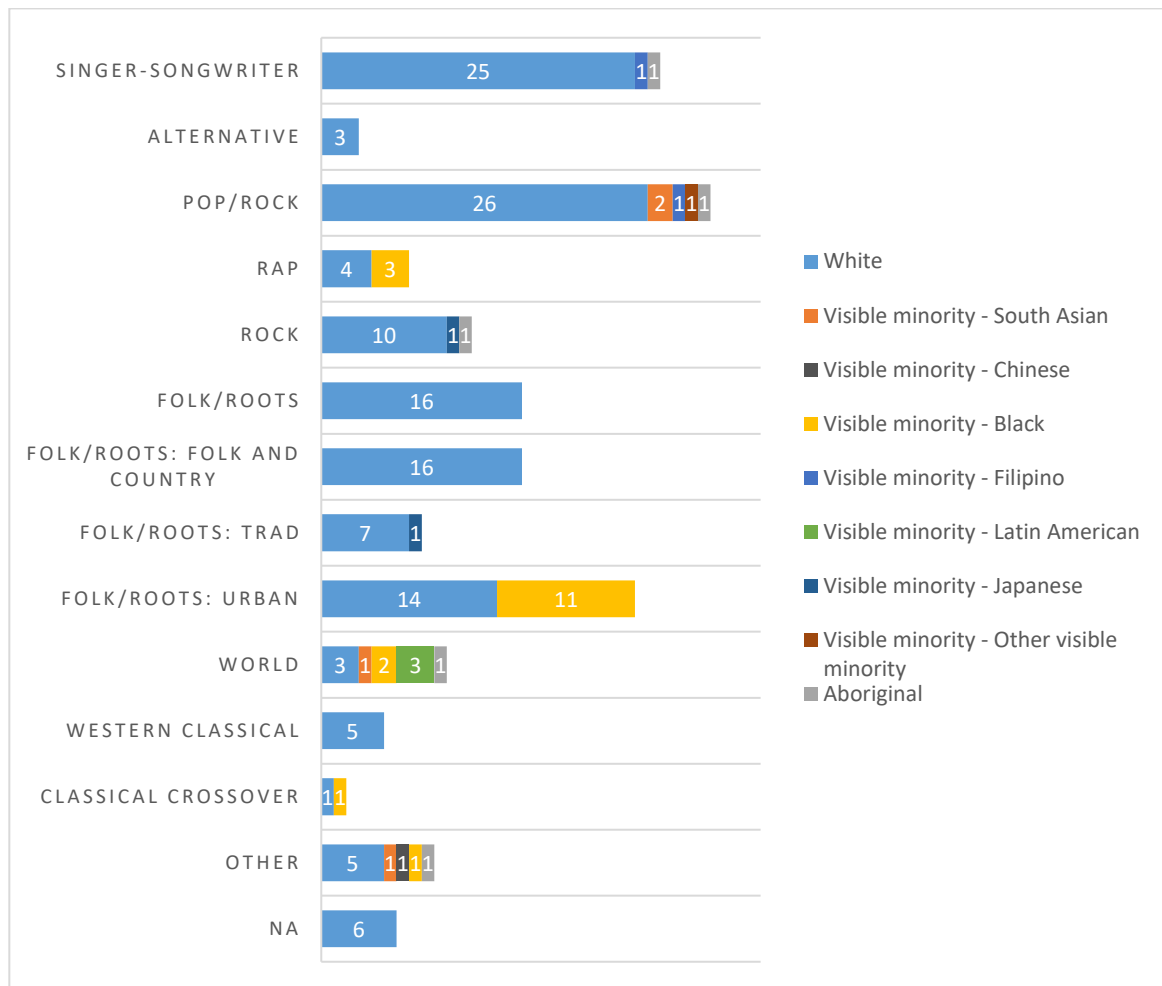
Figure 7.4: Genre representation and lead performer ethnicity/race on Fuse. The numbers indicate the actual number of musicians identified with particular genre categories.

Former lead singer of Ohbijou, Casey Mecija, described being labelled a

"multicultural" musician in Canada—a categorization that apparently supersedes more

descriptive references to style—in a 2015 interview:

> Through touring & playing live I've accumulated an archive of
> experience, which with the band now being on hiatus has made me
> think a lot about what it means to be a racialized performer in Canada.
> […] People like me and my peers often get caught in the contradictions
> of multiculturalism. Our bodies are conflated with the sounds that we
> make, the nation state and expectations of ethnicity, race and gender.
> (Casey Mecija quoted in Martinez 2015)

Martinez (2015) adds: "Of these expectations is the assumption that a non-white

performer must perform their respective 'non-white music.'" Mecija's experiential

observation resonates with the findings of this study. And, to be sure, Figure 7.4 does

more than depict the genres included in *Fuse*'s musical offerings; it also is revealing of

correlations between genre and the racialization of lead performers. White musicians

appear to work in almost every style, while musicians who are visible minorities appear

in a much more constrained range of genres. The world music category is populated

almost exclusively by musicians who are visibly or audibly Other (i.e., racialized through

their appearance, accent, and/or associations with places beyond Canadian borders).[294]

Black musicians perform almost exclusively in oft-racialized "black" genres—rap[295] and

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[294] Performers in the world music category include: Kiran Ahluwalia, Laura Barrett, Gabriel Bronfman, Alpha Yaya Diallo, Eugene Draw, Drew Gonsalves, Philippe Lafreniere, Amanda Martinez, Mighty Popo Murigande, and Tanya Tagaq.

[295] According to Pegley (and the definition employed in this study), rap is used interchangeably with hip hop to describe "a declaimed, text-heavy genre" (Pegley 1999:10). It is often regarded as the verbal aspect of the multidisciplinary category of hip hop (related forms included breakdancing, turn-tabling, and graffiti).

urban roots (including jazz, gospel, R&B, and the blues)(cf. Radano and Bohlman 2000;

Weinstein 1991; Bryson 1996; Rose 2001)—with this relationship between

ethnicity/race and sound being reinforced through on-air commentary. In episode 2-8,

for example, Saskatchewan-based blues guitarist Jack Semple states, "You know, the

blues is a—even as a little white kid in southern Saskatchewan, when I heard it, I kind of

knew what it meant" (episode 2-8). And in episode 3-18 (detailed in Chapters 5 and 6),

Rollie Pemberton's blackness is articulated alongside his performing genre (hip hop).

Moreover, only one black performer (DD Jackson) performs in a western classical

idiom—a domain that remains dominated by white performers[296]—though his

crossover-style performance is jazz-based.

    If certain genres are associated with being visibly (and audibly) Other, it may be

worth considering the opposite: what it sounds like to be unmarked.[297] In a pattern

demonstrating classic markers of privilege, white musicians perform in "black" genres on

Fuse, but the infringement appears to be unidirectional (see Figure 7.4); visible minority

performers are very much the minority in the genres that comprise the majority of

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[296] Representational imbalances in the classical music world have long been acknowledged. Following the death of Marian Anderson, an alto who received consistent praise for "her artistry and courage in the face of racism," Edward Rothstein wrote in a *New York Times* editorial that "Anderson's career may be worth considering in the context of the contemporary scene. For as the old racial restrictions have dissolved, the issue of race has actually grown in American consciousness. And for all the success of blacks in the opera house, in other forms of art music black presence is minimal and a cause of anxiety among concert presenters, foundations and political activists" (1993:n.p.). More recently the issue has been raised in a lengthy thread on the Society for Ethnomusicology's list-serv; despite investments by a variety of interested organizations, representational imbalances persist for a variety of structural and ideological reasons.
[297] In linguistics, theories of markedness posit that while the unmarked can contain the marked, the opposite is not necessarily true (cf. Andrews 1990).

Fuse's musical offerings (singer-songwriters, folk/roots, pop/rock, and rock). With a

single exception, more than 90 percent of the musicians in these categories are white—

though admittedly this isn't so much a pattern as a reflection of the fact that an

overwhelming majority of performers were white (see Table 7.2). Even given this

majority, it does appear that white performers have greater access to the stylistically

ambiguous label of "singer-songwriter." Singer-songwriters are musicians who write and

perform their own songs, generally self-accompanied on guitar (though other

instruments are sometimes included instead). Emphasis tends to be on text with the

result that song form (AABA) tends to predominate, but other musical characteristics

vary widely, overlapping a tremendous range of genres, including folk, country, pop,

rock, and blues. This almost genre-less label places emphasis on individual creativity and

expression, and lays open a wide range of stylistic possibilities to be assembled,

deconstructed, and reconceptualized according to the needs of the creator.

Though working in different domains and eras, these qualities of individualism

and expressive genius align with qualities ascribed to Romantic-era composers of

western art music. Corbett describes the role of the composer as follows:

> It is assumed that the discoverer-composer, out on the open seas of
> aural possibility, surely will bring back ideas and practices from distant
> lands, perhaps ones that can enhance the quality of Western musical
> life. Musical experimentation becomes metaphorical microcolonialism.
> (Corbett 2000:166)

Composers were great men doing great work for the sake of art during an age of

imperialism (cf. Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Goehr 1992). While there are important

distinctions of scope and context to be made between western romantic-era composers and modern singer-songwriters, there are, nonetheless, notable similarities in this particular configuration of the composer role: singer-songwriters are frequently portrayed as insular and temperamental creators, totally committed to their art, unbound by stylistic limitations, and free to work across genres and traditions according to their expressive needs. Indeed, later in this chapter I will describe "road narratives" as discursive frames that sometimes appear in conjunction with singer-songwriters; these narratives construct the referenced musician as a wanderer—mobile, solitary, and in search of both inspiration and new source materials.

Consider, for example, Colin Lindon, a songwriter, session musician, and producer of some influence in the Canadian popular music industry, who was featured alongside a young singer-songwriter from the Prairies, Alana Levandoski, in episode 2-3 (he later appeared in episode 4-6 with his bandmates, Stephen Fearing and Tom Wilson, alongside Murray McLauchlan). He is framed as a natural talent—a "guitar wizard"— who was drawn to the blues from an early age and who benefited from the mentorship of great bluesmen like Howlin' Wolf. As was typical of so many *Fuse* episodes, a cover song was included midway through the episode. On *Fuse*, covers typically were tools for demonstrating networks of influence, sometimes also serving as points of crossover or common ground for musicians performing together for the first time. Colin's choice of "Go Back Old Devil" referenced American blues guitarist and singer Bo Carter (1893–1964) but also declared his authenticity of experience; he was not just mining old

recordings for source materials, but, because he learned the song directly from Sam

Chatmon (Carter's brother and a fellow member of the Mississippi Sheiks[298]), was

directly endowed with the materials that enabled his artistic mastery (cf. Waterman

2000). The Canadian music scene (as represented by *Fuse* musicians) is presented as

influenced, shaped by, and the beneficiary of such creative innovators (i.e., singer-

songwriters) with the know-how to mine authentic Others for source materials.

Recall that this chapter is about alliances—about how listeners were encouraged

to hear the music and musicians featured on *Fuse* as Canadian or otherwise. Perceptions

of the "Canadianness" of sounds and people, accordingly, is less about inherent traits

and more the result of alignment with a pre-existing discursive field (cf. Brennan 2009;

Diamond 2011b; Dittmer and Larsen 2007). This chapter began with Casey Mecija's

assertion that Canadian music tends to be imagined very narrowly as a scene populated

by "old white guys"—that there's little room for the possibility of alternative voices and

unexpected figures. I also cited critical descriptions of Canada's social landscape that

point to the invisible lines that persist in the face of policies targeting social inequalities,

functionally imposing hierarchies of belonging within the discourses that order Canadian

social relations. In the remaining pages of this chapter, I use examples from *Fuse* to

explore one of the ways in which these lines—this fort mentality—is maintained.

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[298] The Mississippi Sheiks were an American guitar and fiddle group, mainly comprising members of the Chatmon family from Bolton Mississippi. When the band made their first recording in 1930, their lineup included Bo Carter, Lonnie and Sam Chatmon, and Walter Vinson. Papa Charlie McCoy joined later when Bo Carter and Sam Chatmon ceased playing regularly with the band. The band dissolved in 1936, though their recordings and repertoire influenced successive generations of American popular musicians, including Doc Watson, Howlin' Wolf, Nat King Cole, Bill Monroe, Frank Sinatra, and Bob Dylan.

Building on the concept of alliances and the patterns of representation discussed earlier

in this chapter, the final pages of this chapter explore the intersection of place,

ethnicity/race, and sound with narrations of travel and mobility.[299] That is, I analyse

seemingly minute distinctions in ways of talking and sounding that shore up entrenched

perceptions of difference, and challenge the potential to imagine a more equitable social

order.

7.5 NARRATING TRAVEL AND MOBILITY: ORDERING THE DISCURSIVE FORMATION

"Transit narratives," I explained in Chapter 3, are common tropes that appear in fusion

programming. Musicians are framed with stories emphasizing origins, travel, and

migration, often elaborated alongside alliances to major Canadian cultural institutions.

Transit narratives are distinct from other stories of travel in that they attribute

legitimacy to musicians and their musics through discursive alliances that construct and

layer affiliations to particular locales, institutions, and people. "Road narratives," in

contrast, feature prominent quest motifs, solitary wandering figures—modern-day

troubadours—and function as claims to artistic authenticity. Unlike transit narratives,

they are not bound by associations to particular extra-national geographies, instead

focusing on acts of mobility: stories about being lonely on the road, driving all night to

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[299] Cheyne and Binder (2010) also note the overlap between descriptions of place and genre, specifically in elite interpretations of authenticity in hip hop. They note that elite critics tend to employ three place-based criteria in their evaluations, including: "emplaced" production; ghettoes as sites from which personal meanings emerge; and production in foreign-locales as indicators for aesthetic innovation and sociopolitical significance. Notably, elite critics tend to prefer foreign rap; their performance of "worldly attitudes," the authors suggest, is a "strategy of elite distinction."

reach a gig in a far off locale, and finding inspiration through encounters with the

unexpected. Table 7.3 summarizes relevant details about *Fuse* episodes in which these

narrative frames are deployed, including the names of featured musicians, their origins,

ethnoracial identities, performance genres, and awards cited in on-air descriptions.

This distinction in narrative approach is subtle, often containing contradictions

and negotiations that temper and vary potential interpretations. Clifford's conclusions

about "traveling culture" and the problems of locating "the field" as a stand-in for "the

culture" provide a useful perspective on the nature of the peculiarities that I'm

attempting to understand. He states:

> I'm not saying there are no locales or homes, that everyone is—or
> should be—traveling, or cosmopolitan, or deterritorialized. This is not
> nomadology. Rather, I'm trying to sketch a comparative cultural
> studies approach to specific histories, tactics, everyday practices of
> dwelling *and* traveling: traveling-in-dwelling, dwelling-in-traveling.
> (1992:108)

His analysis points to important differences in circumstance and power that inflect the

ways that people travel and what it means to be mobile. Sometimes those differences

are class based; at others, distinctions are more ethnocentric in nature. But where he

points to the importance of context and historicity in making these distinctions

meaningful, the travel narratives discussed here have a different function. They point to

discrepancies in power, agency, and citizenship, but they also cloak contextual details,

simplifying the histories of individuals to fit a basic binary of similar/different,

inside/outside.

Table 7.3: Travel narratives in Fuse episodes. Descriptions of travel and mobility featured in at least twenty-two episodes in conjunction with forty-one lead performers. This table identifies those episodes and the names of the featured musicians. As travel narratives are about perceptions of citizenship that relate to origins, racialization, and, to some extent, genre and measurable professional successes, I've also included details about hometowns, ethnoracial identifications, performance genre, and awards. Examples that have a negotiated quality or contain contradictions are indicated with an asterisks. This is not an exhaustive listing of episodes that featured some sort of mention of travel. The incredible mobility of people in the twenty-first century means that, in varying degrees, on-air commentary frequently included some sort of reference to travel. The episodes summarized here are simply the ones that most overtly described performer mobility; cases could be made for other inclusions or exclusions. Indeed, Colin Linden and Murray McLauchlan—discussed earlier in this chapter—aren't included in this list, though there is certainly a case to be made for each as a travelling figure.

	Lead musicians	Type	Origins	Ethnicity/ race	Genre	Awards[300]	Description
1-3	Kiran Ahluwalia	Transit	India	South Asian	World	Juno(s)	The places from which musics and people come are substituted for discussion of style and genre. Popo's music is described in terms of its Africanness, despite his assertion of playing Canadian music.
	Mighty Popo Murigande	Transit	Rwanda/ Burundi	Black	World	Juno(s)	
1-8	Lynn Miles	Road	Sweetsburg, QC	White	Singer-songwriter	Juno(s); Multiple other	Musicians describe experiences of travel and being on the road in terms of associated rewards and personal sacrifices. "Road songs" as a gendered genre are discussed.
	Jim Bryson	Road	Stittsville, ON	White	Pop/Rock		
2-1	Alpha Yay Diallo	Transit	Guinea	Black	World	Juno(s)	Genre and nationality are discussed in interchangeable terms (e.g., "Canadiana roots music" and "African roots music") with implications for understanding the music and musicians as Canadian.

	Elliott Brood
	   Mark Sasso
	   Casey Laforet
		
		Road
		Road
			Windsor, ON	White	Folk/Roots: Folk and Country	Juno nominees	

2-2	Ridley Bent (aka, Brian Fowler)	Road	Halifax, NS	White	Folk/Roots: Urban	CCMA nominee; Independent Music Awards	Episode is framed as a "truly cross cultural mix" of musicians from various places throughout the world. Commentary exists in tension with actual performances, which are based in similar styles and approaches to music making.
	Madagascar Slim (Ben Randriamananiara)	Transit	Madagascar	Black	Folk/Roots: Urban	Juno(s)	
	Ndidi Onukwulu	Transit	Burns Lake, BC	Black	Folk/Roots: Urban	Maple Blues New Artist of the Year (2007)	
2-4	Carolyn Mark	Road	Sicamous, BC	White	Folk/roots: Folk and Country		Travel and mobility are discussed in terms of opportunities to meet other musicians and inspiration for musical creation.

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[300] Reflects on-air commentary about awards, not actual prize-winning to date.

	Lead musicians	Type	Origins	Ethnicity/ race	Genre	Awards[300]	Description
	Tony Dekker	Road	Wainfleet, ON	White	Pop/rock	Juno nominee; Canadian Independent Music Awards	
2-10	Mary Jane Lamond	N/A	Kingston, ON	White	Folk/Roots: Trad.	Juno nominee; Multiple other	Popular music is discussed in terms of its universal qualities. Attempts to curate the musicians according to their Sri Lankan origins are subverted through comedic inversion and word play.
	MIR Shehab Illyas Asif Illyas	Transit* Transit*	Sri Lankan descent Sri Lankan descent	South Asian South Asian	Pop/Rock	ECMA nominees	
2-12	Amy Millan	Road	Toronto, ON	White	Folk/Roots: Folk and Country		Musicians described as minstrel-type figures, constantly on the road and lacking real homes.
	Luke Doucet	Road	Halifax, NS	White	Folk/Roots	Juno nominee	
3-8	Zaki Ibrahim	Transit	Nanaimo BC	Black	Folk/Roots: Urban		Zaki describes mobility as an outcome of political activism and exile (her father was exiled for acting against apartheid). Her music and movements are oriented to finding roots and a home.
	Bob Egan	N/A	Chicago, USA	White	Folk/Roots		
3-14	Lal Rosina Kazi Nicholas Murray	N/A N/A	Bangladesh Barbados	South Asian Black	Other		Ellen's music is described in relation to her connections to Atlanta, USA, and Japan; her more recent Canadian-based collaborations are not discussed despite the fact that Cassius Khan (*tabla*) is featured as her backing musician.
	Ellen McIlwaine	Transit*	USA/Japan	White	Folk/Roots	Multiple	
3-16	The Trews Colin MacDonald John Angus MacDonald	Road Road	Antigonish, NS	White	Rock	Juno nominee	Place and travel are discussed in the context of touring and being on the road.
	Ron Hynes	Road	Ferryland, NL	White	Singer-songwriter	ECMA(s); Juno(s); Multiple other	
3-19	Priya Thomas	Road	Hamilton, ON	White	Alternative		Priya describes the influence of encountering new scenes, musicians, and approaches to art while touring and being on the road.
	Royal Wood	N/A	Lakefield, ON	White	Singer-songwriter		
3-20	Apostle of Hustle Andrew Whiteman	N/A	Montreal, QC [?]	White	Other		Tanya is portrayed according to her connections to the North.

	Lead musicians	Type	Origins	Ethnicity/race	Genre	Awards[300]	Description
	Tanya Tagaq	Transit	Cambridge Bay, NU	Aboriginal	World	Juno(s); Multiple other	
3-21	People Project				World	Multiple	Significant focus on multiculturalism, diversity, and language as characterizing the music and musicians. Discussion relies on stories of travel and mobility to define the musicians' relationships to Canada and the Caribbean.
	Gabriel Bronfman	N/A	Argentina/Mexico	Latin			
	Philippe Lafreniere	Road	Northern ON	White			
	Kobo Town				World	Multiple nominee	
	Drew Gonsalves	Transit	Trinidad	White			
4-7	Petula Clark Fuse						Discuss the solitary experience of touring, particularly in northern Ontario highways. Connects to Glenn Gould's discovery of Petula Clark while listening to the radio.
	Chad van Gaalan	Road	Alberta [?]	White	Singer-songwriter	Polaris shortlist; Juno nominee	
	Kellylee Evans	Road	Scarborough, ON	Black	Folk/Roots: Urban	Juno nominee; Gemini nominee; Multiple other	
	Emm Gryner	Road	Sarnia, ON	Filipina	Singer-songwriter	Juno nominee	
	Danny Michel	Road	Ontario [?]	White	Singer-songwriter	Juno(s); Polaris; Multiple other	
4-8	Woodpigeon				Pop/rock		Mark describes travelling and hostelling in Scotland as providing initial opportunities to learn the guitar and write songs.
	Mark Hamilton	Road	Calgary. AB	White			
	Jay Crocker	N/A	Calgary, AB	White	Pop/rock		
4-14	Dr. Draw	Transit	Russia	White	World		"Get Live and Go" is about immigration and its challenges in North America. Discussion references that both Eugene and Odario have stories to tell about their immigrant experiences, though the details are skirted in the broadcast.
	(aka, Eugene Draw)						
	Catalyst	Transit	Guyana	Black	Rap	Multiple	
	(aka, Odario Williams)						
4-18	Two Hours Traffic				Pop rock	Polaris shortlist; ECMA	Chris describes travelling across Canada and living in different locales before deciding to settle in Nova Scotia.
	Liam Corcoran	N/A	Charlottetown, PEI	White			
	Alec O'Hanley	N/A	PEI	White			
	Ruth Minnikin	N/A	Nova Scotia	White	Singer-songwriter		
	Old Man Luedecke	Road	Toronto, ON	White	Folk/Roots: Trad	Juno(s)	
	Kati Stelmanis	N/A	NA	White	Other		

	Lead musicians	Type	Origins	Ethnicity/race	Genre	Awards[300]	Description
4-20	Fred Eaglesmith	Road	Ontario	White	Folk/Roots		Fred describes leaving home as a teenager. His mobility was forced by economic circumstances, but opportunity to ride the rails as formative to his music making.
4-24	CR Avery	Road	Smith Falls, ON	White	Rap		CR questioned about how experience of being on the road influences his approach to performing.

	Sojourners
	  Marcus Mosely
	  Ron Small
	  Will Sanders
		
		Transit
		Transit
		Transit
			
			Texas, USA
			Chicago, USA
			Louisiana, USA
				
				Black
				Black
				Black
					Folk/Roots: Urban		Describes the various routes followed by the Sojourners from homes in the United States to settling in Vancouver. Commentary about the immigration process and citizenship ceremonies.

4-25	Threat from Outer Space Tameem Barakat	 Road	 Vancouver, BC	 White	Rap		Tameem and Brandon both describe their experiences of travel and touring as musicians.
	Whitehorse Blues Allstars Brandon Isaak	 Road	 Whitehorse, YK	 White	Folk/Roots: Urban		
4-27	The Choir Practice Coco Culbertson	 N/A	 Toronto, ON	 White	Pop/Rock		Discussion of the roots of Danny's music as being the Chilean Andes. Danny describes the experience of being the son of immigrant missionaries and the types of mobility that experience imposed.
	Oye! Danny Fernandez	 Transit	 Toronto, ON	Latin American	World		

4-28	Finest Kind
	  Ian Robb
	  Ann Downey
	  Sheldon Posen
		
		N/A
		N/A
		N/A
			
			London, UK
			Southwest, USA
			Toronto, ON
				
				White
				White
				White
					Folk/Roots: Folk and Country		Kat describes travelling and touring as an inspiration for songwriting; it provides opportunities to see new places and be homeless for a time.

	Forest City Lovers Kat Burns	 Road	 Whitby, ON	 White	Pop/Rock		

7.5.1 Transit narratives

When I first described travel narratives in Chapter 3, I cited Gillian Roberts' use of

theories of hospitality to analyse how a series of hyphenated Canadians negotiate and

transgress dominant notions of Canadianness. In terms that resonate with the differing

forms of agency inherent in transit versus road narratives, Roberts explains, "The

hyphen's hospitality depends on whether the hyphenate identity is *claimed* by the

individual to whom it refers, or whether it is *attributed* by a representative of the

(unhyphenated) Canadian host" (italics added, 2011:10). Removal of the hyphen,

moreover, becomes the ultimate act of "hostipitality," a term she borrows from Jacques

Derrida's elision of "hospitality" with "hostility" to refer to acts of a potentially dual

nature—acts that are open and welcoming, but that hold potential for symbolically

violent erasure of meaningful differences and histories that predate legal and cultural

citizenship (2011:10). Her analysis culminates in a call to recognize that such strategies

of celebration and erasure—awarding prizes through Canadian institutions and

international-scale celebrations of cultural achievements that transform hyphenated

Canadian identities to full-fledged Canadians—function to sketch the walls of a

metaphorical fort that is only visible to those whom it excludes (2011:223; cf. Maracle

2004:206). The transit narratives featured on *Fuse* can be understood as a strategy of

hostipitality, simultaneously celebrating musicians for their achievements while placing

limits on their authority to produce and/or claim belonging within a specifically Canadian

culture.

Transit narratives tend to appear in conjunction with musicians who were born outside of Canada (or who possess extra-national ties), frequently emphasizing the exoticism of the musicians and/or their musics, while simultaneously claiming their achievements through references to Canadian awards and institutional affiliations. These narratives often suggest that primary influences exist outside of Canada—this tends to be the case even when musicians cite Canadian inspirations or have spent formative years in Canada.

There are, notably, exceptions to this association between transit narratives and extra-national origins. In Chapter 6, for example, I described the approach to curating Tanya Tagaq in episode 3-20 as functioning much like a transit narrative, though she is not an immigrant. Instead she is exoticized as an Inuit Other, someone who came of age in a mysterious Northern space, who travelled south for an education, but whose artistry remains intimately twined to her origins. In similar fashion to musicians born outside of Canada, Tanya's relationship to unqualified Canadianness is contained, or, to use Maracle's metaphor, she is placed outside the fort (2004)—outside of the English-speaking, Euro-American traditions that were the standard fare on *Fuse*.

Episode 1-3, featuring Kiran Ahluwalia and the Mighty Popo, exemplifies the ways in which transit narratives privilege a coding of the musicians as Canadian but with qualifications. In her introductory remarks, Amanda states:

> I like to think of *Fuse* as the "trading spaces" of music shows because it's like we strip down all your favourite music, songs, give it a fresh coat of paint, juice it up a little, and boom, brand new feng shui, and amazing music. **Ways to hear and see things that you haven't before**.

So welcome, beautiful audience, to Studio 40. Listeners across Canada are joining about a hundred people in **our cozy CBC Ottawa studio**, but we're not staying today. **We're going to take a trip to Northern India, Rwanda, New Zealand, Burundi, New York City, and Sandy Hill. That sounds really exotic, but it's really just a neighbourhood down the street in Ottawa. So please welcome today, Juno winners and two of Canada's most prized world musicians, Kiran Ahluwalia and the Mighty Popo.** (bolding added, episode 1-3)

Amanda's words locate the performers in Ottawa, but map the music onto more distant locales. She describes this particular episode as an opportunity for travel: the audience are cast as armchair anthropologists, exploring the exotic from the safety of their own homes and/or a CBC Ottawa studio. The sounds of Kiran and the Mighty Popo's music are of the world—at once cosmopolitan and bastions of localized traditions—and hold the potential to give flight to the imaginations of audiences. Note that while Amanda places the music outside of Canada in this introduction, she also claims the music as Canadian, pointing to the success of the musicians in winning Juno awards and describing them as "Canada's most prized world musicians." The legitimacy of the musicians and their music is established through references to awards and institutional affiliations within Canada, but a subtle distinction is drawn between simply being Canadian and being a hyphenated Canadian.

Consider, for example, a conversation with Kiran Ahluwalia. When Amanda asks Kiran about her influences and the people with whom she'd most like the opportunity to collaborate, Kiran replies that there's "lots of Indian musicians" that she'd like to work with, "but the names won't be familiar to anyone." She then shifts the conversation to consider unqualifiedly Canadian figures whom she admires, but who work in fields other

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than music. Her music, in other words, exists outside of specifically Canadian networks, though she does access a broadly Canadian iconography through reference to a woman—ballet dancer Karen Kain—who was a hero to many Canadian girls who came of age during the 1970s and '80s, functionally claiming Canadianness for herself if not for her music.

This exchange stands in contrast to conversations with figures like Murray McLauchlan, whose Canadianness is declared in unqualified terms (see discussion above). When asked about influences and collaborators, Murray mentions Neil Young, Tom Wilson, Ron Hynes, and Bruce Cockburn. And when Tom Wilson, Colin Linden, and Stephen Fearing are asked about their musical influences, they mention Murray McLauchlan and Willie P. Bennett (episode 4-6). Willie P. Bennett (1951–2008), in turn, is mentioned later that season as Fred Eaglesmith's collaborating partner (episode 4-20). Bennett was a Toronto-born songwriter who was part of same 1970s folk scene as figures like Bruce Cockburn and Stan Rogers, though his music didn't receive much mainstream attention until Tom, Colin, and Stephen formed Blackie and the Rodeo Kings to perform his music. Through consistent iteration of the same names, institutions, scenes, and, indeed, of other performers featured on *Fuse*,[301] a particular imagining of the Canadian music scene emerges that is based around the songwriting and production

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[301] Tom, for example, describes his songwriting collaborations with Josh Finlayson of the Skydiggers (featured in episode 4-4), pointing to another "node" on this particular network of Canadian singer-songwriters. Tom also appears in a season one episode alongside Joel Plaskett (episode 1-4), an East Coast songwriter with whom he had collaborated previous to their appearance on *Fuse*. Joel, in turn, mentions Al Tuck (who appears in episode 2-14).

activities of a core group of primarily white male musicians who came of age (or came to prominence) during the 1960s and '70s (cf. the epigraph to this chapter).

The constructed nature of so-called "Canadian" music scene is underscored later in episode 1-3 when Amanda turns from Kiran to question Mighty Popo about the genre in which he performs. Popo asserts that he plays Canadian music. The audience responds with laughter, though it remains unclear whether they are laughing at Popo's assertion or because the claim challenges their sense of what "Canadian music" is. Popo's comment, while greeted with mirth, raises an important point: his music depends on a Canadian context to bring together a variety of other African collaborators from diverse origins and traditions. That is, Popo is celebrated as one of the musicians who participated in the CBC-produced *African Guitar Summit* (2004).[302] This project, which was eventually realized as a Juno-award winning album, elaborated in a concert tour, and expanded into a "volume 2" recording, brought together nine Canadian musicians of African origins to collaborate over three days. The musicians included Alpha Yaya Diallo and Naby Camara from Guinea; Pa Joe, Theo Yaw Boakye, and Kofi Ackah from Ghana; Adam Solomon from Kenya; Mighty Popo from Burundi/Rwanda; and Donné Robert and Madagascar Slim from Madagascar. There is tremendous diversity inherent in the included voices, with musicians from geographically distant locales and culturally distinct traditions all converging to perform "African" guitar—a concept that

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[302] The project was produced by Todd Fraracci and recorded in Toronto for the CBC's "On Stage" program (*African Guitar Summit*, CBC Records, 2004).

Popo suggests is fundamentally Canadian and that resonates with Miller's contention

that "the name contains and circumscribes Africa as a distinct whole, and this is possible

only from the outside. The outside in effect calls the inside into being by naming it"

(1985:12). Though the Canadian context shapes and enables the realization of this

continent-wide "African" music, it is distanced from being "Canadian" by containing it as

a regional subgenre of world music.

The ways in which transit narratives function relative to understandings of genre,

ethnicity/race, and national belonging—that is, the nature of the discursive formations

privileged on *Fuse*—are perhaps most clearly exemplified in episode 2-1. This broadcast,

recorded during the 2006 Juno Awards in Halifax, brought together the old-time roots

band Elliott BROOD and noted world music performer Alpha Yaya Diallo. Amanda's

introduction of the musicians avoids mention of the genres in which they perform,

instead focusing on the performers as travelling figures and successful musicians—

specifically, Juno nominees and/or award winning songwriters—who traversed

significant distances and overcame obstacles to reach a point of pilgrimage:

> Now joining me on the stage today are five other guests to eastern
> Canadian hospitality. They are Juno nominated songwriters who would
> probably open their doors happily if you ever came to visit. **Please
> welcome from Toronto via Windsor, first time Juno nominees, Elliott
> BROOD, and all the way from Vancouver via Guinea, six time
> nominee, three time Juno winner, Alpha Yaya Diallo**. (bolding added,
> episode 2-1)

While her introduction avoids assigning the musicians particular genre labels, Amanda

introduces the final song of the episode ("President 35" by Elliott BROOD) as the

"ultimate fusion of Canadiana roots music and African roots blues music." Genre is associated with nationality with implications for understanding the musicians' respective "Canadianness": Alpha's music is celebrated throughout the episode in references to his many Juno awards and involvement with the CBC-produced album, *African Guitar Summit*, but he is still defined as Other—or, at least, as less purely Canadian—through his ties to Africa.

Alpha's Otherness was emphasized through accounts that placed his music and network of influences outside of Canada, but the actual arrangement of voices on air implicates perceptions of musician authority and agency. Alpha's music occupies a significantly greater portion of the show than Elliott BROOD's (22'44'' versus 11'31'')—a larger amount of time, in fact, than is typical of most *Fuse* episodes (see Table 6.1, p. 305). Alpha is posed as a virtuoso on his instrument, capable of extended improvisation and expansion of forms, and well-equipped for extemporaneously "fitting in" on the new music he confronts. The musicians of Elliott BROOD, by contrast, appear young and inexperienced, playing from a limited set list of relatively fixed arrangements of their songs. This reading, however, only scratches the surface.

All of the featured musicians were finalists for a major national music award: presumably all were competent performers in their respective fields. And, indeed, feedback from one of the participating musicians is revealing of some of the problems that were manifest in their collaboration. He described moments of frustration at the divergent understandings of music and musicianship that marked the approaches of the

two groups. While Alpha Yaya Diallo's music was "groove-oriented" to support lengthy elaborations and experimentation with timbre, Elliott BROOD's music was based around simple chord structures that were embellished through creative approaches to voicing. In practice, adhering to the planned and rehearsed arrangement of Elliott BROOD'S tunes challenged Alpha's concept of musicianship, sometimes resulting in a tendency to take over a performance, effectively undermining the ability of members of Elliott BROOD to present a polished performance. Similarly, maintaining the balance of timbres without clarity about form and chord structure tested the members of Elliott BROOD.

While Alpha is the dominating musical voice, his capacity to define the terms of his reception is much more limited: the musicians from Elliott BROOD speak for 6'52'' (Mark for 3'54'' and Casey for 2'58'') but Alpha speaks for 2'43''. This is a fairly major discrepancy that is worthy of some speculation. It's possible that a language barrier impeded Alpha's full participation in the broadcast: Amanda and the other musicians prompt him with answers to questions and his responses appear out of sync from the flow of conversation. At the beginning of the episode, for example, Amanda questions the musicians about their travels to Halifax for Juno weekend. It is only at the end of the episode that Alpha responds to this initial question, seeking to establish a point of commonality with the musicians of Elliott BROOD by telling a story about his car breaking down while traversing the country. Amanda appears to curtail Alpha's story when she cuts him off and fills in her version of his answer. It is, however, worth recalling that while recorded in front of a live audience, the broadcast version of *Fuse*

was edited: live performances were about two hours long while broadcast versions were typically cut to between 54 and 57 minutes, depending on the broadcast platform (Caitlin Crockard, interview, 2 September 2015). Given that voicings were to some degree arranged through producer and recording engineer interventions, the inclusion of blatant *non sequiturs* and interruptions is a bit strange and ultimately serves to undermine Alpha's authority to define his career and his music.

The ordering and Othering potential of naming places and musics is likewise observable in episode 2-2, featuring Ridley Bent, Ndidi Onukwulu, and Madagascar Slim. The episode begins with a sample of Malagasy guitar, presumably performed by Madagascar Slim to make audible his extra-Canadian and specifically African influences. Though largely taking a backing role throughout the episode, he is the first to speak, announcing himself as modern and mobile, shaped by the musical influences that he's encountered through his travels:

> I first learned Madagas music but it was Jimi Hendrix who was really calling my name. After playing French Canadian folk songs, I headed back to the blues. I play with a trio of tri-continental musicians and in the Guitar Summit that earned me a Juno. (episode 2-2)

Later in the episode, Slim mentions his origins in Madagascar and his musical life before immigrating to Canada, but his performances throughout the episode—unlike that sampled in the introduction—are very clearly based in the heavy blues of role models like Hendrix. Listeners are encouraged to hear Slim's music in opposition to that of Ndidi and Ridley Bent—as exemplifying cultural diversity—through introductory samples that

exaggerate distinctions in performance style that aren't actually explored during the broadcast.

Even before the episode made it to air, the performance was publicized as "a truly cross-cultural mix" (Amanda Putz, tag, episode 2-1). And Amanda's introduction emphasized placed-based influences converging in the *Fuse* space:

> Welcome to *Fuse*. CBC Radio's weekly musical mashup that happens live, right before your ears. **You're about to meet three people whose collective experience touches down in Halifax, West Germany, Cold Lake, Madagascar, Whistler, New York City, Interior BC, and now Vancouver and Toronto.** We will see what emerges when those experiences pool in musical form this hour. (bolding added, episode 2-2)

Yet this emphasis on difference—on musics and influences mapped onto distant locales—is difficult to justify in terms of musical style and genre: the musicians remain firmly planted within genres with strong originating stories in the American South. Ndidi and Slim perform American-derived blues and country, and Ridley combined principles of storytelling with country and hip hop. Place, ethnicity/race, and genre are all elided in mutually reinforcing fashion to construct performer differences.

Conversations, too, reinforce distinctions between the performers. The first set of questions posed to the musicians, for example, points to varied curatorial approaches. Ridley, the first musician introduced, is questioned about his touring schedule and the festivals at which he's performed. He describes the opportunity to appear at Guelph's Hillside Festival in a workshop—performing a "mini-fuse" in Amanda's words—alongside Luke Doucet (a guitar player who appears in episodes 2-12

and 4-19), Kate Schutt (an American singer-songwriter), and Dave Jamrog (an American drummer). But when the focus shifts from Ridley, instead of the parallel questioning that is more typically employed, Slim and Ndidi are asked about the exoticism of their names. In Slim's case, Amanda jokes that she was going to ask him to say his full name, Ben Randriamananiara, ten times fast, but that she would settle for just one time slow. And Ndidi is questioned about African naming conventions—note the totalizing approach to Africa, rather than attention to regional or even national specificities.[303]

This distinction in approach is what I'm talking about when I describe narrations of travel as having an ordering function that qualifies the Canadianness of musicians. Ridley is marked by a road narrative that emphasizes travel in the name of art, encounter, and inspiration (see discussion below). Slim and Ndidi, however, are enmeshed in transit narratives that assign extra-territorial affiliations with implications for understandings of their music and claims to national belonging. Extending Brennan's arguments about how musics come to be heard as Canadian, Slim and Ndidi come to be heard as Other than—or at least less normatively Canadian—through the networks that they occupy.

7.5.2 Road narratives

As I suggested earlier, the distinction that I'm attempting to point to is a subtle one, similar to Clifford's description of traveling-in-dwelling versus dwelling-in-traveling.

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[303] Ndidi's full name is Ndidi Stephanie Onukwulu. Her very English sounding middle name, she claims, follows a convention of reflecting a colonial affiliation. Her father, for example, was from Nigeria—a former British colony—so she was given an English middle name.

While travel, mobility, and encounter have the potential to form and re-form musics and meanings for musicians, adding layers and complexity to their performed personas and musics, the transit narratives described above tend to flatten out complications and circumvent the authority of performers to define the terms of their reception. Road narratives, in contrast, leave space for complications, encounters, and musician agency, exemplifying desirable qualities of modernity, mobility, and cosmopolitan openness (cf. Skrbis and Woodward 2007): they dwell in the experience of travel, rather than the places from which musicians have travelled. This section turns to examples of such "dwelling-in-traveling" (cf. Clifford 1992).

Episode 1-8, for example, begins in typical fashion with commercially recorded clips of music over which the musicians voice descriptions of their approaches to music making and their respective accomplishments. Over rhythmic chords played on an acoustic guitar—the title track to her 2001 album, *Unravel*—Lynn Miles declares,

> I've given singing lessons to Alanis Morrisette. I've driven across Canada about six thousand times. I've left Ottawa for L.A. and worked with some of the *crème de la crème* of the music business. Then I came back home where I made a record with my friends and earned a Juno. I've had record deals in America and Europe, and now I'm 46 years old and I just signed my first Canadian record deal. Wonder if I can get a Grammy before I'm 50? (episode 1-8)

Lynn's voiceover emphasizes travel, mobility, and multiple homes, all in the name of achievement within the music industry. The topic of being on the road and touring is prompted again when Amanda cites Randy Bachman's then-recent assertion "that

women don't really have road songs—that it seems to be a guy thing."[304] Lynn counters

with the fact that she "probably [has] a hundred road songs" and launches into a

rendition of "Night Drive," a song about the loneliness of being on the road that she

wrote while driving across the Mohave Desert. Accompanying herself with a simple

guitar part that only rarely departs from a basic I-IV-V phrase structure, she sings:

> I'm taking a night drive,
> I think I'm losing my nerve,
> On every simple straight away,
> On every single curve.
>
> I want somebody to take the wheel,
> Navigate for a while,
> Tell me how brave I've been,
> And try to make me smile.
>
> Right now I need something for the shakes,
> I need to fix the brakes,
> I need a road to take me home that's straight and true,
> I need to lay my burdens down in an understanding town,
> But most of all, I need someone to talk to.

---

[304] As suggested by Casey Mecija's comments (quoted in the epigraph to this chapter), imbalances in gender representation continue to mark the Canadian music scene. She spoke about Canadian music being populated by "old white guys" and the capacity to imagine something different. Lynn Miles was one of the voices on *Fuse* who overtly "talked back" on issues of gender, pointing to her own catalogue for examples of songs that defied expectations of her sex or that engaged structures of patriarchy.

Though constraints of space prevent me from giving this dimension of difference the attention it deserves, I will include a few general comments here on patterns of representation. Though I was unable to locate information about music industry demographics for the 2005–2008 period, a more recent survey provides an approximate point of comparison. A 2013 Nordicity report on the Canadian Independent Music Industry states that "the average artist in Canada is approximately 39.5 years old and 73% of artists are male" (2013:33). This study included 1,094 artists from across Canada, though overrepresented the commercial English-language industry. While the average age of artists working in the commercial sector aligns with the median age of Canadians, men are overrepresented amongst Canadian performers. Similarly, among the lead musicians featured on *Fuse*, men outnumber women 2 to 1. Gender bias is equally apparent when the total performing resources for *Fuse* are considered: 72.1 percent of musicians were male, while 27.4 percent were female, with imbalances even more pronounced in particular genres. In other words, the percentage of male and female performers featured on *Fuse* roughly paralleled estimated gender differences in the English-speaking Independent Music Industry in Canada.

On the chorus, Lynn's *Fuse* partner, Jim Bryson, enters on the lead guitar part, subtly at first but eventually emerging as a solo voice on the bridge. He sings light backing vocals as well, though the focus—appropriately given the meaning behind the lyrics—remains on Lynn. The lyrics dwell on the solitary experience of driving all night, the challenge of having to be constantly self-sufficient, and the singer's longing for emotional support and human companionship. When the song ends the conversation turns to why singers are inspired to write and sing about being on the road. Lynn talks about missing out on birthdays and other celebrations, of not having loved ones about, and the absence of simple daily things that are not necessarily valued until they are not there: "I miss cooking and I miss the smell of my bed and it's amazing when you're on the road how heavy your suitcase becomes." In related fashion, Jim speaks of enjoying touring and performing, but of how difficult it is to have someone at home to miss. Singing road songs, in other words, become a means of testifying—of providing evidence of personal sacrifice in the name of art.

In other cases, road narratives focus more on the potential for encounter, discovery, and time to invest in honing one's art. In episode 2-4, Carolyn Mark and Tony Dekker describe being on the road in terms of the intersections of different musician networks; they are expressing their surprise at never having converged before, in spite of their many concert tour-inspired crossings of Canada. Tony, as well, introduces his song "Where in the World are You Now?" as something that he wrote when he had

"time to kill" while on tour in the Netherlands. In a high, slightly strained tenor that is

accompanied by guitar, he sings:

> I've been looking in churches and looking in bars,
> Thought that I saw you in the oncoming cars,
> It was your reflection cast off by the light,
> And into the sky of this dark city night.
>
> And I looked for you up in the tallest of trees,
> Swayed back and forth in the mid-autumn breeze,
> When the leaves reddened and left too,
> I knew then that it wasn't you.
>
> Where in the world are you now?
> Where in the world are you now?
> I've been looking everywhere,
> But I can't see you anymore.
> Where in the world are you now?

Though not framed explicitly as a road song, the lyrics, similar to those performed by

Lynn Miles, are expressions of longing and loneliness for someone far away. In another

example, Mark Hamilton describes the experience of hosteling in Scotland as an

essential moment of discovery: it was when he first had the opportunity to pick up a

guitar and start writing songs (episode 4-8). And in yet another broadcast, Kat Burns of

Forest City Lovers describes travelling and touring as the inspiration for her songwriting:

opportunities to see new places and to be a bit homeless become the inspiration for

new material (cf. Corbett 2000).

     While differing in the details, what road narratives have in common is the agency

of the performer: these are modern, mobile, and cosmopolitan individuals taking on

experiences that are not universally enjoyable but are a means of achieving professional

goals. Travel serves as inspiration and source for new materials, but the legitimacy of the

music and the musician isn't tied to a particular geography or exoticized identity;

identities are dynamic and responsive to new encounters and influences. Most

importantly, road narratives are *claimed* by musicians themselves—that is, musicians

who already possesses the social capital necessary to determine how they will position

themselves. Transit narratives, in contrast, are *ascribed*—the products of particular

curatorial approaches or the results of sometimes misguided assumptions about the

musicians and, undoubtedly, audience expectations.

7.5.3 Disruptions, negotiations, and concatenations

The ordering function of travel narratives is often more complex than can be accounted

for by simply stating that transit narratives *qualify* Canadianness, while road narratives

exemplify desirable qualities of Canadianness (e.g., cosmopolitan openness to

encounter). Narratives are disrupted, countered, or simply have differing qualities that

communicate in different ways. Episode 2-10, featuring Mary Jane Lamond, a Gaelic-

language singer, and MIR, a Halifax-based pop group, is set up as an overtly intercultural

experiment featuring musics that are tied to particular geographies. Mary Jane Lamond

begins, voicing over a minimalist-inspired texture featuring Middle Eastern drums

against Gaelic mouth music ("Mo Ghille Mor" from her *Làn Dùil* [1999] album). She

states:

> Everyone thinks I'm the quintessential Nova Scotian. The truth is I was
> born in Kingston and raised both in Ontario and Quebec and in Nova
> Scotia. But it was those precious summers at my grandparents' in the

Maritimes where Gaelic culture first grabbed me. And now Gaelic song
is my passion. (episode 2-10)

With a quick cross fade, the music changes to "So Perfect," a song characterized by a

straight-up pop-rock beat and featuring electric guitars, synthesizer, and full drumset.

Brothers Asif and Shehab Illyas explain,

[Speaker 1:] The Illyas family hop-scotched from Sri Lanka to England
to Halifax, from the Supershow[305] to the way the worlds collide in our
music.

[Speaker 2:] We've been living 'the fuse' since we came together as a
band. (episode 2-10)

Later in the episode, Amanda follows up on MIR's cited place-based influences,

questioning Asif about how the mix of cultures in his upbringing influenced his music

making. He replies, "I think just having that journey made us not have blinders on when

we're looking at our music. Being able to look at other cultures and other musical styles

and incorporate them into pop music because pop music is really just popular music"

(episode 2-10). Asif's response situates his approach to music making with that of the

"discoverer-composer" songwriter described earlier in this chapter (cf. Corbett 2000): he

claims status as a creative innovator with the know-how to mine authentic Others for

source materials. Amanda, however, presses for a more geographically grounded

---

[305] This is a reference to a CBC produced concert that was staged in the National Concert Hall in Ottawa during 2003. MIR were the headliners, supported by the "Supershow" Orchestra and a variety of guest artists, including Mary Jane Lamond. Other guests included Bruce Guthro, Jessica Rhaye, Vineet Vyas, and Richard Wood. Their performance combined rock beats, lush orchestration, and a widely varied range of timbres (electric guitars, western classical orchestra, *tabla*). As a concept, the brothers explained, they invented the Supershow as an excuse to get to perform on a big stage with a full orchestra and the best musicians from Atlantic Canada. The full concert, "The Mir Supershow 2003," is available on YouTube: https://youtu.be/HU88tjkuM9c (uploaded 14 June 2007 by MIR; accessed 8 September 2016).

response, pointedly asking, "Was there any Sri Lankan pop in your background?" Asif

exhales strongly and says,

> The only Sri Lankan pop I know is my dad, who we call "Pop." He has
> got the most amazingly ridiculous record collection in Canada. Maybe
> on the planet. From all the yard sales and everything. It's just amazing.
> And that's what we listened to, and this is what's come out of it.
> (episode 2-10)

There is a distancing function in the questioning that attempts to place the range of

influences in MIR's music outside of Canada, but Asif counters that narrative with a play

on words that grounds his influences in the much more mundane geography of Saturday

morning garage sales and the unexpected influences that emerge from unwanted vinyl

collections.

In making distinctions between transit and road narratives, I'm frequently

describing the tone of a conversation or who appears to get "the last word" in an

exchange, rather than a quantifiable distinction in sound or language. In Table 7.3, I've

used asterisks to mark narratives that have a negotiated quality or that blur the lines

between the rather blunt distinctions that I've drawn. The episode with Mary Jane

Lamond and MIR, for example, contains qualities of both types of narratives. Though the

curatorial approach to MIR is to frame them within a travel narrative, Asif and Illyas

resist this one dimensional account of their music through comedic inversions that

normalize their influences as "Canadian."

While accounts of travel and mobility are cross-cut by competing impulses and

struggles for agency, it is, nevertheless, worth momentarily ignoring some of these finer

details in an effort to understand the overall effect of narrative tropes in ordering the discursive field. To this end, I've attempted to qualify my remarks with some observations about distinguishing trends and correlations with the demographic categories of my analysis.

Figure 7.5 compares patterns of ethnoracial representation among performers in twenty-two episodes featuring travel narratives (listed in Table 7.3): opposing patterns mark each category with a greater number of visible minority performers articulated in conjunction with transit narratives and white performers almost exclusively associated with road narratives. Figure 7.6, which compares performer origins and categories of travel narratives, follows a similar pattern. Transit narratives are much more commonly expressed in conjunction with performers born outside of Canada than with musicians born within Canada. In fact, 10 of the 13 performers with extra-national origins are also visible minorities.

Figure 7.5: Race and travel narratives. Calculations are based on the twenty-two episodes and forty-one lead performers identified in Table 7.3.
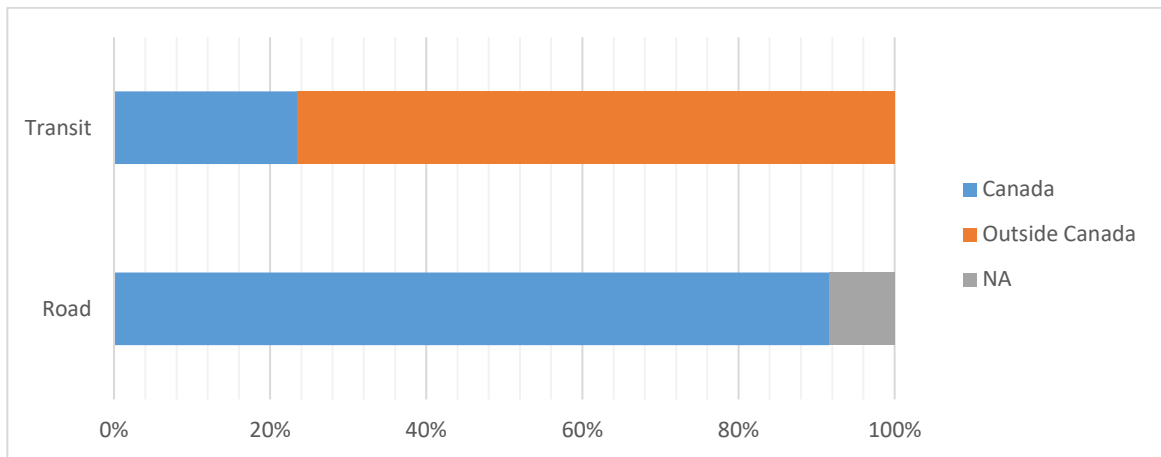
Figure 7.6: Place of birth and travel narratives. Calculations are based on the twenty-two episodes and forty-one lead performers identified in Table 7.3.

Finally, Figure 7.7 summarizes the performing styles of performers in conjunction with travel narratives. Though the results of this comparison are less striking, what should be noted is the much greater range of genres that appear in conjunction with road narratives. Performers marked with transit narratives, in contrast, have a greater tendency to perform in "urban" and "world" categories—genres that, as discussed above, tend to be racialized in popular imaginings. Associations of particular genres with discourses of belonging and Otherness are reinforced when one considers that only 5.6 percent of the total number of lead performers (10 of 177) featured on *Fuse* are defined as world music performers, yet 41.2 percent of the "transit narrative" musicians are framed as world musicians. And only 18.1 percent of the total number of leads perform in urban and rap genres combined versus the 41.2 percent who perform in these genres and are marked out with a transit narrative.
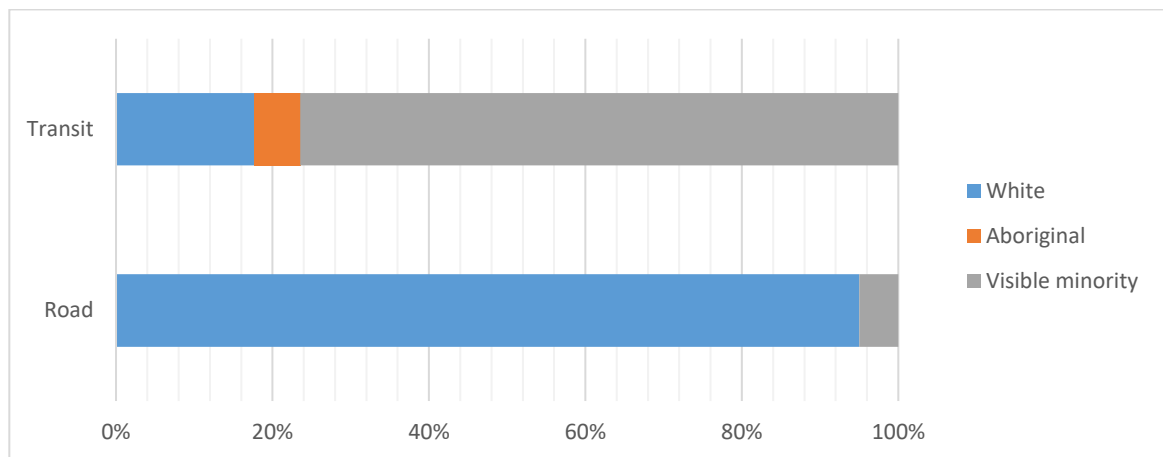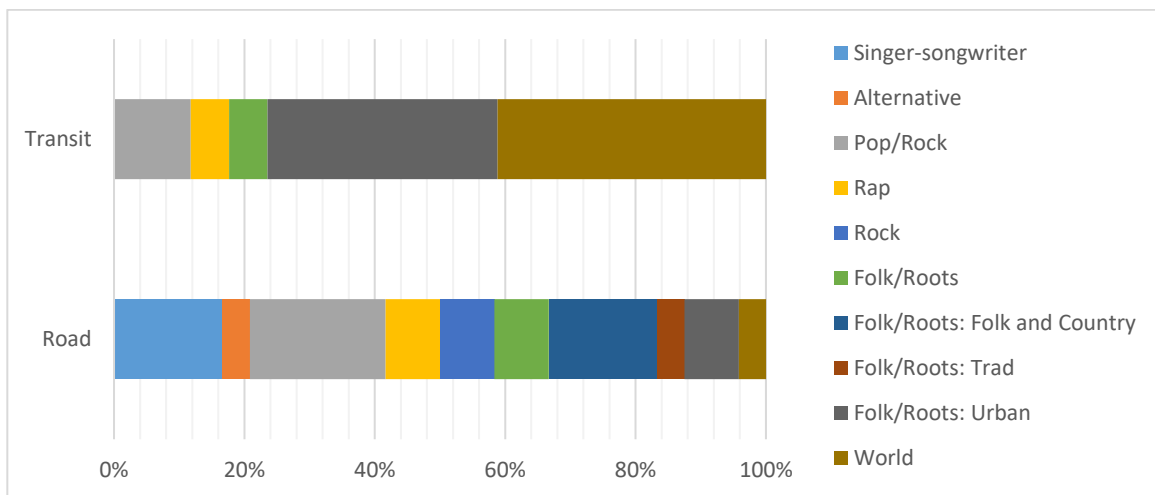
Figure 7.7: Genre and travel narratives. Calculations are based on the twenty-two episodes and forty-one lead performers identified in Table 7.3.

7.6 CURATING CANADIANNESS: IMAGINING ALTERNATIVES TO THE STATUS QUO

This chapter has focused on the often subtle ways in which centres and peripheries, belonging and Otherness are inscribed. The Canadian music scene comprises a diverse range of musics and musicians, performing in different locales for different audiences, influenced by different forbearers, and following different stylistic priorities. Naming aesthetic qualities of Canadian music in this context is, at a minimum, problematic. More realistically, it's an impossibility. But while scholars and critics remain reluctant to name specific qualities of Canadianness, there are, nevertheless, centres, peripheries, and exclusions that are felt by practitioners and audiences alike. Casey Mecija's words, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, about the possibility of imagining Canadian music as populated by unexpected figures, are revealing of the limits placed on what comprises Canadian music. Julion King's account of where reggae fits in the scene is similarly evocative. Both point to a visceral sense of belonging that is not equitably distributed amongst individuals with legitimate claims to their Canadianness.

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From an initial discussion of how sounds and musicians come to be heard as Canadian, I turned my focus to demographic trends in Canada and patterns of representation on *Fuse*. This part of the chapter picked up on themes elaborated in Chapters 3 and 4. Namely, that there are important distinctions in broadcasting for regional and national audiences—that each region of Canada is marked by differing structural conditions and representational needs that implicate potential decodings of the same content. Moreover, privileging particular sites as bastions of Canadian cultural production—sites that over or underrepresent specific forms of difference—has the potential to skew perceptions of the people and places that are intrinsically Canadian. Finally, this portion of my analysis also pointed to the importance of considering not only the places that musicians occupied at the time of their appearance on *Fuse*, but also stories of origin and accounts of trajectories followed to the present: the places occupied by musicians and their varied forms of mobility told differing stories that were deployed for differing ends. Often these ends had little to do with the actual biographies or musics of implicated musicians and much more to do with exemplifying or qualifying their Canadianness.

Though labelling aesthetic qualities in relation to "Canadian" music is problematic, discussion of genre and style were important features of many episodes of *Fuse*. Genre, though, is not inherent in music. As a system of categories it is just as caught up in extra-musical discourses and structural conditions as the qualities of Canadianness that this dissertation attempts to understand. Looking at the ways that

genres were performed on *Fuse* and the ways in which patterns of representation—

particularly ethnoracial and national identities—intersected discourses about style

provided a way into discussing qualities of markedness: inside/outside, invisible/visible,

belonging/Other. Visible minority performers—a marked category—appear to perform

in a much more constrained range of genres and styles than their white counterparts—

an unmarked category. As an ordering principle, unmarked categories represent an

entire set; marked categories are a subset, contained within but differentiated from the

whole (cf. Andrews 1990). The privilege of being unmarked, in other words, is the

mobility to access and move between a greater range of stylistic materials according to

the interests and needs of the creator.

The focal point of this chapter—where these ideas about place, demographics,

and style intersected—was in discussion of how narratives about musician mobility

serve an ordering function, containing and qualifying the Canadianness of particular

musicians and sounds while celebrating the agency and artistry of others. Transit

narratives, I explained, circumvent the authority of the performer, ascribing

characteristics to the music and musician, sometimes despite commentary offered by

the musician. Road narratives, on the other hand, have a much more agentive quality;

they are declared by individuals who have the social capital to define the terms of their

engagement with audiences. In terms of function, emphasis on emplacement in extra-

national territories versus abstract cosmopolitan mobility is a means of qualifying and

containing the degree of "Canadianness" attributed to particular performers and their

musics (cf. Roberts 2011). Accordingly, visible minorities and immigrants are more likely

to have their Canadianness qualified by the terms of a transit narrative. Moreover,

particular genre categories with racial/exotic discursive overtones are more likely to be

situated within a transit narrative. To conclude, I'd like to suggest this approach to

curating voices on *Fuse* may place limits on perceptions of belonging, perpetuating an

understanding of multiculturalism as a problem specific to "systematically 'outside'"

minority populations and inhibiting potential to imagine Canadian music as populated by

unexpected figures (cf. Born 2004:15; Casey Mecija, interview, 9 September 2015).

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS: THE LIMITS OF BELONGING

Ethnomusicological engagements with radio remain a relatively marginal preoccupation in our field. The studies that do exist often have a strong historical bent, commercial focus, and/or look at relationships between sounds and local communities.[306] My research, in contrast, uses archival broadcasts of fusion programming as windows into a major publically funded institution—the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)— attempting to address the broadcaster and its audiences on a national scale. I ask about relationships between music, citizenship, policy-making, and the social function the CBC performs in an increasingly globalized world in order to query how the function and content of fusion programming aligned with priorities defined in Canadian cultural policy. Though relatively minor contributions in terms of the CBC's overall programming output, the case studies comprising this dissertation were drawn from centres across Canada and broadcast over a variety of CBC's available media lines, providing access to wide-ranging approaches and perspectives. While not representative of a mammoth institution and an equally vast country, this study can be considered in symptomatic terms—as shaped by and contributing to wider trends and dialogues of the time (cf. Conway 2011). Studying fusion programming, in this sense, enabled me to scrutinize the

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[306] E.g., the papers presented at the British Forum for Ethnomusicology's One-Day Symposium on Radio and Ethnomusicology on 22 October 2016. A summary of the papers presented is available on the *British Forum for Ethnomusicology* website at https://bfe.org.uk/radio-and-ethnomusicology-historical-and-contemporary-perspectives (accessed 24 December 2016).

structures that shape production, the values and relationships normalized through content and approaches to mediation, and the broadcaster's role in reflecting and (re)inscribing regional and national publics.

The questions this study raises are particularly timely given that the CBC stands at a crossroads (cf. Raboy and Taras 2007). Similarly, there are pressing questions to be asked about the status of multiculturalism in Canada and the role of the media in shaping social relationships in a diverse society. I'll begin my discussion with the status of the CBC and philosophical considerations relating to the role of the broadcaster. I'll then move on to summarize my methodological approach, major findings, questions, and suggestions for further research. Finally, I'll conclude with consideration of significance to current understandings of Canadian social hierarchies.

8.1 PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: CHARTING A COURSE FOR THE CBC

Public broadcasters are set apart from their commercial counterparts through an onus to serve the public good. Given critiques of the paternalism of early twentieth century models of public service broadcasting, defining exactly what is meant by "serving the public good" is challenging and, at times, controversial (cf. Tracey 1998; World Radio and Television Council 2000; Price and Raboy 2003; Jauert and Lowe 2005; Raboy 2006; Hendy 2013). One aspect of this mandate might, among other things, mean providing the public with some sort of interpretive lens for understanding the world in which we

live. Ideally this lens is non-partisan, comprising a variety of perspectives that enable

listeners to develop their own opinions in an informed manner.

While broadcasting originated in conditions of spectrum scarcity,[307] changing

technical capabilities have made possible practically infinite channels of dissemination

that commercial broadcasters have filled with a supposedly diverse range of content.

Given this changing landscape, Stuart Hall has suggested that one of the fundamental

responsibilities of public service broadcasters is to enable awareness of the variety of

perspectives included within national publics:

> Broadcasting now has a major role—perhaps the critical role—to play
> in 're-imagining the nation': not by seeking to reimpose a unity and
> homogeneity which has long since departed, but by becoming the
> 'theatre' in which cultural diversity is produced, displayed and
> represented, and the forum in which the terms of its associative life
> together are negotiated. (1993:36)

Being a curator of cultures and arranger of social relations, however, is an exceedingly

vulnerable position, relying on self-aware and critical individuals to avoid the undue

influence of personal biases, and the spin of commercial, corporate, and political

pressure groups. Also at stake is the capacity to recognize assumptions about what is

normal and what is deviant. At its best, a public service broadcaster's curatorial

approach supports access to alternate worldviews and encourages informed debate

about issues of public relevance. At its worst, approaches to curation are paternalistic or

---

[307] Prior to the advent of satellite and digital technologies there was a limited number of "channels" for broadcasting, prompting many governments to strictly regulate access to the airwaves. Indeed, spectrum scarcity was a primary motivator for the founding of public broadcasters in many western countries.

polemical, effectively closing down public dialogue and promoting serious

misunderstandings of issues of public importance. Most of the time, results fall

somewhere between these polarities.

In recent years the CBC has been the subject of concentrated criticism—both

deserved and harshly punitive, concerned and engaged. This criticism has been

accompanied by stringent cuts in funding and multiple waves of layoffs. The result?

Changes in service, consolidation of production, and an incredible degree of

centralization and rationalization. Charles Acland, describing the influence of Canadian

communications scholar Harold Innis on policy and media studies, states:

> [Innis's] future-oriented analysis avoided the "present-mindedness" of
> merely reproducing dominant ideas about capital and commercial
> culture through an historical understanding of how empires emerge
> and operate. In sum, cultural policy has generally downplayed the
> historical, except as captured as a lineage of policy actions and by
> statistics-gathering agencies. Innisian analysis, in contrast, prods us to
> consider the place of cultural history in cultural policy. (2006:181)

Moving policies and their varied realizations into the future, in other words, requires

consciousness of the past and its trajectory to the present—awareness of how policies

play out in real world situations rather than simple awareness that policies exist.

If the role of the CBC is to be a curator of a specifically *Canadian* culture, then

there are questions to be asked about the realization of this objective. Observations

made about population concentrations and demographic imbalances in Chapters 3 and 7

also beg related questions about fairness and intention: is representation by population

necessarily fair? Consider that the mandate of the CBC is to be a corrective in a country

where the population is highly dispersed and unevenly distributed. Even if there is a concentration of population in Ontario, for example, does that mean representation of Ontario should so drastically outweigh other regions? And if the ideal expressed in our cultural policy is openness to and respect for varied lifeways, should a narrow view of what is "normally" Canadian be promoted by simply representing majorities the majority of the time? Should audiences be interpellated and made consumable by these standards alone? Maintaining the relevance of the CBC into the future, particularly in light of its active marginalization in recent years, necessitates consideration of what has been done in the past, meanings generated in these realizations, and effects, so that a path forward might responsibly be charted.

This study is not intended as an attack on the institution of public broadcasting in Canada or a suggestion of some sort of wrongdoing on the part of particular producers. Neither is it wholeheartedly celebratory or a clear guide to next steps. At best, the research presented in the previous seven chapters and summarized in this conclusion provides a record of a particular phase and enactment of principles—an evaluation of a concept that was symptomatic of particular social and political preoccupations of the time—and a foundation for moving forward.

Several CBC producers spoke of the possibility of failure as an essential element of good broadcasting. Testing new programming concepts, they explained, involves a degree of risk: risk that, from a creative perspective, an idea won't pan out; risk that audiences will reject a concept (i.e., commercial failure); and risk that codings and

unanticipated decodings are found to be problematic. By the same token,

experimentation sometimes generates ground-breaking concepts of significance on

aesthetic, intellectual, and/or entertainment fronts. Experiments also contain potential

to reveal alternative perspectives and new ideas. Fusion programming can be viewed in

this light. While I hesitate to term the broadcasts described in this dissertation as

unequivocal successes or failures, close listening is revealing of particular tensions in

production priorities and, more generally, suggests the continued discursive limits to

Canada as a multicultural nation.

8.2 METHODOLOGY

Given that my research attempts to trace connections between the laws that are

foundational to Canada's cultural policy, conditions present at the CBC, and the cultural

work of broadcasts, I relied on Conway's circuit model of communication to shape my

methodological approach (cf. Figure 1.1, p. 20). The results, at times, were fairly gross

generalizations, with people and practices grouped together in ways that didn't always

account for individual peculiarities. While these generalizations served a purpose,

allowing me to consider broad patterns across Canada and the broadcast system, I also

attempted to ground my comments about national-scale trends and tendencies in the

specifics of local practices.

To this end, I relied on Pegley's (2008, 1999) model of "ethnographically grounded"

content analysis: an approach that involves "a quantitative/qualitative exploration that

spills over the expected boundaries of both empirical, statistical interpretation and

ethnographic probing" (2008:16; see Chapter 2). Though adapted to the peculiarities of my study, like Pegley (2008) I incorporated differing scales of analysis: (1) a nationwide survey of "fusion" programming; (2) an Overview Analysis of *Fuse*, which attempted to account for the series in its entirety, considering aspects of content and form; and (3) In-depth Studies that focused on individual episodes of *Fuse*, again comparing aspects of content and form, all coded to the level of the second. How these analytic tools came together was a product of my multi-sited field of study (cf. Marcus 1995; Yanow 2011). My consideration of broadcast content all was contextualized with interviews/correspondence with more than twenty CBC employees/contractors and musicians. I also incorporated results from the 2006 Census of Canada in an attempt to ground my observations in larger-scale demographic trends. My approach, in other words, built upon the methodological model offered in Pegley's work (2008, 1999), but extended the ethnographic engagement with the field, combining quantification with qualitative close readings of a variety of aspects of production in order to comment on the trends and contradictions that characterized the programming in question.

My research to date has focused on (1) how content producers come to understand their audiences; (2) the potentially infinite representational needs of sometimes overlapping (but sometimes irreconcilably different) audiences; and (3) the unconsidered assumptions that sustain systemic biases. And, though my original intention was to interview several of the musicians featured in fusion programming about their experiences and reactions to the broadcasts, the necessity of placing limits

on the scale of this project meant that my engagement with this population was considerably more limited. Surveys were distributed to many of the musicians who appeared on *Fuse*, and I had a few email exchanges and/or conversations with a handful of performers. My results, in other words, do not necessarily account for musicians' reactions to the ways in which their music and their words are mediated. Next steps in this research include pursuing responses to the circulated questionnaire (of the more than 200 requests circulated, I received responses from 29 musicians) and directed interviews. Specifically, listening to archival broadcasts alongside featured musicians would provide a means of accessing their opinions about representation, included conversations, and omitted materials. Moreover, as feedback from musicians indicated that they often were also audience members, responses from this population potentially would provide insight on issues of reception.

Indeed, I have not directly engaged issues of reception—a critical "node" in communicative process (cf. Conway 2011; Hall 1980). Given the particular focus of my analysis, the ways in which producers interpellated audiences—how their assumptions discursively constructed an imagined audience that listeners then consumed—was more important (cf. Dittmer and Larsen 2007). Research assessing the impact of programming—and, indeed, the CBC more generally—is similarly neglected in the current study. My analysis explores specific contributions to the discourses that were contemporary to the production of fusion programming, but should not be read as

assertions of direct impact on audiences. Moving forward, in other words, there is room

for research targeting reception.

As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, audience research has consistently

proven problematic, particularly in public service contexts (see Chapter 2; cf. Eaman

1994; Bird 2003). Existing models of research and data collection tend to serve the

specifically commercial needs of advertisers. There are also issues of scale: with so many

distinctive audiences—my study, for example, engaged live and listening audiences,

national and local audiences, audiences conceptualized according to class and level of

education, and communities defined by a variety of ethnocultural criteria—it is difficult

to effectively engage enough respondents to make results meaningful. Finally, there are

challenges regarding context: how might social, political, economic, and cultural changes

over the last ten years effect how audiences interpret content? Nevertheless, given

adequate resourcing for development of appropriate research tools and potential for

roll out across a range of populations in different centres across Canada, this is a logical

next step for testing the premises advanced in the findings of this dissertation.

8.3 PRODUCTION AGENDAS, LIVENESS, AND DISCURSIVE LIMITS
In Chapter 3, I presented six case studies of programming that originated in centres

across Canada (Newfoundland, Calgary, the North, Montréal, Vancouver, and Halifax).

These examples provided a context for interpreting my content analysis of *Fuse* and

enabled me to outline general characteristics of fusion programming. I explained that

fusion programming: elaborates social relationships; is embedded in structural

conditions; is production and resource intensive; and contains the contradictory potential to reinforce and/or disrupt totalizing national discourses. Fusion programming also follows differing production aesthetics depending on the scale of the audience to be addressed and the media lines over which it is broadcast. Programming with a local focus that fulfills a particular community service mandate, for example, more likely had an as-live and improvised quality (e.g., "Come By Concerts," "Combo to Go"). Programming intended for national audiences and broadcast over a variety of media lines often followed a much more polished and production heavy approach (e.g., *Mundo Montréal*, *Burning to Shine*, the Slean/Hatzis project).

Cumulatively, these mini-case studies suggest the incredible importance of strong regional voices as counterparts to necessarily less-grounded and often totalizing national narratives. This, I think, is a particularly important consideration in light of trends toward centralization and the repurposing of content across multiple media lines with historically distinct mandates and audience expectations (cf. Douglas 2004). The examples discussed in Chapter 3 demonstrate the potential of regional producers and programming to target and respond to specific local needs; by the same token, musicians and community members have greater opportunity to "talk back" about how their needs are being met. Programming produced for a national audience—or repurposed from local contexts—necessarily lacks this sort of intimate specificity. While the national network serves an important role in bringing together voices from across Canada, it cannot address the frequently different representational needs of individual

regions. Neither is there the same potential for communities to voice correctives and nuance interpretive contexts. Content generated in live and local contexts for proximate audiences with insider knowledge guiding presentation(s) and interpretation(s) doesn't always translate in a straight-forward manner to more distant audiences who draw on differing interpretive lenses (cf. Conway 2011).

Which brings me to questions about production aesthetics. While radio historically has privileged qualities of liveness in broadcasting, there are questions to be asked about what is wrought through the obfuscation of mediation. It's common practice, at least at this point in the technical and production history of radio, to present content "as live" (cf. Chignell 2009; Baade and Deaville 2016), a feature that allows for some flexibility in the production schedule, but that also suggests the temporal co-presence of audiences and performers, and potential for unmediated witnessing. Many of the examples of fusion programming discussed in this dissertation relied on an aesthetic of liveness—*Fuse* certainly, but also many of the regional examples elaborated in Chapter 3. Liveness was marked through commentary that suggested events were happening "now" or that results were still to be anticipated. Live-in-studio audiences provided sonic markers of supposedly extemporaneous responses to on-stage action. And "mistakes" and re-takes by the performers were sometimes included to suggest the spontaneity of the listening event. Yet performances were edited to fit the broadcast window and suit the content needs of the programmer.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I attempted to map the CBC through programming examples taken from across the country and across the CBC's multiple media lines. Regionally focused programming that tended to favour an aesthetic of liveness also tended to feature on Radio One. Content was sometimes re-broadcast on Radio Two/2, though with potential tensions over content quality (see Chapter 4). Content intended for the national audience and featuring high production values—and clear markers of mediation—more commonly featured on Radio Two/2. Sirius Satellite radio also repurposed content from other media lines, but for broadcast to a national and international market. And Radio 3 repackaged broadcasts as podcasts suitable to the on-demand listening needs of online audiences. I quoted regional broadcasters describing the necessity of altering content—shortening silences, reordering songs—depending on who they understood their audiences to be: were broadcasts going out to regional audiences with the contextual knowledge to interpret content that might be considered a "flaw" by less proximate listeners? Was content being received by audiences accustomed to the national focus and high production values of Radio Two/2's Music Department? Performances that had the potential to be interpreted as interesting hybridizations of emergent cultural practices for local listeners often sounded like little more than tokenistic inclusions of amateur performers when repackaged for the national network.

This study has focused on a particular approach to programming. The aesthetic emphasis on liveness, in this case, was problematic, masking the mediating presence of

the broadcaster and impeding potential to recognize (1) the partiality of perspective, (2) the prospect of missing contextual details, or (3) the possibility of alternative stories and tellings. Is emphasis on liveness equally problematic in other forms of programming? Does it matter, for example, when journalists pre-record interviews for current affairs shows and present them "as live"? The live aesthetic is an entrenched production value for radio that relates to the nature of available technologies when the medium first emerged a century ago. As technologies change and emphasis shifts to content production that is available across multiple platforms—both in real time, multiple time zones, and on-demand—there are questions to be asked about what end this approach to production serves. Does it remain relevant? Responsible? Or is it just another element of media spin that bolsters the so-called "post-truth" era, ultimately cultivating the suspension of logic in the face of extreme emotive responses?[308] These questions are beyond the scope of my study, but are suggestive of directions for further research and philosophical debate.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I described national publics as discursive formations (re)produced through forms of address and representation utilized by the broadcaster. Choices of words, arrangements of voices, objects of humour, topics that

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[308] "Post-truth" is defined as "relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." Oxford Dictionaries selected the term as its 2016 Word of the Year, recognizing the significance of media spin on the unanticipated outcomes of major national referendums (i.e., Brexit) and elections (i.e., the US Presidential race). Definition and discussion of the "post-truth" concept is available from Neil Midgley on the *Oxford Dictionaries* website at https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/word-of-the-year/word-of-the-year-2016 (accessed 23 December 2016).

are censured or censored, I contended, are curatorial decisions that model, challenge, and/or reinforce existing hierarchies that both enable and constrain listeners' capacities to recognize—to imagine—the social structures in which they are embedded. Singular statements, unique performances, or even a series of broadcasts do not constitute a discursive formation: publics are inherently intertextual and amorphous, resulting from an ever shifting "concatenation of texts through time" (Warner 2002:416). On a very small scale, the examples described in this dissertation attempt to parse a particular "concatenation of texts." As individual examples they mean very little, but when taken together they begin to hint at patterns of representation, relationality, and systemic bias that shape perceptions of Canada's social reality—indeed, this is what I mean when I refer to this study as being a symptomatic engagement with the policies, programming, and discourses of the early twenty-first century (see Chapter 1, cf. Conway 2011).

The remainder of this conclusion focuses on how *Fuse* participated in the (re)production of discourses about the nature of multicultural Canada: it's about what can be gleaned from a close reading of a particular body of programming. My analysis of the broadcaster's mediating voice points to the ways in which systemic biases and expectations of audience sensibilities implicate the range of representations and opinions coded by the broadcaster. In Chapter 5, I examined approaches to narration and the typical organization of an episode of *Fuse*. I suggested that the "one size fits all" approach to telling the story of intercultural encounter resulted in oversimplified binaries that effectively flattened out understandings of difference, inscribing a

functional equality on the varied forms of engagement modelled on *Fuse*. Musicians

who performed similar musics in similar venues for similar audiences were painted with

the same brush as those approaching their audiotopic encounters from positions of

irreconcilable difference. "Fusing" became a one-size-fits-all term for uncomfortable

alliances, forced and/or staged interactions, as well as more experimental approaches to

collaboration. Musical differences, in other words, were made similar—safely

consumable expressions of multicultural sensibilities. And though ostensibly about the

process of collaboration and intercultural musicking, the absence of idiosyncratic

distinctions in musical process from episode to episode meant that differences tended

to be coded through extra-musical signifiers.

While I use "fusing" throughout this dissertation to describe the interactions of

musicians on *Fuse* (and the more regional examples of fusion programming elaborated

in Chapter 3), I don't attempt to analyse the very different ways that this process plays

out in actually performances. Indeed, close readings of a sampling of performances,

similar to the analysis of "Grim Fandango" presented in Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7, has

the potential to reveal the potential symbolic violence enacted through the collaborative

process. Such readings would draw attention to the different ways in which performers

improvise and the ways in which traditions are in/compatible. Moreover, while I have

used "fusing" to characterize the intercultural interactions of performers according to

the logic of the broadcaster, its resonance with musicians, and because it suggests the

energy of the impromptu encounter, such close readings of the performances

themselves might suggest terminology other than 'fusing' to more readily acknowledge disparities of power within the audiotopic space of broadcasts.

Chapters 6 and 7 addressed, respectively, how perceptions of the normative were sounded, silenced, and reinforced. The former chapter attempted to decode the silences, imbalances, and privileged narratives that resulted from hosts' rhetoric and editorial decisions made by the production team. I addressed issues of sexuality, religion, class, and race in this chapter, exploring how performers came to be mapped onto polarized binaries of safe versus risky. My analysis of episode 3-5 featuring Ohbijou and Kids on TV, for example, demonstrated how the complexities and contradictions of performer identities were flattened out in favour of this over-simple narration. While Kids on TV were presented as outrageous challenges to heteronormativity—and CBC audiences more generally—Ohbijou were framed as the "kids next door," performing recognisably safe, melodic, and orchestrally lush music. Photos from the event, however, depict the disparately complexioned performers in white face, suggesting that there were layers of social criticism in the live performance that went unacknowledged and unexplored in the broadcast.

Notable, too, were absences in commentary. Kids on TV, for example, provided rare models of queer lifestyles. With their intentionally provocative approach and calculated play with extreme notions of deviance, however, there was little chance of their performed sexual identities being read in normative terms; that is, as individuals who engaged their society without intentionally provoking it. Throughout the series

there's a general silence on LGBTQ2S lifestyles: an absence of references to partners, families, or the mundanity of daily interactions.[309] These soundings and silences—in relation to sexuality, but also religion, class, and ethnoracial identities—were typical of the examples elaborated in Chapter 6. When these absences were pointed out to members of the production team, they were often met with surprise and, sometimes, stories that fundamentally altered interpretations of broadcasts (see Chapter 6 and the discussion of episode 3-20 featuring Tanya Tagaq and Apostle of Hustle).

I'm not suggesting that the biases revealed in these close readings of approaches to mediation result from active decision making; rather, biases and skews in representation are the consequences of non-deliberate omissions that take on significance only when considered in relation to series-wide trends and, I suspect though cannot prove, through interaction with other media content and varied forms of day-to-day contact (cf. Warner 2002). Was *Fuse* unique in its engagements and representations of the normative and the risky? Or did it reflect and replicate wider discourses about the nature of Canadianness? How have approaches to representation changed since 2008? Or have they remained static? Indeed, though beyond the scope of this dissertation, an examination of editorial practices for other types of programming—both historical and

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[309] I would like to acknowledge that conversations about gender and sexuality are emergent, with the terrain of related discourses changing dramatically since the early years of the twenty-first century—and even between when I started and finished writing this dissertation. Though I have attempted to engage representation and related assertions of identity in my analysis, my approach is often rather blunt and, moving forward, would benefit from alternative approaches to categorization that push us to look beyond traditional binaries and from consideration of the ways in which gender is foregrounded in performance.

in the present—has the potential to reveal how the relationship between broadcasters

and audiences continues to evolve.

While Chapter 6 considered normativity according to a variety of dimensions,

Chapter 7 primarily focused on the construction of ethnoracial identities and

understandings of belonging. Rather than concentrating on the specific sounds

performers created, this chapter considered how particular demographic categories

intersected with rhetoric about sounds, places, and mobilities. I explored how a variety

of sounds came to be heard as Canadian (or Other) through the discursive networks they

occupied (cf. Brennan 2009; Diamond 2011b; Dittmer and Larsen 2007). I focused on the

ways in which travel was described in a sampling of episodes from across the four

seasons that *Fuse* was on air. Transit narratives, I explained, served the dual purpose of

legitimizing musicians who had moved to Canada from another country through

references to major awards and Canadian institutions, but, simultaneously, placed limits

on their Canadianness through associations with extra-national locales. Sometimes

these associations were made through stories, and, on other occasions, connections

were conjured through performance of musics intended to sound exotic. At the opposite

end of the spectrum, road narratives were claims to legitimacy and authority made by

performers. They focused on acts of mobility—the act of being on the road—and self-

sacrifice in the name of art. They were also about searching out new materials and

inspirations that further enhanced the individual performer's musicianship. Performers

in this category tended to be less bound by particular performing genres (though singer-

songwriters and musicians performing pop/rock and country predominate to some degree), perhaps speaking to their wide-ranging freedom of expression.

These two rhetorical devices were ultimately about distinctions in agency and authority, thus revealing the balance of power between the broadcaster and musicians, not to mention assumptions regarding the nature of audience(s) and the presumed conditions of reception. Transit and road narratives tended to be differentiated selectively, with the consequence that there were demographic characteristics that correlated to each trope. Visible minorities and immigrants, for example, were more likely to have their Canadianness qualified by the terms of a transit narrative. And particular genre categories associated with particular ethnocultural groups were more likely to be situated within a transit narrative. In other words, these narrative approaches provide examples of how certain musics and musicians came to be understood as more or less Canadian: they exemplify the discursive ordering of Canadian society, suggesting how and/or why a sense of belonging is not equally distributed across the Canadian population. The distinctions drawn, moreover, were often subtle, but nevertheless speak to how centres and peripheries were maintained in the absence of overt expressions of bias and prejudice.

Cumulatively the chapters in this dissertation speak to the challenges of creating programming for a dispersed population with distinct representational needs (i.e., populations that are multicultural in different ways). While cloaked in platitudes about openness and valuing diversity, the legalities of multiculturalism in Canada enact a

pragmatic strategy of management intended to depoliticize difference; multiculturalism

in this sense is about organizing social relationships, interpreting law, and protecting

human rights (Fleras and Kunz 2001). While these very qualities are often the targets of

criticism, Australian scholar and policy critic Meghan Morris points out that such

strategies are positive alternatives to strife and violence for governments faced with

demographic plurality:

> In response to those appalled by the idea of managing differences, this
> discourse [...] points to the extreme violence of those contemporary
> nationalisms that treat differences as *un*manageable, challenges its
> critics to name alternatives actually available to government, and
> invites concrete proposals for improving the management process.
> (1998:240)

Supporters of Canadian multiculturalism point to high levels of immigrant retention, a

historical lack of ethnic strife and violence, and the strength of legal safeguards on

human rights as evidence of the positive trends initiated through legislative moves

(Kymlicka 1998b; Adams 2007; Ley 2007; Saul 2008).

But while overt expressions of discrimination might be less visible in Canada,

structural inequalities persist in communities to varying degrees. Vancouver's

Downtown Eastside, for example, is notorious for its concentration of people living in

marginal conditions, effected by the drug trade, sex work, poverty, mental illness,

disease, and crime. And Scott Gilmore's (2015) editorial in *Maclean's*, titled "Canada's

race problem? It's even worse than America's," compares, in depressingly vivid detail,

statistical distinctions in the conditions experienced by Aboriginal Canadians and African

Americans—two groups who are measurably marginalized in their respective national

contexts. On almost every point of comparison, including employment rates, income levels, crime rates, life expectancy, and level of education, Indigenous peoples are found to be worse off. His point, similar to that made by other critics of Canadian multiculturalism (e.g., Bannerji 2000; Mackey 1999; C. Taylor 1997), is that the ways in which multiculturalism is discursively constructed renders real inequities invisible and thus unchangeable. For multiculturalism to have genuine meaning and effect, it must be understood as a collective concern for all Canadians, not just a problem experienced to differing degrees by minorities.

That is the issue that is at the crux of this dissertation. Despite the seriousness of these critiques of multiculturalism, I am not advocating for its dismissal as a legal safeguard in Canada. A 2014 debate that raged around a ruling made by the administration at York University in Toronto, for example, demonstrated the discursive problems of multiculturalism, but also its strengths and the potential of existing legal safeguards. In this case, a student who refused to do group work with women for religious reasons was granted an exemption by the university administration. The professor for the class refused to support the University's ruling on the grounds that it created a hierarchy of freedoms. The scenario throws into relief existing inequalities, but the open debate inspired by the situation among staff, students, and in the media points to the strengths and potential of the existing system (Slaughter 2014).

Instead of throwing out the existing legislation, I am suggesting that greater attention needs to be paid to the ways in which the principles of multiculturalism are

realized, communicated, and come to inflect the social relationships of Canadians.

Foster writes:

> New ethnicities, diasporic groups, hybrid and cosmopolitan audiences alike all constitute the shifting terrain of Canadian publics. Canada's culture (or cultures) is changing, even as the discourse of Canadian nationalism remains relatively static. (2009:74)

During the 1990s and early 2000s, a variety of new legislation and government-initiated programs were introduced in an attempt to confront some of the structural manifestations of racism and intolerance in Canada.[310] Yet, following this surge of attention to the principles of multiculturalism, political leaders and popular opinion has increasingly appeared to favour maintenance of the status quo to the risks of instituting policies intended to more equitably distribute citizenship across diverse populations. Canadian political theorist Will Kymlicka argues that "unless we can think of intellectually compelling and politically viable ways of reconceptualising the pursuit of multiculturalism and minority rights, the likely outcome will be a retreat from the more progressive aspects of the current system" (2007:316).

Indeed, though beyond the temporal limits of this study, some alarming trends have emerged in recent history, suggesting that the liberal humanist principles enshrined in Canada's multiculturalism legislation have not been fully naturalized into its social and political culture. Events of note include (though aren't limited to): the passage

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[310] E.g., Employment Equity Act (Government of Canada 1995). Other initiatives included the 1996 launch of new programs focusing on social justice, civic participation, and identity by Heritage Canada and the establishment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation by the Secretary of State. Multiculturalism Day was established in 2002, and in 2005, the government announced that CDN$56 million would be invested in implementing Canada's "Action Plan Against Racism" (Dewing and Leman 2006:8–9).

of legislation in 2015 that effectively codified hierarchies of citizenship (e.g., Bill C-24[311]);

the surge of Islamophobia sparked by the 2015 federal election campaign and ongoing

Syrian refugee crisis; and, even more recently, mainstream political support for the

extreme forms of racism, bigotry, and misogyny advanced by US President Donald

Trump[312] and violence targeting Islamic groups (e.g., the 29 January 2017 attack on a

mosque in Québec City). And, while there are positive moves to redress the systemic

racism and violence against Indigenous peoples (e.g., a formal inquest on the potentially

thousands of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada was announced

during summer 2016), these events are all demonstrative of the fragile state of Canada's

social order. Put another way, the limits of the current operationalization of

multiculturalism may have been reached: a gap exists between what existing legislation

makes possible (i.e., the legal safeguards protecting basic human rights and the potential

for equitable participation in a shared public culture) and the discourses used to express

degrees of belonging and exclusion.

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[311] The Justin Trudeau-led Liberal government repealed some of the more controversial aspects of this legislation shortly after their election in autumn 2015. However, parts of the Act, including the right of the government to strip citizenship of Canadian passport holders for misrepresentation without a hearing, were kept. The rate of revocations under the Trudeau government—exponentially greater than any previous government—has generated some criticism (see Dyer 2016).

[312] At the time of Donald Trump's election, Conservative MP Kellie Leitch wrote to her supporters, "Tonight, our American cousins threw out the elites and elected Donald Trump as their next president. It's an exciting message and one that we need delivered in Canada as well. It's the message I'm bringing with my campaign to be the next Prime Minister of Canada. It's why I'm the only candidate for the leadership of the Conservative Party of Canada who is standing up for Canadian values" (quoted in Canadian Press 2016). Leitch served as the Minister of Labour and Minister for the Status of Women from 15 July 2013 until the defeat of the Conservative government in the 2015 federal election.

Though it is well beyond the scope of this study to answer questions about how to redress this apparent retreat toward "older patterns of illiberal and undemocratic relations" (Kymlicka 2007:296), what this study does is examine one of the mechanisms through which distinctions and hierarchies were articulated and maintained—explicitly engaging a mobilization of principles that was, in fact, intended to do the opposite. My ultimate goal was to raise questions about the discursive limitations of multiculturalism imposed by the ways in which policy concepts were operationalized in the first decade of the twenty-first century and to interrogate the role of public broadcasting in reflecting, ordering, and participating in the structuring of Canada's social reality. While cross-cut with contradictions and resistances to totalizing narratives—particularly when the experiences of live audiences or regional variants of fusion programming are taken into account—fusion programming privileged a very particular understanding of "Canadianness" in its codings that resisted the possibility of belonging being equitably distributed among those with claims to legal, let alone cultural, citizenship. Instead of the broadcaster promoting an understanding of multiculturalism based on principles of social construction and integration into a shared civic culture based on liberal humanist principles, production contexts and assumptions about what counts as normal shored up the status quo. Recognizing these persistent limitations provides a foundation for imagining alternatives for the present and future.

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Appendix A   FEDERAL POLICY AND LEGISLATION

CONSTITUTION ACT (1982): PART I–CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

Section 15
Equality Rights (Equality before and under law and equal protection and benefit of law)

> (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.
>
> (2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

Sections 25–28
Aboriginal rights and freedoms not affected by Charter

> 25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including
>> (a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and
>> (b) any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

Other rights and freedoms not affected by Charter

> 26. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed as denying the existence of any other rights or freedoms that exist in Canada.

Multicultural heritage

> 27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

Rights guaranteed equally to both sexes

> 28. Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

MULTICULTURALISM ACT (1988)

Section 3
(1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to

(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall

(a) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions;

(b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

(c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;

(d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(e) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and

(f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

BROADCASTING ACT (1991)

Section 3

(1) It is hereby declared as the broadcasting policy for Canada that

> (a) the Canadian broadcasting system shall be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians;
>
> (b) the Canadian broadcasting system, operating primarily in the English and French languages and comprising public, private and community elements, makes use of radio frequencies that are public property and provides, through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty;
>
> (c) English and French language broadcasting, while sharing common aspects, operate under different conditions and may have different requirements;
>
> (d) the Canadian broadcasting system should
>
>> (i) serve to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada,
>>
>> (ii) encourage the development of Canadian expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity, by displaying Canadian talent in entertainment programming and by offering information and analysis concerning Canada and other countries from a Canadian point of view,
>>
>> (iii) through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society, and
>>
>> (iv) be readily adaptable to scientific and technological change;

(e) each element of the Canadian broadcasting system shall contribute in an appropriate manner to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming;

(f) each broadcasting undertaking shall make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use, of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming, unless the nature of the service provided by the undertaking, such as specialized content or format or the use of languages other than French and English, renders that use impracticable, in which case the undertaking shall make the greatest practicable use of those resources;

(g) the programming originated by broadcasting undertakings should be of high standard;

(h) all persons who are licensed to carry on broadcasting undertakings have a responsibility for the programs they broadcast;

(i) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should

(i) be varied and comprehensive, providing a balance of information, enlightenment and entertainment for men, women and children of all ages, interests and tastes,

> (ii) be drawn from local, regional, national and international sources,
> (iii) include educational and community programs,
> (iv) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to be exposed to the expression of differing views on matters of public concern, and
> (v) include a significant contribution from the Canadian independent production sector;

(j) educational programming, particularly where provided through the facilities of an independent educational authority, is an integral part of the Canadian broadcasting system;

(k) a range of broadcasting services in English and in French shall be extended to all Canadians as resources become available;

(l) the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as the national public broadcaster, should provide radio and television services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains;

(m) the programming provided by the Corporation should

> (i) be predominantly and distinctively Canadian,
> (ii) reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions,
> (iii) actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression,
> (iv) be in English and in French, reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities,

(v) strive to be of equivalent quality in English and in French,

(vi) contribute to shared national consciousness and identity,

(vii) be made available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose, and

(viii) reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada;

(n) where any conflict arises between the objectives of the Corporation set out in paragraphs (l) and (m) and the interests of any other broadcasting undertaking of the Canadian broadcasting system, it shall be resolved in the public interest, and where the public interest would be equally served by resolving the conflict in favour of either, it shall be resolved in favour of the objectives set out in paragraphs (l) and (m)

(o) programming that reflects the aboriginal cultures of Canada should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system as resources become available for the purpose;

(p) programming accessible by disabled persons should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system as resources become available for the purpose;

(q) without limiting any obligation of a broadcasting undertaking to provide the programming contemplated by paragraph (i), alternative television programming services in English and in French should be provided where necessary to ensure that the full range of programming contemplated by that paragraph is made available through the Canadian broadcasting system;

(r) the programming provided by alternative television programming services should

(i) be innovative and be complementary to the programming provided for mass audiences,

(ii) cater to tastes and interests not adequately provided for by the programming provided for mass audiences, and include programming devoted to culture and the arts,

(iii) reflect Canada's regions and multicultural nature,

(iv) as far as possible, be acquired rather than produced by those services, and

(v) be made available throughout Canada by the most cost-efficient means;

(s) private networks and programming undertakings should, to an extent consistent with the financial and other resources available to them,

(i) contribute significantly to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming, and

(ii) be responsive to the evolving demands of the public; and

(t) distribution undertakings

(i) should give priority to the carriage of Canadian programming services and, in particular, to the carriage of local Canadian stations,

(ii) should provide efficient delivery of programming at affordable rates, using the most effective technologies available at reasonable cost,

(iii) should, where programming services are supplied to them by broadcasting undertakings pursuant to contractual arrangements, provide reasonable terms for the carriage, packaging and retailing of those programming services, and

(iv) may, where the Commission considers it appropriate, originate programming, including local programming, on such terms as are conducive to the achievement of the objectives of the broadcasting policy set out in this subsection, and in particular provide access for underserved linguistic and cultural minority communities.

(2) It is further declared that the Canadian broadcasting system constitutes a single system and that the objectives of the broadcasting policy set out in subsection (1) can best be achieved by providing for the regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system by a single independent public authority.

Appendix B INTERVIEWS AND BIOGRAPHIES

FUSE PRODUCTION TEAM

Crockard, Caitlin. *Producer, CBC Ottawa*. Interview, Broadview Espresso, Ottawa, 2 September 2015.

———. Email. 10 February 2017.

> *Caitlin Crockard was the series producer for* Fuse *and* Bandwidth *(the regional arts magazine for Ottawa). She currently works on* All in a Day*, a daily drive-home program broadcast in eastern Ontario and western Quebec.*

Neal, Alan. *Host, CBC Ottawa*. Broadview Espresso, the Glebe, Ottawa ON, 4 September 2015.

> *Alan Neal hosted season 3 of Fuse and in the current host of CBC Radio One's* All in a Day*. He's also filled in as a host on* The Roundup*, Ottawa Morning*, Bandwidth*, and launched a national summer show called* The Other Story*. He's a syndicated columnist and has worked as a playwright.*

CBC REGIONAL PERSONNEL

Bergfeldt, Wendy. *Producer, CBC Cape Breton.* Interview, CBC Station, Sydney Nova Scotia. 28 June 2012.

> *Wendy Bergfeldt is Cape Breton-based journalist and producer, who has also worked as a correspondent and field producer for BBC Scotland, as a reporter in the Prairies, and current affairs host for CBC North. She has also producer CDs highlighting Cape Breton fiddlers, Gaelic singers, and Acadian women, garnering her award nominations from the Music Industry Association of Nova Scotia and the East Coast Music Awards.*

Glassman, Steve. *Producer, CBC Edmonton.* Telephone Interview. 22 August 2012.

> *Steve Glassman was an Area Producer of Entertainment for CBC Alberta until November 2014.*

Laurent, Sophie. *Producer, CBC Montreal.* Telephone Interview. 20 September 2012.

> *Sophie Laurent was a music producer for CBC Montreal until 2014. She was the regular producer for A Propos, Montreal's regional arts magazine, as well as producing a variety of special projects including* Mundo Montréal *and* Rendez-Vous*. Before becoming a broadcaster, she was an ethnomusicologist, specializing in the ritual music of Nepal.*

Reilly, Jeff. *Producer, CBC Halifax*. Telephone Interview. 4 May 2012.

> *Jeff Reilly is a senior music producer at CBC Radio. As of 2015 he was the head of the music department in Halifax and regular producer of Radio 2's Choral Concert. Jeff is also a noted bass clarinet soloist and composer, performing with the trio "Sanctuary" and as a soloist on Warner Classics and ECM records.*

Siddall, Jon. *Producer, CBC Vancouver*. Telephone Interview. 9 August 2012.
———. *Producer, CBC Vancouver*. Telephone Interview. 10 August 2012.
———. *Producer, CBC Vancouver*. Email. 27 January 2017.

> *Jon Siddall is a Vancouver-based music producer for CBC Radio, Television, and online content. He is also an active performer, teacher, composer, and founder of the Evergreen Club Gamelan (Toronto). His work has included collaborations with a diverse range of individuals, including John Cage, Noel Gallagher, and F. X. Widaryanto.*

Skinner, Peter. *Producer, CBC North*. Telephone Interview. 23 August 2012.

> *Peter Skinner is the Yellowknife-based Senior Producer for Radio Current Affairs and Radio Network Producer for Performance and Current Affairs for CBC North.*

Swann, Francesca. *Producer, CBC St. John's*. Interview, CBC Radio and Television Station, St. John's NL. 24 November 2010.

> *Francesca Swann hosted and produced* Musicraft *at CBC St. John's until 2012. Francesca also trained as a classical cellist, performing with ensembles in both Europe and North American, including the Hamburg Symphony Orchestra and the Heidelburg Chamber Music Orchestra. After relocating to Newfoundland, her performing interests expanded to include the traditional music of the region.*

Tilley, Glen. *Producer, CBC St. John's*. Interview, CBC Radio and Television Station, St. John's NL. 15 June 2012.
———. *Producer, CBC St. John's*. Interview, Hungary Heart Café, St. John's NL. 7 August 2012.

> *Glen Tilley has worked in the entertainment industry for more than thirty years in roles ranging from producer and director to actor and writer, and from musician to recording engineer. He is a senior arts and entertainment producer for the CBC, and has worked on a wide variety of programming ranging from regional arts magazines to national broadcasts and online content. As an*

independent music producer, he has recorded more than 20 CDs, garnering him two Juno nominations and two East Coast Music Awards.

CBC NETWORK PERSONNEL

Davis, Nick. *Manager, Program Development, CBC Radio (Toronto)*. Skype Interview. 14 September 2012.

> *Nick Davis is a journalist, writer, and past producer of CBC Toronto's morning show,* Metro Morning*. He is now the Manager of Program Development for CBC Radio, specializing in the development of local programming initiatives. His work as a journalist has included crime reporting and coverage of the Olympics (Nagano and Sydney). He has also taught journalism at Ryerson University, Seneca College, Sheridan College and Centennial College.*

Levine, Karen. *Producer, Sunday Edition (Toronto)*. Telephone Interview. 11 June 2012.

> *Karen Levine has worked for the CBC for more than thirty years, on programs including* The Sunday Edition*,* As It Happens*,* Morningside*, and* This Morning*, and garnering her two Peabody Awards. She turned her prize-winning radio documentary, into a children's book that spent three years on the Canadian bestseller list and has since been translated into numerous languages and sold around the world.*

MacKeigan, Ann. Managing Editor, CBC Music, English Services at CBC (Toronto). Telephone Interview. 26 April 2012.

> *Ann MacKeigan is the Network Executive Producer for the Radio Music department of the CBC, a role that gives her oversight on all network music programs. She specializes in "world music." She was a leader in getting the Womad festival broadcast to Canadian audiences, regular records and produces musicians and festivals, and was the founding producer of the award winning series,* Global Village*.*

MUSICIANS

Mecija, Casey. Interview, Starbucks, Toronto ON, 9 September 2015.

> *Casey Mecija is the former lead singer and songwriter of the Toronto-based indie band, Ohbijou. She is currently the host of the new CBC radio program,* The Doc Project*, and a graduate student in the Women and Gender Studies Institute at the University of Toronto.*

OTHER INTERVIEWS

Rogers, Shelagh. *Independent Producer (British Columbia).* Interview, Coffee Matters, St. John's NL. 28 May 2012.

> *Shelagh Rogers is a British Columbia-based radio broadcaster and current host of CBC Radio One's* The Next Chapter. *She joined the CBC in 1980s, hosting variety of local current affairs and music broadcasts. During her time with the CBC, she guest hosted* Morningside *with Peter Gzowski, then going on to host* This Morning *and* Sounds Like Canada. *In 2011 she was made an Officer of the Order of Canada for her work promoting awareness of mental health and literacy issues in Canada.*

Taylor, Jowi. *Independent Producer (Toronto)*. Skype Interview. 21 April 2012.

> *Jowi Taylor is an award-winning independent Toronto-based radio personality, public speaker, and the originator of the Six String Nation guitar. He formerly hosted* Global Village *(1997–2007). He also hosted and produced the eight-part radio* series The Wire: The Impact of Electricity on Music *and* The Nerve: Music and the Human Experience. *His work for radio has been rewarded with the Prix Italia, a Gabriel Award, and a Peabody Award.*

OTHER CORRESPONDENCE

Andrews, Curtis. Musician. Email. 16 November 2015.

> *Curtis Andrews is a percussionist, specializing in the musical traditions of Ghana and South India. Now based in Vancouver BC where he is pursing graduate work in ethnomusicology, he is originally from Newfoundland. He performed in two of the "Come By Concerts" (St. John's NL).*

McClelland, Catherine. *Producer, CBC Calgary*. Email. 2 May 2012.

> *Catherine MacClelland is a music producer for CBC Calgary. Before becoming a broadcaster she was an oboist and holds a degree in musicology.*

Prpick, Sean. *Network Producer, CBC Saskatchewan*. Email. 23 July 2012.

> *Sean Prpick was a Network Producer based in Saskatchewan, also filling in as a senior and/or executive producer on programs including* Morningside*,* This Morning*,* Sounds Like Canada*,* As It Happens*, and* The Current. *He now works as a freelance journalist.*

Putz, Amanda. *Former host,* Fuse*, CBC Ottawa*. Email. 16 November 2015.

> *Amanda Putz was the main host for* Fuse *(season 1, 2, and 4). She also hosted* Bandwidth *until its cancellation in 2014, was a regular contributor to Radio 3, and worked as a producer on live concerts for Radio 2. In 2014 she left the CBC and now lives in the Netherlands.*

Tuck, Al. Musician. Email. 9 January 2017.

> *Al Tuck is a singer-songwriter from Summerside, Prince Edward Island. He was an influential voice in the Halifax Pop Explosion of the 1990s, and continues to record, release, and tour his music from his base in Prince Edward Island.*

Appendix C   *FUSE* PERSONNEL AND BROADCASTS

PRIMARY PRODUCTION TEAM

Amanda Putz	Host (Season 1, 2, and 4)
Alan Neal	Host (Season 3)
Bill Stunt	Founding producer (Season 1 and 2)
Caitlin Crockard	Producer (Season 3 and 4); Associate producer (Season 1 and 2)
Shane Bryanton	Recording engineer
Marc Parizeau	Recording engineer
Susan Toccalino	Production assistance
Jennifer Taylor	Communications
Carolyn Carson	Communications

ORIGINAL BROADCASTS AND FEATURED MUSICIANS

The following is a complete listing of *Fuse* broadcasts, including date of original broadcast, an episode code that I assigned the broadcast,[313] and the names of the featured performers. I had access to archival copies of sixty-one of the total seventy-five episodes of *Fuse*. Episodes for which there was no available recording are indicated with an asterisks (*). Episodes that were the subject of an In-depth study (see chapter 2) are marked with an addition sign (+).

	Broadcast	Episode	Performers
Season 1			
*	2005/07/03	1-1	Andy Kim, Gentleman Reg, and Danny Michel
+	2005/07/10	1-2	Jenny Whiteley and Stephen Fearing
+	2005/07/17	1-3	Mighty Popo and Kiran Ahluwalia
+	2005/07/24	1-4	Joel Plaskett and Tom Wilson
*	2005/07/31	1-5	Leslie Feist and Kathleen Edwards
*[314]	2005/08/07	1-6	Choclair and Hawksley Workman
+	2005/07/22	1-7	Randy and Tal Bachman
+	2005/10/15	1-8	Lynn Miles and Jim Bryson

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[313] The episode code comprises two numbers. The first number specifies the season during which the episode was broadcast. The second number indicates broadcast order. There is one exception to this numbering system: episode 2-16. No program log existed for this episode so it was added after the rest of the season had already been assigned codes. Because I was unable to access a program log, broadcast details are unavailable. The cited broadcast date was inferred based on a gap in the broadcast schedule and an advertisement at the end of episode 2-13.

[314] After citing one of the performances from this episode as a particular favourite, Caitlin shared a copy of that particular track with me. While I don't have access to the broadcast in its entirety or any of the dialogue that contextualized the performance, the track did enable consideration of the qualities that she identified as exemplary.

+	2005/10/22	1-9	Golden Dogs and Golden Seals
*	2005/10/29	1-10	Sam Roberts and Ron Sexsmith
Season 2			
+	2006/04/08	2-1	Elliott BROOD and Alpha Yaya Diallo
+	2006/04/15	2-2	Ridley Bent and Madagascar Slim and Ndidi Onukwulu
+	2006/04/22	2-3	Colin Linden and Alana Levandoski
+	2006/04/29	2-4	Carolyn Mark and Tony Dekker
+	2006/05/13	2-5	Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir and Sarah Dugas & Andrina Tureene
+	2006/05/20	2-6	Andy Stochansky and Andrew McPherson
	2006/06/03	2-7	Peter Elkas and Alanna Stuart
	2006/06/17	2-8	Jack Semple and Karla Anderson
*	2006/07/01	2-9	Sarah Slean and Buck 65
	2006/07/15	2-10	MIR and Mary Jane Lamond
	2006/07/29	2-11	No Luck Club and Veda Hille
+	2006/08/12	2-12	Amy Millan and Luke Doucet
	2006/08/26	2-13	Kinnie Starr and Skeena Reece
+	2006/[09]/[02]	2-16	Justin Rutledge and Roxanne Potvin
	2006/09/09	2-14	Jason Collett and Al Tuck
*	2006/09/23	2-15	The Acorn and Denise Djokic & David Jalbert
Season 3			
	2006/11/04	3-1	Jim Cuddy and Oh Susanna
	2006/11/11	3-2	Hilotrons and Lily Frost
+	2006/11/18	3-3	Kids on TV and Ohbijou
*	2006/11/25	3-4	Chet and Kellylee Evans
	2006/12/02	3-5	Emm Gryner and DD Jackson
+	2006/12/09	3-6	Matthew & Jill Barber and Bryden, Jesse & Jay Baird
	2006/12/16	3-7	Dione Taylor and DB Clifford
	2007/01/06	3-8	Zaki Ibrahim and Bob Egan
	2007/01/13	3-9	Patrick Watson Band and Torngat
+	2007/01/27	3-10	Jon-Rae & The River and Anne Lindsay
+	2007/02/03	3-11	Creaking Tree String Quartet and Kevin Breit
*	2007/02/17	3-12	Andre Ethier and Sandro Perri
	2007/02/24	3-13	Brothers Creeggan and Mike Evin
	2007/03/10	3-14	Ellen McIlwaine and Lal
+	2007/03/17	3-15	Carole Pope and Hunter Valentine
	2007/03/24	3-16	The Trews and Ron Hynes
	2007/03/31	3-17	Elisabeth Shepherd Trio and David Gogo
+	2007/04/14	3-18	Cadence Weapon and Final Fantasy

	2007/05/06	3-19	Priya Thomas and Royal Wood
+	2007/05/26	3-20	Apostle of Hustle and Tanya Tagaq
+	2007/06/16	3-21	Kobo Town and People Project
*	2007/06/30	3-22	Outtakes and un-aired material
Season 4			
*	2007/09/08	4-1	Abdominal and Henri Faberge & the Adorables
	2007/09/15	4-2	Andrew Cash and Jenn Grant
	2007/09/22	4-3	Wendy McNeill and Lori Yates
	2007/10/06	4-4	Skydiggers and Kyrie Kristmanson
+	2007/10/13	4-5	Christine Fellows and Maybe Smith
+	2007/10/20	4-6	Blackie & the Rodeo Kings and Murray McLauchlan
	2007/11/03	4-7	Petula Clark Fuse
	2007/11/10	4-8	Woodpigeon and Jay Crocker
	2007/11/17	4-9	Gord Downie and The Sadies
	2007/12/08	4-10	Tafelmusik and Rock Plaza Central
*	2007/12/15	4-11	Michael Kaeshammer and Hayley Sales
*	2007/12/22	4-12	Best of Fuse I
*	2007/12/29	4-13	Fuse Re-Covered
	2008/01/05	4-14	Dr. Draw and Grand Analog
	2008/01/19	4-15	Amanda Martinez and Justin Hines
+	2008/02/02	4-16	Catherine MacLellan and Bob Wiseman
	2008/02/23	4-17	Julie Doiron and the Superfantastics
	2008/03/15	4-18	Two Hours Traffic, Ruth Minnikin, and Chris Luedecke
	2008/03/29	4-19	Julian Fauth and Melissa McClelland
	2008/04/19	4-20	Katie Stelmanis and Fred Eaglesmith
	2008/05/03	4-21	Laura Barrett and the Hylozoists
	2008/05/17	4-22	Greg Keelor and Cuff the Duke
	2008/05/31	4-23	Sunparlor Players and Voices of Praise Gospel Group
+	2008/06/14	4-24	C.R. Avery and The Sojourners
	2008/08/30	4-25	Threat from Outer Space and Whitehorse Blues Allstars
*	2008/09/06	4-26	Basia Bulat and Done Gone String Band
	2008/09/13	4-27	The Choir Practice and Oye!
	2008/09/20	4-28	Finest Kind and Forest City Lovers

Appendix D   GLOSSARY OF MUSICIANS

This Glossary contains biographical notes for all of the musicians featured on *Fuse* who were also discussed in this dissertation; this is not a comprehensive listing of all of the *Fuse* performers. Note, too, that the descriptions offered here refer to the particular configurations of performers who appeared on *Fuse*. Some of the bands, in particular, have subsequently made changes to their memberships.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Agnostic Mountain Gospel Choir	2-5 3-22	A Calgary-based band comprising Bob Keelaghan (guitar, vocals), Judd Palmer (harmonica, banjo, vocals), Jay Woolley (percussion), and Vlad Sobolewski (bass). Their music can be described as a mix of pre-war country blues and old-time bluegrass. The band's debut album launched in 2003, though founding members, Bob and Vlad, previously played together in another Calgary-based band.
Ahluwalia, Kiran	1-3	A ghazal singer with a particular affinity for intercultural projects, especially projects that bring together her specialties in the vocal traditions of India and Pakhistan with western and Saharan influences. Ahluwalia was born in India and immigrated to Toronto as a child. While initially planning to pursue a career in finance, she instead returned to India for intensive musical training. Upon returning to Canada she released her first album, Kashish-Attraction in 2001. Her subsequent recordings have garnered her Juno awards and a Songlines/WOMAD Best Newcomer (UK) Award. She lives in New York with her husband and primary collaborator, Rez Abbasi.
Apostle of Hustle	3-20 4-12	Comprising Andrew Whiteman (guitar), Julian Brown (bass, guitar), and Dean Stone (percussion), Apostle of Hustle is a Toronto-based indie rock group that formed in 2001 and released their first album in 2004. Citing Stan Getz and Jao Gilberto as primary influences, this primarily instrumental band has strong Cuban influences. The membership

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		collectively possess strong connections to Broken Social Scene, Feist, Matthew Barber, and Amy Millan.
Avery, CR	4-24	CR Avery (b. 1976) is an Ontario-born, Vancouver-based hip hop/slam poetry performer, who also plays the harmonica. He has won the CBC Poetry Face-Off, and performed with the likes of Tom Waits, Ani DiFranco, and Utah Phillips. He released his first album in 2006.
Bachman, Randy	1-7	Randy Bachman (b. 1973) is a multi-award winning guitarist, singer, and songwriter, best known as a founding member of the rock bands The Guess Who and Bachman-Turner Overdrive. At the time of his appearance on Fuse he had just begun hosting Vinyl Tap, a specialist disc-spin show on CBC targeting listeners with interests in "classic" rock of the 1960s and '70s. Though based in Salt Spring Island, BC, he is originally from Winnipeg, MB—the child of German and Ukrainian parents.
Bachman, Tal	1-7	Born in 1968, Tal Bachman is the son of Randy Bachman. He is best-known for his 1999-hit "She's So High," which also garnered him two Juno awards, though has been active in backing guitar roles since 1992. He is an outspoken opponent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, an organization in which he served as a missionary.
Baird Brothers	3-6 4-12	Oshawa-born and Toronto-based brothers Bryden (piano, trumpet), Jay (bass), Jesse (drums) Baird are best-known as backing musicians.
Barber, Jill	3-6 4-12	Jill Barber (b. 1980) is a Halifax-based sing-songwriter from Port Credit, Ontario. Her music is typically classified as folk-pop and jazz. At the time of her appearance on Fuse she had been nominated for several East Coast Music Awards; subsequently she won Best Album of the Year for her For All Time Album and

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		Female artist of the Year. She is married to Grant Lawrence, a well-known CBC Radio 3 personality, and her brother is Matthew Barber, a singer-songwriter.
Barber, Matthew	3-6 4-12	Matthew Barber (b. 1977) is a Toronto-based singer-songwriter from Port Credit, Ontario. His music is typically described as indie pop with rock, folk, and alternative country influences. He released his debut album in 1999.
Barrett, Laura	4-21	A classically trained pianist, Barrett is a Toronto-based indie pop singer-songwriter who is best-known for incorporating the kalimba into her music. She released her first full-length album in 2005.
Breit, Kevin	3-11 3-22	Toronto-based guitarist, vocalist, and singer-songwriter Kevin Breit is perhaps best known as a session musician. He's toured with Cassandra Wilson, Norah Jones, Michael Kaeshammer, Celine Dion, Harry Manx, Holly Cole, Rosanne Cash, Serena Ryder, and the Rankins. His discography includes several Grammy award winning albums. He also performs regularly with his own bands, Folkalarm (a folk group) and The Sisters Euclid (jazz band). He has been active as a musician since the 1990s.
Bryson, Jim	1-8	Jim Bryson (b. 1969) is an Ottawa-based singer-songwriter. He released his first album in 2000, though is perhaps best known for his work as a session musician. He has toured and recorded with Kathleen Edwards, Lynn Miles, Sarah Harmer, The Weakerthans, Hilotrons, and The Tragically Hip. He is also noted as a record producer.
Cadence Weapon (Pemberton, Rollie)	3-18 4-13	Rollie Pemberton (b. 1986) is a rapper from Edmonton, Alberta. He released his first album, Breaking Kayfabe, in 2005. The album was subsequently nominated for a Polaris prize. He credits his wide-ranging influences to his father, DJ Teddy Pemberton, who was

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		considered a pioneering voice on Edmonton's campus and community radio station, CJSR.
Cash, Andrew	4-2 4-13	Toronto-born Andrew Cash (b. 1962) is a singer-songwriter, music journalist, and politician. His first band, L'Etranger, was an '80s punk band based out of Toronto. After the band broke up in 1986, Cash went on to record solo albums and toured with his brother, Peter (of the folk band, Skydiggers), as the Cash Brothers.
Choclair (Blake, Kareem)	1-6	Of Jamaican descent, Kareem Blake (b. 1975, Scarborough, Ontario) is a rap artist. He released a debut single in 1995 on his own independent label and went on to make several other independent releases and win two Juno and a MuchMusic Video Award, before being signed by Priority Records in 1999.
The Choir Practice	4-27	Comprising Coco Culbertson (b. 1982, songwriter, vocals, guitar), Kristen Halliday, Chris Kelly, Chris Leitch, and Darcy McIntyre for their appearance on Fuse, the Choir Practice is an indie collective that formed in Vancouver in 2005. They mainly perform choral arrangements of pop songs.
Collett, Jason	2-14	Born in Bramalea, Ontario, Jason Collett moved to downtown Toronto in the late 1990s to pursue a career in music. He was part of a short-lived alt-country band with Andrew Cash and Hawksley Workman before joining Broken Social Scene ca. 2000. He has subsequently released several solo albums.
Creaking Tree String Quartet	3-11 3-22	Comprising John Showman (violin), Andrew Collins (mandolin), Brad Keller (guitar), and Brian Kobayakawa (bass), this award-winning Toronto-based bluegrass crossover group released its first album in 2003.
Creeggan Brothers (Andy and Jim)	3-13	A Toronto-based rock/jazz ensemble that includes Andy (b. 1971, guitar, piano, accordion, percussion, vocals) and Jim (b. 1970, upright bass, guitar, bass guitar, vocals).

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		The brothers have performed together since childhood. They released their first album in 1992 as well as founding The Barenaked Ladies.
Crocker, Jay	4-8 4-12	Born in Calgary (ca. 1979), guitarist Jay Crocker formed his first band, Recipe from a Small Planet when he was 15 years old. He met his main collaborating partner, percussionist Chris Dadge while studying jazz at Mount Royal College. They are best known for extended improvisation and experimental approaches to jazz.
Cuddy, Jim	3-1 3-22	A native of Toronto, singer-songwriter Jim Cuddy (b. 1955) is best-known as a founding member and frontman for the alt-country band Blue Rodeo (formed 1984). He was admitted to the Order of Canada in 2013.
Cuff the Duke	4-22	Comprising Wayne Petti (guitar, vocals), Dale Murray (pedal steel, vocals), and Corey Wood (drums), this alt-country band formed in Oshawa in 2001.
Diallo, Alpha Yaya	2-1	Born in Guinea in 1968, Alpha Yaya Diallo is a Vancouver-based multi-award winning guitar player. He toured extensively in Europe during the 1980s in association with Peter Gabriel's label. Diallo immigrated to Canada in 1991 and released his first Canadian album in 1993.
Doucet, Luke	2-12 4-19	Born in Halifax and raised in Manitoba, Luke Doucet (b. 1973) is a critically acclaimed singer-songwriter and guitar player based out of Vancouver. He is an experienced session musician, touring and appearing on the albums of, among others, Sarah McLachlan, Chantal Kreviazuk, Oh Susanna, and Veda Hille. He also performs in a duo with his wife, Melissa McClelland, called Whitehorse.
Downie, Gord	4-9 4-13	From Kingston, Ontario, Gord Downie (b. 1964) is the lead singer of rock band The Tragically Hip. He has also released a number of solo albums.

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Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Dr. Draw **(Draw, Eugene)**	4-14	Eugene Draw (b. 1982) is a Russian-born Canadian violinist. He performs experimental works combining virtuosic playing with electronics, drawing on influences that range from classical to club culture. He released his first album in 2003.
Eaglesmith, Fred	4-20	From Port Dover, Ontario, Fred Eaglesmith (b. 1957) is a singer-songwriter. His songs feature rural and working-class themes. He released his first album in 1980 and is known for his long-time collaboration with Willie P. Bennett.
Edwards, Kathleen	1-5	Kathleen Edwards (b. 1978) is an Ottawa-based rock singer-songwriter. See released her debut album in 2003; it and subsequent releases have all garnered critical acclaim and award nominations. Her primary collaborator, until their divorce in 2011, was guitar player Colin Cripps.
Egan, Bob	3-8	Bob Egan is an American-born pedal steel player. In addition to his solo work, he has played in the bands Wilco and Blue Rodeo. His session work also includes recording with Oh Susanna, The Tragically Hip, Cowboy Junkies, Hayden, Jason Collett, and the Sadies.
Elliott BROOD	2-1	Comprising Mark Sasso (guitar, banjo, vocals), Casey Laforet (guitar), and Steve Pitkin (drums), this Toronto-based alt-country band incorporates strong old-time and bluegrass influences. They formed in 2002 and have subsequently been awarded the Galaxy Rising Star Award, and received Juno and Polaris nominations.
Ethier, Andre	3-12	Andre Ethier (b. 1977) is a Toronto-born singer-songwriter and visual artist. He is a former member of the rock band, The Deadly Snakes, and has also released three solo albums—the first in 2004.
Evans, Kellylee	3-4 4-7 4-13	Born in Scarborough, Ontario and based out of Ottawa, Kellylee Evans (b. 1975) is a Juno-nominated jazz and soul vocalist. Educated in law at Carleton University, she put her

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		master's degree on hold to pursue a career in music. In 2004, she won second place in the Thelonious Monk International Jazz Vocals Competition.
Evin, Mike	3-13	Born in Montreal and based in Toronto, Mike Evin is a singer-songwriter and piano player. He released his first EP in 2001 and his second album was co-produced by the Brothers Creeggan.
Fauth, Julian	4-19	Born in Germany and raised in Kitchener, Ontario, Julian Fauth is a blues pianist, singer, and songwriter. He relocated to Toronto in the mid-1990s and began gigging around Kensington Market bars in 1996. He released his first album in 2005 and has subsequently received Juno awards, a Maple Blues Award, and other critical recognition.
Fearing, Stephen	1-2 4-6	Stephen Fearing is a Vancouver-born singer-songwriter. He released his first solo album in 1986, leading to contracts with the Canadian labels Aural Tradition and True North Records. In addition to his solo career, he is a founding member of the band Blackie and the Rodeo Kings (comprising Colin Lindon and Tom Wilson) and the duo Fearing & White.
Feist, Leslie	1-5	Leslie Feist (b. 1976), sometimes known more simply as Feist, is an indie pop singer-songwriter and member of the rock group, Broken Social Scene. She was born in Nova Scotia, but moved to the Prairies when her parents divorced. In 1996, she moved to Toronto. Her first solo album was released in 1999, and subsequent recording activities have garnered her Grammy nominations and Juno awards.
Fellows, Christine	4-5 4-13	Born in Windsor Ontario, singer-songwriter Christine Fellows (b. 1968) has lived in various Canadian cities and settled in Winnipeg in 1992. She formed her first performing group in 1993 and released her debut solo album, 2

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		Little Birds, in 2000. Her style is sometimes described as folk-pop.
Final Fantasy (Pallett, Owen)	3-18 4-13	Until 2010, Owen Pallett (b. 1979) performed under the name, Final Fantasy. He is a singer-songwriter, violinist, and keyboardist, who uses a variety of looping pedals and electronics to generate his own accompaniments. He released his first album in 2005 and in 2006 won the Polaris Prize for his album, He Poos Clouds.
Finest Kind	4-28	Comprising Ann Downey (bass, banjo, vocals), Sheldon Posen (guitar, percussion, vocals), and Ian Robb, Finest Kind is a folk trio specializing in the music of the English folk revival. They formed in the early 1990s and released their first album in 1996.
Forest City Lovers	4-28	Comprising Kat Burns (singer-songwriter, piano, guitar), Tim Bruton (guitar, keyboards), Kyle Donnelly (bass), Mika Posen (violin, piano), Eric Woolston (drums), Forest City Lovers formed in 2006 in Toronto. They released their first album in 2008 and in 2011 were nominated for an Independent Music Award in the Indie/Alt./Hard Rock Album category.
Frost, Lily	3-2	Lily Frost is a Toronto-based singer-songwriter who studied jazz at Concordia University in Montréal. She started performing in Vancouver garage bands and busking in 1993. Upon returning to Toronto, she met and married José Miguel Contreras, who is now also her primary collaborator and producer.
Golden Dogs	1-9	Comprising the Thunder Bay-born husband and wife songwriting team of Dave Azzolini (guitar, vocals) and Jessica Grassia, this Toronto-based rock band formed in 2001 and released their first EP in 2002.
Golden Seals (Merritt, Dave)	1-9	Dave Merritt (b. 1967) is an Ottawa-based singer-songwriter, originally from Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Grand Analog (Williams, Odario)	4-14	Grand Analog is a Toronto-based hip hop band that formed in 2006. It is fronted by Odario Williams, a Guyana-born and Winnipeg-raised rapper, and backed by Warren Bray (bass) and Alister Johnson (keyboards).
Grant, Jenn	4-2 4-13	Jenn Grant (b. 1980) is a Halifax-based singer-songwriter, originally from Prince Edward Island. Her style is generally described as pop-based. She released her first EP in 2005, and has subsequently been awarded Best New Artist and Best female artist at the Nova Scotia music awards.
Great Lake Swimmers (Dekker, Tony)	2-4	Originally from Wainfleet, Ontario, Tony Dekker is now based in Toronto. This folk-rock singer-songwriter performs under the name "Great Lake Swimmers," with the moniker sometimes expanding to include other band members. He released his first album in 2003.
Gryner, Emm	3-5 3-22 4-7 4-13	Born in Sarnia, Ontario of Irish and Filipina descent, Emm Gryner (b. 1975) completed a Music Industry Arts program at Fanshawe College in 1995. She moved to Toronto that same year to launch her career as a singer-songwriter and subsequently lived in New York City, Los Angeles, and toured as the keyboard player in David Bowie's band while she refined her skills as a composer and singer. Subsequent solo releases have garnered critical acclaim and awards.
Hawksley Workman (Corrigan, Ryan)	1-6	Ryan Corrigan (b. 1975, Huntsville, ON) is a critically-acclaimed singer-songwriter, multi-instrumentalist, and producer. His music is sometimes characterized as a combination of cabaret pop and glam rock. He released his first alblum in 1998 and his music has subsequently been featured on television shows including Scrubs, Being Human, and Queer as Folk. His production work includes albums for The Cash Brothers, Tegan and Sara, Skydiggers, Sarah Slean, and Serena Ryder.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Hille, Veda	2-11	Veda Hille (b. 1968) is a Vancouver-based singer-songwriter and piano player. Her background includes classical training and interests in pop and jazz, all of which combine in her experimental and multidisciplinary approaches to performance. She released her first independent cassette in 1992.
Hilotrons	3-2	Comprising Mike Dubue (b. 1978, keyboards, vocals), Philip Shaw Bova (drums), Paul Hogan (guitar), and Damian Sawka (bass), this Ottawa-based indie pop and electronic dance band released their first album in 2003. Their subsequent release, Happymatic (2008) garner a Polaris long-listing.
Hines, Justin	4-15	Originally from New Market, Ontario, Justin Hines is a Toronto-based singer-songwriter who released his first album in 2007. He uses his concerts and tours as a vehicle for raising funds and awareness for people with disabilities (he has Larsen's syndrome and is confined to a wheelchair).
Hunter Valentine	3-15	Comprising Kiyomi McCloskey (b. 1985, guitar, vocals), Adrienne Lloyd (bass), and Laura Petracca (b. 1980, drums), this rock band comes out of Toronto's Queen Street Scene. They formed in 2004 and released their first album in 2007.
Hylozoists	4-21	The Hylozoists are an originally Halifax-based instrumental rock "supergroup" brought together by producer Paul Aucoin (vibraphone) in 2001. The group was revived in 2004, this time in Toronto, bringing together members of various indie bands in an ever-shifting lineup of musicians. Their performance on Fuse featured: Paul Lowman (bass, Cuff the Duke); Randy Lee (violin); Greg Milson (drums, Gentleman Reg, Great Lake Swimmers); Christopher Sandes (piano, Cuff the Duke); and Francois Turenne (guitar).
Hynes, Ron	3-16 4-13	Originally from Ferryland, NL, Ron Hynes (1950–2015) was a singer-songwriter and

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		founding member of The Wonderful Grand Band. He released seven solo albums during his lifetime and won multiple awards, including an honorary doctorate from Memorial University and the St. John's Folk Arts Council's Lifetime Achievement award. He was best known for his song, "Sonny's Dream."
Ibrahim, Zaki	3-8	Born in British Columbia to a South African father and British mother, singer-songwriter Zaki Ibrahim grew up in Canada, South Africa, the United Kingdom, France, and Lebanon. She moved to Toronto and released a solo album in 2006. Her music combines R&B, soul, and rap.
Jackson, DD	3-5 3-22	Born in Ottawa, classical crossover pianist and composer DD Jackson (b. 1967) lives in New York. He has won Emmy and Juno awards for his contributions. He teaches at Hunter College and Harlem School of the Arts.
Jon-Rae and the River	3-10	Featuring Jon-Rae Fletcher (guitar, vocals), this Toronto-based gospel rock band includes Jonathan Adjemian (piano), Dave Clarke (drums), Anne Rust D'Eye (flute), Paul Mortimer (guitar), and Ian Russell (bass). Fletcher originally formed the band in Vancouver, but later disbanded and reformed the band in Toronto in 2003.
Keelor, Greg	4-22	Born in Montréal, singer-songwriter, guitarist, and producer Greg Keelor (b. 1954) moved to Toronto as a child. He is a founding member of the alt-country band Blue Rodeo.
Kids on TV	3-3	Kids on TV is a punk and electronics experimental band comprising, among others Scott Kerr (aka Wolf) on guitar and vocals, and John Caffery on bass and vocals. Based in Toronto, they released their first album in 2007, though they contributed to several compilation albums beginning in 2004.
Kim, Andy	1-1	Born in Montréal of Lebanese descent, Andy Kim is a singer-songwriter who is best known for his chart-topping singles from the late 1960s and '70s. His "Rock Me Gently" topped

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		US charts in 1974 and "Sugar Sugar," as performed by the Archies" was Billboard's record of the year in 1969.
Kobo Town	3-21	Comprising Drew Gonsalves (guitar, Quattro, vocals), Robert Milicevic (percussion), and Stuart Watkins (bass), Kobo Town is an Ottawa-based calypso trio. Led by Gonsalves as a way of celebrating his Trinidadian roots, the band released their first album in 2007.
Kristmanson, Kyrie	4-4 4-12	Born in Ottawa and raised in Quebec, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and France, singer-songwriter, guitarist, and trumpet player Kyrie Kristmanson (b. ca. 1990) debuted at the Winnipeg Folk Festival in 2006. She performs in both French and English, and incorporates jazz, folk, and classical influences in her music.
Lal	3-14 3-22 4-12	This Toronto-based ensemble formed in 1998, bringing together Bengal-born poet, singer, and activist Rosina Kazi with Barbados-born sound designer and producer Nicholas Murray (electronics). Ian DeSousa (bass) joined them for their performance on Fuse. This ensemble combines electronics with a strong social mandate and wide ranging influences, including Fela Kuti, Massive Attack, Pete Rock, and Detroit Techno.
Lamond, Mary Jane	2-10	Born in Kingston, Ontario, Mary Jane Lamond (b. 1960) is a Gaelic language singer specializing in the folk songs of Cape Breton Island. She released her first album, Bho Thir Nan Craobh (From the Land of the Trees), in 1994 while she was still a student at St. Francis Xavier University. She gained a national audience in 1995 when she released "Sleepy Maggie" in partnership with fiddler Ashley MacIsaac.
Levandoski, Alana	2-3	A native of Kelwood Manitoba, Alana Levandoski is a singer-songwriter. She released her debut album, Unsettled Down, in July 2005. She has also worked as a songwriter in Nashville, Tennessee.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Linden, Colin	2-3 4-6	Raised in Toronto, Colin Linden is a Nashville-based singer-songwriter, guitar player, and producer. He was drawn to the blues from an early age and who benefited from the mentorship of great bluesmen like Howlin' Wolf. He is a founding member, along with Stephen Fearing and Tom Wilson, of Blackie and the Rodeo Kings.
Lindsay, Anne	3-10	Anne Lindsay is a Toronto-born contemporary fiddler/violinist. As a session musician, she has performed with Led Zeppelin, The Chieftains, Blue Rodeo, James Taylor, and Roger Daltry. She released her debut solo album, Eavesdropping, in 2001.
Luedecke, Chris	4-18	Also known as "Old Man Luedecke," Chris Luedecke (b. 1976) is a Juno award-winning singer-songwriter and banjo player from Toronto and living in Chester, Nova Scotia.
MacLellan, Catherine	4-16	Born in Summerside, Prince Edward Island, the daughter of songwriter Gene MacLellan, Catherine MacLellan (b. 1981) is a folk singer-songwriter. She began her musical career as a singer with the four-piece band, the New Drifts. In 2004, she released her first solo album.
Madagascar Slim (Randriamananiara, Ben)	2-2	Born in Madagascar, multi-Juno-winning guitarist Ben Randriamananiara (b. 1956) moved to Canada in 1979 to study English and accounting at Seneca College. He is a member of the folk band Tri-Continental, the world music collective African Guitar Summit. He also performs as a solo artist and in collaboration with blues singer Ndidi Onukwulu. He cites Jimi Hendrix and BB King as his primary influences.
Mark, Carolyn	2-4	Carolyn Mark is a Victoria-based alt-country singer-songwriter. While pursuing a solo career, she has also performed with Neko Case as The Corn Sisters, and with the bands the Vinaigrettes, Jr. Gone Wild.
Martinez, Amanda	4-15	Born and raised in Toronto of Mexican and South African descent, Amanda Martinez (b.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		1971) sings Afro-Cuban and Latin influenced music. She is also a host for CBC Music.
Maybe Smith (Skrapek, Colin)	4-5 4-13	Colin Skrapek is a singer-songwriter from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. His indie pop songs make extensive use of MIDI and electronics. He released his first EP in 2002.
McClelland, Melissa	4-19	American-born and raised in Burlington, Ontario, Toronto-based singer-songwriter Melissa McClelland's music combines the blues and Americana. She released her first solo album in 2001. Subsequently, her primary collaborator has become her husband, guitar player Luke Doucet. They perform together in the duo, Whitehorse.
McIlwaine, Ellen	3-14 3-22 4-12	Ellen McIlwaine (b. 1945) is an American-born slide guitar player who now lives in Alberta. She was born in Nashville, adopted and raised by missionaries in Japan, and launched her career in Atlanta in the mid-1960s. She released her first solo album, Honky Tonk Angel, in 1972. In 2006, in the lead up to her appearance on Fuse, McIlwaine's primary collaborator was *tabla* player Cassius Khan.
McLauchlan, Murray	4-6	Born in Scotland, Murray McLauchlan (b. 1948) is a multi-award winning songwriter, broadcaster, and member of the Order of Canada. He was an early voice in Toronto's Yorkville music scene, produced by True North Records. He is best known for his songs, among many others, "Farmer's Song" and "Down by the Henry Moore."
McNeill, Wendy	4-3	Wendy McNeill (b. 1971) is an Alberta-born singer-songwriter and accordion player who is now based out of Sweden. Her label, Six Shooter Records, describe her music as "folk-noir." She released her first solo album in 2006.
McPherson, Andrew	2-6	Andrew McPherson is the core member of the world and electronic music fusion band, Eccodek. Based out of Guelph, Ontario, Eccodek released their first album in 1999.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Michel, Danny	1-1 4-7 4-12 4-13	Based out of Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, award winning singer-songwriter and producer Danny Michel (b. 1970) began performing during the 1990s. His first release with Maple Music in 2003, Tales from the Invisible Man, led to a 2004 Juno nomination for New Artist of the Year.
Miles, Lynn	1-8	Lynn Miles (b. 1958) is a multi-award winning singer-songwriter based out of Ottawa. She studied voice and music at Carleton University before embarking on a career that took her from teaching at the Ottawa Folklore Centre to writing songs in Los Angeles. Her 2001 album, Unravel, was awarded a 2003 Juno Award for Best Roots and Traditional Album of the Year.
Millan, Amy	2-12	Originally from Toronto, Amy Millan (b. 1973) is a rock singer and guitarist. She records and performs with Broken Social Scene and the Stars in addition to solo recording projects.
Minnikin, Ruth	4-18	Based in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Ruth Minnikin is a folk-rock singer-songwriter, guitar, and accordion player. In addition to solo projects, she was also a member of the Guthries and the Hylozoists, and has made contributions to the recordings of Joel Plasket, Dale Murray, and Old Man Luedecke, among others. Her first recordings appeared in the mid-1990s.
Mir	2-10	Mir is a Halifax-based pop-rock band comprising Sri Lankan-born brothers Asif (guitar, piano, vocals) and Shehab (bass) Illyas, and Adam Dowling (percussion). They formed in 1998.
Murigande, Mighty Popo	1-3	Mighty Popo is an Ottawa-based and Rwanda/Burundi-born guitar player. He participated in the CBC-produced African Guitar Summit, a project that was awarded a 2004 Juno Award. He describes his music as Canadian guitar, a style that is steeped in local traditions but that crosses genre and style

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		boundaries through collaborations with musicians from many different places.
No Luck Club	2-11	Comprising Trevor Chan (laptop samplist), Matt Chan (turntables), and Paul Belen (turntables), No Luck Club is a Vancouver-based instrumental hip hop group that combines turntable improvisation and sample-based rhythms. The band released their demo CD in 2000.
Ohbijou	3-3	Ohbijou was a seven-piece "orchestral pop" band, comprising Casey Mecija (b. 1981, songwriter, vocals, guitar, ukulele), Jennifer Mecija (b. 1985, keyboards, violin, vocals), Heather Kirby (bass, banjo, guitar), James Bunton (drums, trumpet, melodica), Anissa Hart (cello), Ryan Carley (keyboards, percussion), and Andrew Kinoshita (mandolin, guitar, bass). They released their debut album, Swift Feet for Troubling Times, in 2006.
Oh Susanna (Ungerleider, Suzie)	3-1 3-22	Born in Massachusetts and raised in Vancouver, Suzie Ungerleider is a Toronto-based alt-country singer-songwriter. She released her first EP in 1997.
Onukwulu, Ndidi	2-2	Born in British Columbia of Nigerian descent, Ndidi Onukwulu (b. 1979) is a jazz and blues singer-songwriter. She released her first album in 2006, at which time she was living in Toronto and collaborating regularly with Madagascar Slim.
Oye!	4-27	Danny Fernandez (aka Def3, b. 1981) is a Regina-based hip hop artist, DJ, and visual artists. Oye! was a project that combined his interests in hip hop with his family's background in the music of Chile. Oye! comprised Ramon Fernandez (guitar, vocals), Cristan Moya (guitar, charango, vox), Leo Sepulveda (bass, guitar, quena), Ramon Supelveda (timbales, congos, percussion), Nigel Taylor (trumpet).
Patrick Watson Band	3-9 3-22	Founded and led by Montréal-based singer-songwriter Patrick Watson (b. 1979), the

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		Patrick Watson Band also includes Simon Angell (guitar), Robbie Kuster (drums), and Mishka Stein (bass). The band uses found objects to create experimental pop music.
People Project	3-21	People Project is a multinational collaboration led by Philippe Lafreniere (Ottawa) and Gabriel Bronfman (Mexico City). It brings together local musical influences with jazz and improvised soloing. Other musicians featured in the project include, Zakari Frants (flute, percussion, vocals) and Steve Patterson (saxophone, vocals).
Perri, Sandro	3-12	Sandro Perri (b. 1975) is a Toronto-based multi-instrumentalist and producer whose music has been described as "post-rock," electronic, and experimental. His initial releases, beginning in 1999, were under the name Polmo Polpo. Since 2005 he's been touring under his own name.
Plaskett, Joel	1-4	Based in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Joel Plaskett (b. 1975) is a folk-rock singer-songwriter who first rose to prominence during the Halifax Pop Explosion of the 1990s; he was a member of Thrush Hermit. Since the early twenty-first century, he has mainly worked as a solo act and as the frontman for the Emergency.
Pope, Carole	3-15	Born in England and raised in Toronto, Carole Pope (b. 1946) began her rock career performing in Yorkville, Toronto during the 1960s and '70s. She fronted the new wave band, Rough Trade; their hit "High School Confidential" was among the earliest mainstream engagements of homoerotic themes. Since the 1990s, Pope has continued performing, but as a solo act.
Potvin, Roxanne	2-16	Based in Gatineau, Québec, Roxanne Potvin (b. 1981) is a bilingual singer-songwriter and guitar player. She released her first album in 2002, and has subsequently received multiple Juno nominations and Maple Blues Award nominations.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Reece, Skeena	2-13	Skeena Reece is from the Tsimshian Territory (near Prince Rupert, British Columbia) of Métis/Cree and Tsimshian/Gitksan descent. She is a multidisciplinary artist whose practise includes performance art, spoken word, humour, writing, singing, and songwriting.
Ridley Bent (Fowler, Brian)	2-2	Born in Halifax to a military family, Brian Fowler (b. 1979) was raised in a variety of Canadian locales. Based out of Vancouver, British Columbia, he performs under the moniker "Ridley Bent." His music combines principles of storytelling with country and hip hop.
Roberts, Sam	1-10 3-22	Montréal-born of South African descent, Sam Roberts (b. 1974) is a rock singer-songwriter and guitar player. He played in several bands throughout the 1990s, but in the 2000s began releasing recordings under his own name. Since his release of "Brother Down" in 2002 he has been nominated and won multiple Juno awards.
Rock Plaza Central	4-10	This Toronto-based band centres on the songwriting and music of novelist Chris Eaton (b. 1971, guitar, vocals). Though Eaton adopted the moniker in the late 1990s, the band itself did not come together until several years later when members came together to perform a monthly residency at the Tranzac Club. In 2007 they released an experimental rock album titled Are We Not Horses that told the story of several robotic, six-legged horses. Membership includes: Blake Howard (drums), Scott Maynard (bass), Donald Murray (mandolin, trumpet), Fiona Stewart (violin, trombone), and John Whytock (glockenspiel, trumpet).
Royal Wood (John Nicholson)	3-19	Royal Wood is a Toronto-based singer-songwriter, producer, and arranger, originally from Lakefield, Ontario. He released his first EP in 2003.
Rutledge, Justin	2-16	Toronto-native Justin Rutledge (b. 1979) is an alt-country singer-songwriter. He released his

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		first album in 2004 and has recording credits on the albums of a number of other Canadian musicians, including Melissa McClelland, Oh Susanna, and Kathleen Edwards.
Sadies	4-9 4-13	Comprising Dallas (guitar, vocals) and Travis Good (guitar, vocals), Mike Belitsky (drums), and Sean Dean (bass), the Sadies are a Toronto-based rock/country-western band. The initially formed in 1994.
Sarah & Andrina	2-5 3-22	Sarah Dugas and Andrina Turenne are singers from Winnipeg, Manitoba. Both performed in the a capella vocal group, Madrigaia, which formed in 1999 and drew its membership from Manitoba's French-language community.
Semple, Jack	2-8	Jack Semple is a Regina-based blues guitarist. During the 1980s he was the lead guitarist for the funk and R&B band, The Lincolns, in Toronto. Since returning to Saskachewan, he has focused on his solo career.
Sexsmith, Ron	1-5 1-10 3-22	Ron Sexsmith (b. 1964) is a Toronto-based singer-songwriter, originally from St. Catherine's, Ontario.
Skydiggers	4-4 4-12	This Toronto-based folk rock band was founded by singer Andy Maize and guitarist Josh Finlayson (the rest of the band was not included in their appearance on Fuse) during the 1980s. They released their debut album in 1990.
Sojourners	4-24	This Vancouver-based gospel trio comprises a lineup of American-singers led by Marcus Mosely. Though their membership has changed slightly, their appearance on Fuse also included Ron Small and Will Sanders.
Starr, Kinnie	2-13	From Calgary and based in Vancouver, Kinnie Starr's (b. 1970) music is a combination of hip hop and alternative rock.
Stelmanis, Katie	4-20	Katie Stelmanis is a classically-trained singer and pianist based out of Toronto. Her music combines her western classical influences with electronic dance music. Her debut album was released in 2008.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Stochansky, Andy	2-6	Andy Stochansky is a Los Angeles-based songwriter and, formerly, the drummer for Ani DiFranco's touring band. Of Ukrainian descent, he was born in Toronto. Though he has released multiple solo albums, he is best known as a songwriter: his "Shine" was covered by Shannon Noll in Australia and holds the record for most weeks in the top position in the Australian charts.
Sunparlour Players	4-23	Comprising songwriter Andrew Penner (vocals, guitar, bass, banjo, and kick drum), Michael "Rosie" Rosenthal (drums and glockenspiel), and Dennis Van Dine (clarinet, bass, kick drum), the Sunparlour Players are a Toronto-based alt-country band. Their debut album, Hymns for the Happy was released in 2006.
Tafelmusik	4-10	Tafelmusik is a world-renowned baroque orchestra based in Toronto and led by violinist Jeanne Lamon. Members included in the Fuse broadcast were: Aisslinn Nosky (violin), Cristina Zacharias (violin), Christopher Verrette (violin, viola), Christina Mahler (cello), Allison MacKay (bass), Charlotte Nediger (keyboards), Terry McKenna (guitar, lute).
Tagaq, Tanya	3-20 4-12	Originally from Cambridge Bay, Nunavut, Tanya Tagaq (b. 1971) studied visual arts at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, where she also developed her own solo form of Inuit throat singing. She has been performing, touring, and recording since 2002. Her 2005 album, Sinaa, attracted significant critical attention, garnering multiple Canadian Aboriginal Music Awards and Juno Awards.
Taylor, Dione	3-7	Originally from Regina, Saskatchewan, Dione Taylor is a Toronto-based jazz vocalist. She released her first album, Open Your Eyes, in 2004.
Thomas, Priya	3-19	Raised in Montréal, Priya Thomas is a musician, dancer, choreographer, and scholar. She is classically trained on violin and in Carnatic dance and song. She has toured as a

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
		supporting musician with John Cale, The Fall, Radiohead, and Rufus Wainwright, among others. She released her first solo album in 1996.
Threat from Outer Space	4-25	Led by Tameem Barakat (b. 1977, vocals), this Vancouver-based band comprises Ryan Cranston (saxophone), Matt Creed (bass), Josh Hundert (guitar), and Kristian Naso (trumpet). The group combines hip hop with jazz and funk.
Torngat	3-9 3-22	Torngat is a Montréal-based trio of multi-instrumentalists, including Pietro Amato (horn, electronics, melodeon), Mathieu Charbonneau (Wurlitzer, keyboards, melodeon), and Julien Poissant (percussion, trumpet, melodeon). They first formed in 2001 and released an EP in 2005. Their music is improvisation-based.
The Trews	3-16 4-13	The Trews are a hard rock band from Antigonish, Nova Scotia that initially came together in the early 2000s and are now based out of Toronto. Though a four-piece band, only brothers Colin MacDonald (b. 1978, vocals) and John-Angus MacDonald (guitar) were featured on Fuse.
Tuck, Al	2-14	Raised on Prince Edward Island, singer-songwriter, guitar, and harmonica player Al Tuck (b. 1966) has spent much of his career based out of Halifax. He was an influential voice in the Halifax Pop Explosion of the 1990s, and released his first album in 1994.
Two Hours Traffic	4-18	Founded by Liam Corcoran (b. 1984, vocals, guitar) and Alec O'Hanley (guitar, keyboards, vocals), in 2002 Andrew MacDonald (bass) and Derek Ellis (drums) were added to the roster. Based out of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, they perform pop-rock.
Voices of Praise	4-23	Led by Joy Clarke and accompanied by Steve Johnston, this multidenominational Ottawa-based gospel choir also includes Dave Hubenig, Patrick Joseph, Jerusha Lewis, Chris Methenge, Nema Mugala, and Clarence Smith.

Musician	Episode	Biographical note
Whitehorse Blues All-Stars	4-25	Based out of Whitehorse and led by blues guitarist Brandon Isaak, the band also includes Dave Haddock (bass), and Lonnie Powell (drums).
Whiteley, Jenny	1-2	Jenny Whiteley is a bluegrass and country singer-songwriter from a family of blues and folk musicians: her father is award-winning multi-instrumentalist, composer, and blues musician Chris Whiteley; her step-mother is Caitlin Hanford of Quartette; and her uncle is a folk and blues musician. She began her performing career as a child when she appeared alongside her brother, folk musician Dan Whiteley, on the children's television program, Raffi. Her 2001 self-titled album and 2004 album Hopetown both were awarded Junos for Best Roots and Traditional Album of the Year.
Wilson, Tom	1-4 4-6	Tom Wilson (b. 1969) is a singer-songwriter, guitar player, and rock musician from Hamilton, Ontario. He has performed with bands ranging from Junkhouse to Blackie and the Rodeo Kings, and, most recently, Lee Harvey Osmond, in addition to solo ventures.
Woodpigeon	4-8 4-12	Woodpigeon is an indie pop collective that was founded in Calgary, Alberta by Mark Hamilton (songwriter, guitar, vocals). The lineup that appear on Fuse featured Aimee-Jo Benoit (drums, guitar, vocals), Kenna Burima (keyboards, vocals), Annalea Sordi (flute, glockenspiel, vocals), and Foon Yap (violin, vocals). They released their first album in 2006.
Yates, Lori	4-3	Country music singer-songwriter Lori Yates (b. 1960), released her first album in 1989. She gained her early performing experience during the 1980s on Toronto's Queen Street before moving to Nashville during the 1990s. She moved to Hamilton, Ontario during the early 2000s.

Appendix E   ANALYSING *FUSE*: TOOLS

This appendix describes the research tools used for analysing both individual episodes of *Fuse* (In-depth studies) and the series as whole (Overview Analysis).

IN-DEPTH STUDIES

This seven-part form was used as a prompt for deep engagement with individual episodes of *Fuse*. Unlike the methods employed for the "Overview Analysis" (see below), my approach to the In-depth studies was somewhat emergent. Though conceptually based on the variables described in Pegley's content analysis of MuchMusic and MTV programming (2008:115–124), this tool was intended to identify major themes and trends in my sampling of fusion programming. Variables were, of necessity, adapted based on distinctions in medium and the theoretical priorities of this dissertation. In this section, I detail the variables, definitions, and prompts that shaped my analysis.

1. Keywords

The complete list of keywords is as follows:

Gender
Regional identity
Language politics
Fuse of Canadiana
Privilege of
  invisibility
Alcohol
Drugs
Professionalism
Mediation
Mashup (i.e.,
  collaborative
  performance)
Remix (i.e.,
  collaborative
  performance)

Original
  composition (i.e.,
  collaborative
  performance)
Genre/style
Authenticity
Political identity
Lack of
  collaboration
Group
  improvisation
  (i.e., collaborative
  performance)
Religion
Arts education
CBC policy

Music collector
Alliances Family
  (including
  musical families)
Canadian Icons
Mentorship
Whiteness
Collaborative
  process
Race
Immigrant
Social function of
  art
Technology
Diversity and
  culture

Cover tune clip (i.e.,
  referenced version
  included)
Workshops
Transit story
Canadian music
America vs. Canada
Songwriting
CBC regulars
Home
Pop music
  historiography

2. Episode Comments

    a. *The primary metaphor for discussing fusion is…*
    b. *The terms under which the musicians were recruited…*
    c. *Commentary on the relationship between the two musicians…*
    d. *In terms of temporal distribution of voicing…*
    e. *Other comments/questions…*

3. Production Details

Original Broadcast Date:	*Recording Date:*	*Re-Broadcast Dates:*
Location:		
Production team:	*Producer:*	
	Host:	
	Sound Engineer:	
	Tech:	
	Other:	

4. Musical and Lyric Content

Title, composer, name of the musician/band who made the selection

Musician	Role	Time	Description	Comments
Name	e.g., singer/ instrument, backing/lead	start and end timestamp	Prose description of the music, including melody, harmony, texture, rhythm/meter, voicing, style/genre	General comments about the introduction/credits

I coded the lyric content of songs according to an expanded version of variables elaborated by Pegley (2008:122–23). Variable definitions were adjusted to apply to musical forms without accompanying visuals and five additional categories were added to account for the variety of forms represented on *Fuse* (e.g., content that is actively nationalist and/or "regionalist," instrumental music, and songs with non-English language lyrics):

> *Message 1 (social relevance at the individual level): songs that make personal statements, including love songs and personal narratives.*
>
> *Message 2 (conservative): socially conservative, or patriarchal/sexist/racist messages that may or may not be connected to nostalgic reminiscences.*
>
> *Message 3 (acceptable social commentary): lyric content that, while potentially controversial among particular populations, supports notions that currently find general social acceptance in Canada (as represented by widespread adaptation at the policy level).*
>
> *Message 4 (oppositional social commentary): messages that challenge generally accepted societal notions and argue for social change. Topics include gender awareness, resistance to patriarchy, resistance to white supremacy, commentary that counters celebratory accounts of diversity.*

Message 5 (irreverent): lyrics that are intentionally antisocial and implicitly socially critical. That is, lyrics that engage notions of political correctness/ideology in a tongue-in-cheek, implicitly critical fashion (e.g., in the fashion of George Carlin).

Message 6 (postmodern): lyrics that are consciously anti-narrative and refuse to provide any direction.

Message 7 (nationalist): lyrics that through local and/or national references celebrate Canada in part or as a whole.

Message 8: Instrumental, no meaning described.

Message 9: Instrumental, meaning described.

Message 10: Foreign language, no meaning described.

Message 11: Foreign language, meaning described.

5. Audience

a. *The live audience is…*
b. *The address of the radio audience is…*
c. *The recording of this episode is…*
d. *Types of address prevalent in episode…*

Address 1 (live audience as insiders): emphasis placed on locality and insider knowledge of musical scene. Regional affiliations and identity are emphasized.

Address 2 (live audience as performers): host and/or musician commentary points to the live audience's role as part of the performance for the listening audience.

Address 3 (listener intimacy): extensive use of visual and spatial descriptions in order to provide listening audience with greater sense of intimacy and inclusion.

Address 4 (listener distance): commentary specifically evokes distinctions between the live and listening audience, emphasizing the mediated nature of the listening audience's experience.

Address 5 (neutral address): no special distinction is made between the live and listening audience(s).

Address 6 (regional address): address is directed to a particular community (other than live audience).

6. Performer Information

This coding of performer narratives about home relates to Pegley's "Nationality of performer" variable (2008:118), but also attempts to contextualize affiliation(s) with prominent (sub)categories of identity in Canada:

Home 1 (urban)

Home 2 (rural)

Home 3 (regional): commentary on home describes features associated with particular regions of Canada.

Home 4 (national): commentary on home draws on national narratives and/or nationalist rhetoric.

Home 5 (international): commentary on home focuses on a setting outside of Canada.

Home 6 (personal): commentary on home focuses on features that are more interpersonal in nature and do not reference particular geographies or urban/rural narratives.

Home 7 (multiple): commentary on home names more than one distinctive locale as home.

Home 8 (cosmopolitan): commentary resists naming a place as home in favour of describing a travelling figure: someone who is in motion, moving through places instead of settling, and lacks roots in a specific place.

Home 9 (homeless): commentary actively disputes having a home.

Based on trends in social media usage, preferred touring locales, diasporic and local connections, and relationships with variously conceived audiences, musicians were assigned an overall market/scene orientation:

Orientation 1 (local): musicians who through word and/or action are strongly tied to a particular locality/region/place.

Orientation 2 (mainstream): musicians who pursue careers through traditionally defined channels, such as multinational corporations.

Orientation 3 (global): musicians who remain based in Canada but who have/pursue a significant audience base outside of Canada.

Orientation 4 (transnational): musicians whose careers cannot be associated with a primary orientation, including those with collaborative links and training in non-Canadian contexts.

Orientation 5 (cosmopolitan): musicians who may or may not be associated with a particular locality, but whose careers and music are not specific to that locality. This variable has a catchall function, accounting for musicians who do not clearly fit the parameters of the other categories.

7. Structure and Content

General Format
    a. *The episode opens with…*

b. *The songs performed…*
c. *Topics covered in the discussion portion of the episode include…*
d. *The program log lists the format of the episode as follows:*
e. *The episode ends…*

Questions

Similar to the keywords I assigned, my coding of question types was emergent (i.e., "open coding"). Possible codings were divided into four categories, as follows:

MUSIC:
Song meaning/origins
Cover song

MUSICIAN IDENTITY:
Musician details
Musician influences
Musician approach (i.e., style, creative process)
Instrument definition
Genre/Style definition
Performance practice
Band membership

Authenticating discourse (i.e., question aimed at proving musician legitimacy/experience)
Musician injuries
Future projects

FUSE RELATIONSHIP:
Musician relationship (i.e., with fuse partner, including previous experiences and on fuse)
Collaboration
Future relationship

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS:
Lifestyle
Home
Reception
Music and Technology
Music and place
Regional discourse
Music and pop culture
Travel
Music and Gender
Recording
Music and politics

Discourse

Category	Speaker and object of commentary	Comment/ Reference Type	Quotation	Comments
e.g., social justice; lifestyle (including commentary on religion); new media references; authenticating discourses; definitions; home references; omissions	Name	e.g., discriminatory /irreverent; alliance type; definition type; home reference type	transcript and time stamp	

OVERVIEW ANALYSIS

Based on the patterns and omissions identified in the In-depth Studies, and the need to account for the cumulative effect of *Fuse* as a multipart entity, I developed the Overview Analysis tool to track trends across the four-season run of the series. This portion of the

appendix accounts for the nine sections that comprised my approach, and describes the variables and definitions that were the basis of my analysis (see chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of purpose and theoretical motivations). This tool took the form of a series of interrelated spreadsheets, supporting comparison of information across a variety of domains and enabling quantification of particular trends in content.

1. Broadcast

Broadcast details	Recording location	Production personnel	Notes
Original broadcast date Number of re-broadcasts	City Studio/venue	Host(s) Producer(s) Recording Engineer(s) Tech(s) Production assistant(s) Announcer Other named personnel	e.g., live audience size, media lines, broadcast lineup

2. Introductions

Host introductions were transcribed and coded according to seven variables that accounted for definitions, musician relationships, descriptions of performers, and engagement with the audience. These variables and the range of available coding options are as follows:

a. *Fuse definition*. This variable tracked the ways in which the process of "fusing" and the purpose of the show were defined.

Chemical: Implies some sort of change of state triggered through combination of elements. Includes culinary references, recipes, ignition, fire, sparks.

Future-oriented: Implies reproductive potential through combination of proximate individuals/groups. Includes references to matchmaking, marriage, family.

Combination: Implies co-presence of fundamentally different objects in a fixed time/space without commentary suggesting a permanent change of state or ongoing process that continues outside of the "fuse space" (e.g., blending, mash up). Descriptions reference difference, representation, balance, bridging, etc.

Pop culture: Metaphors from cinema, literature, television, etc., used to describe fuse concept.

Cover/Reinterpretation: Implies relationship with a non-present partner, often with connotations of homage.

b. *Fuse type.* This variable recorded the terms under which the pairing was arranged.

Generational: Musicians are paired based on differences in their ages (e.g., Randy and Tal Bachmann; Carol Pope and Hunter Valentine)
Instruments: Musicians are paired based on performance medium.
Geographic/Place: Musicians are paired based on geographic affiliations.
Style/Genre: Includes 'world music' coding and episodes based on similarity of style genre, e.g., the singer-songwriter episodes)
Best of: Identifies compilation episodes of previously recorded performances.

c. *Relationship type.* This variable tracked the nature of relationships between featured performers.

Mentorship: The relationship between the two musicians was hierarchical with one musician posed as expert and the other as apprentice. There was generally a quantifiable distinction between the musicians in terms of their ages and performing experience that manifested in approaches to song arrangement, adoption of a pedagogical tone in the interactions between the performers, and/or assumption of a tastemaker/gatekeeper role by the "senior" performer.
Peers: The musicians had similar levels of performing experience and/or were regular collaborators.
Promotional/Opportunistic: The performance was less about the interactions of the musicians, instead taking advantage of an externally arranged recording opportunity or featuring a musician who had recently achieved something of note (e.g., performances between Juno nominees that were staged during Juno weekend).
Best of: Episodes that featured broadcaster compilations of previously recorded performances.

d. *Performer and description*. This variable tracked the order in which the performers were introduced to the audience[315] and the genre/style definitions ascribed to performers. The purpose of tracking these details was to determine whether order of introduction correlated to other indicators of

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[315] In the case of seasons one through three, this variable actually references the order of the voiceover introductions rather than the order in which the host described the musician.

performer authority (e.g., sonic dominance, number of songs performed, types of questioning, relationship type).

e. *Audience address type*. This variable attempts to identify the predominate form of address used to articulate the relationship between the host and audience. I also accounted for whether a particular audience configuration was preferred (e.g., local versus national, live versus broadcast).

Live audience as insiders: Emphasis placed on locality and insider knowledge of musical scene. Regional affiliations and identity are emphasized.
Live audience as performers: Host and/or musician commentary points to the live audience's role as part of the performance for the listening audience.
Listener intimacy: Extensive use of visual and spatial descriptions in order to provide listening audience with greater sense of intimacy and inclusion.
Listener distance: Commentary specifically evokes distinction between live and listening audience in order to emphasize the mediated nature of the listening audience's experience.
Neutral address: No special distinction is made between the live and listening audiences.
Regional address: address particular community (other than live audience).

f. *Live audience essential.* This yes/no variable tracked whether the audience (live or listening) was posed as essential to the process of "fusing."

g. *Other notes.* This variable used a combination of keywords (e.g., icon performer; risk taking; place and transit stories; diversity references; CBC policies) and prose descriptions to identify special features of particular episodes. The purpose of this variable was to make episodes searchable by the themes that are the focus of this dissertation.

3. Format

This section of the template focused on the musical content within episodes and across the series, functioning to identify repetitions and variations of performances by particular musicians. Variables coded included:

a. *Discretionary warning.* This variable tracked the presence of a discretionary warning on content.

b. *Opening.* This variable tracked the "anchoring" function of voiceover introductions and their role in constructing listener understandings of the sounds and identities represented in each episode (Pegley 2008:115).

c. *Voiceover types.* Transcripts of available voiceovers were included and coded to identify function. The range of possible codings included genre/aesthetics; authenticating discourse; family; home; ethnicity; musician relationship; transit story; travelling figure. The purpose of coding the types of frames used to introduce musicians was to determine whether there were correlations between musician biographies and the ways in which those asserted identities were narrated to listeners.

d. *Recurrence of introductory music.* This variable tracked whether music from the introduction appeared later in the episode, and if so, whose music was re-presented. The purpose of tracking repetitions was to determine if particular voices were privileged in the broadcast. This information contributes to the discussion of sonic dominance by identifying who gets the first and last "musical word" and whose music was privileged through repetition.

e. *Playout music.* This variable identifies whether the music was derived from content featured in the broadcast or whether the music was generic and used to create continuities between episodes in the series.

4. Musician Relationship

This section of the template tracked details about the relationship of featured musicians, including the terms of their recruitment to perform on *Fuse*, previous encounters and/or performing experiences, and, when available, details of future collaborative projects.

a. *Musician pairing.* This variable tracked whether the pairing was arranged by the CBC or whether it was a musician inspired pairing (including who requested whom).

b. *Motivations.* This variable tracked factors potentially relating to musicians' presence on *Fuse*, including relationships with CBC production personnel, recent/upcoming commercial releases, tour schedules, and award show appearances.

c. *Broadcast preparations.* While not all episodes referenced the preparations that proceeded performances on *Fuse*, the purpose of tracking this information (when available) was to enable me to comment on the resourcing of and investment in fusion programming (see chapter 2).

d. *Musician relationship.* This variable focused on familiarity and level of comfort between collaborating musicians. I recorded details about previous encounters (or the lack thereof) between musicians, ongoing projects, and plans for future collaborations.

e. *Similarity vs. difference.* This variable labelled how musician biographies and musical styles were articulated in relation to each other (i.e., whether commentary framed the musicians as fundamentally similar or different).

5. Musicians

The details coded in this portion of my analysis roughly divide into seven interrelated categories:

a. *Identity.* This variable included performer name, band/ensemble affiliation, and status as a featured performer and/or speaker on *Fuse*.

b. *Home.* This variable identified the places with which musicians were affiliated, including hometown/place of birth and current (as of the broadcast date) place of residence.

c. *Demographic profile.* Identifying gender, sexuality, race, religion, languages spoken, accented speech, nationality, and age were the most problematic elements of the musician analysis. Categories were derived from the 2006 Census of Canada and 2011 National Households Survey, though also accounted for trends and observations noted in the In-depth Studies. In my final analysis, details that were revealed on-air were highlighted to enable consideration of specific identity representations on *Fuse*.

My coding of nationality was based on patterns of identification noted in the In-depth Studies. Possible categorizations were as follows:

Canadian: Unqualified.

Hyphenated Canadian: Canadian, but connections to diasporic communities and/or other nationalities are referenced (e.g., Italian-Canadian, Guyanese-Canadian). Hyphenated identities were usually associated with being a new or first generation Canadian, or referenced an affiliation with an established heritage community.

Multiple: This coding, similar to the "Home 8 (Cosmopolitan)" coding used in the In-depth Studies, was applied to individuals who referenced transnational circumstances, including affiliations/homes within multiple nation states.

French Canadian: Canadian who qualified their nationality through reference to belonging within a particular linguistic community (N.B., this category

does not differentiate between particular French speaking communities within Canada).

Ex Pat: Individuals who claimed Canadian nationality, but who lived outside of Canada.

Non-national: Individuals who were not citizens or residents of Canada.

d. *Musical identity*. This variable tracked whether musicians were identified as singer-songwriters, the instrument/voice type of performers, the genre notated on the CBC music website, and my own genre description.

Uncategorized: Used to reference musicians for whom archival recordings were unavailable.

Singer-songwriter: Primarily performs his/her own music, usually a solo act, sings with accompaniment of a single instrument (usually piano or guitar).

Alternative: Pegley defined this category as "a wide-ranging post-punk category, characterized by more abrasive guitar timbres" (1999:9). Lyrics are often socially critical and/or introspective. While Pegley focuses non-lyric content, my approach to this category also considered they ways in which the musician is positioned in relation to the mainstream (i.e., multinational labels, commercial radio play, and awards).

Pop/rock: Pegley describes this category as "characterized by tuneful, singable melodies, and 'lighter' instrumental timbres, it is usually production-heavy" (1999:10).

Rap: In Pegley's version rap is "interchangeable with 'hip hop,' rap is a declaimed, text-heavy genre" (1999:10). Unlike her definition which specifically takes into account use of electronics, my categorization also includes performances that are based on poetic recitation with or without heavy electronic mediation. This distinction is based both on the musicians in my sample and realities of live low-budget performance that limit use of electronics.

Rock: This genre "evolved from the blues, it is characterized by electric guitars, bass, drums (and sometimes keyboards)" (Pegley 1999:10).

Folk/Roots: A catch all category that includes music based on early American popular musics (e.g., blues, country, bluegrass). Because the initial result of casting such a wide net was an extreme concentration of musicians within this single genre, I revised this category into three (sometimes overlapping) subcategories (i.e., "trad," "folk/country," and "urban"). "Folk/Roots" remains a catchall, usually referring to "guys with guitars" who are performing in a style that resists close categorization but that is rooted in urban and rural twentieth-century American genres. Performers

in this catchall are often quite virtuosic on their instruments, have experience as session musicians, and are comfortable improvising within broadly western popular scales and forms. "Trad" refers to usually instrumental circum-Atlantic dance music traditions, frequently featuring instruments such as fiddle, accordion, banjo, acoustic guitar, and piano. "Folk/country" refers to folk song and newly composed ballades, sometimes performed a capella*, but also accompanied by guitar, bass, organ, and percussion (e.g., ballad groups, country, bluegrass, old time). "Urban" refers to blues, R&B, soul, and jazz, genres that, though traceable to rural performance contexts, are more closely associated with developments in urban contexts (cf., Wilgus 1971).*

World: Characterized by use of non-western instruments, harmonies, and rhythms. This is a catchall category, more reflective of the need to achieve statistical significance in the results than representative of real distinctions in style, timbre, and aesthetics.

Other: A catchall for everything else.

Backing musician: This category is used to identify musicians who have supporting roles, but who are not necessarily part of a named ensemble.

Western classical music: Sacred and vernacular music rooted in the traditions of Europe. It is characterized by use of western instruments, bel canto singing, and elements of harmony, form, and structure that were developed in Enlightenment/post-Enlightenment Europe.

Classical crossover: This is a subcategory of western classical, demonstrating traits of form, harmony, structure, and studied virtuosity associated with western classical music, but incorporating the styles and harmonic language of popular genres.

e. *Authenticating tools.* This variable tracked awards won and albums released proximate to *Fuse* appearances, musician lineage and/or formal training, and cited influences. I did not include awards won post-*Fuse* appearance unless a nomination was specifically mentioned on-air.

f. *Contact information*. This variable tracked contact information, including websites, email/Facebook/twitter addresses, and management/label details. These details were then used to contact lead/solo musicians with a questionnaire about their experiences on *Fuse* (see "Musician Questionnaire" below).

g. *Notes.* A prose description of any details relating to the musicians that were not clearly elaborated in the other variables. For example, I noted musicians who

also hosted CBC radio shows and musicians who identified with particular ethnocultural communities, subcultures, and/or scenes.

6. Music

This section of the Overview Analysis template focused on musical content. Unlike the "Format" section, my focus was on function, music as an element of discourse, enactment of "fusing," and the sonic dominance of particular voices.

Definitions for variables used in this section are as follows:

a. *Function.* The music selected for inclusion in each episode generally fulfilled a particular purpose relating to performance order and spoken introductions. These functions included:

Introduction: The first performance in an episode of Fuse. The purpose of this type of song/piece was to introduce the audience to one of the featured performers. This categorization included performances that involved contributions from collaborators.

Unfused intro: Usually (though not exclusively) the first performance in an episode of Fuse. The purpose of this type of song/piece was to introduce the audience to one of the featured performers. Emphasis was placed on solo/group performance without contributions from collaborators in order to demonstrate unaltered sound.

Influences: Cover songs performed to demonstrate/give credit to a musician's songwriting and/or performing influences. These performances usually occurred near the beginning of an episode in conjunction with conversations about musician backgrounds and influences.

Common ground: Cover songs performed to highlight a point of crossover between musicians. This type of performance usually occurred at the end of an episode in conjunction with conversations about collaboration. On occasion this type of song appeared near the beginning of an episode in conjunction with conversations about shared influences.

Regular rep: Songs (including covers) identified as part of a musician's regular repertoire.

Promotion: Cover songs selected to promote the music of another performer. These songs were often composed by a musician from the same place/scene as one of the featured performers and were heard in conjunction with dialogue about regional affiliations.

Live cover: Cover of a song by a collaborating musician. Inclusion of this type of song suggested that one of the featured musicians had been

assigned "icon" status; performing a cover of that person's music functioned as a form of homage.

New material: Newly composed songs and/or old unreleased material, usually performed in the second half of the show. These songs often performed a promotional function or provided a musician's existing fan base with access to material that was otherwise unavailable.

Fuse experiment: New music, improvisations, mashups, and/or remixes that were framed as specifically collaborative and experimental. These types of performances generally occurred at the ends of episodes.

b. *Type.* This variable relates to song function but focussed more specifically on musical form and content:

Unfused sample: A two part performance intended to highlight change through encounter. Performance included airing a pre-recorded version of an "original" before the "fuse" version of a song.

Solo: A performance that only included one of the featured performers.

Safe: This coding derived from Owen Pallett's description of the range of outcomes available through collaboration. It refers to a collaborative performance that involved playing together without fundamentally changing anything (i.e., just trying to fit in).

Duo: Song by one of the contributing artists that was rearranged to include an equal part for collaborating musician(s). Unlike a remix, duos did not involve major stylistic changes but did include both musicians/groups in sonically equal roles.

Cover: Songs written and/or performed by another musician. Cover songs revealed influences and points of common ground, existed as parts of a musician's regular repertoire, enabled promotion of colleagues, and/or supported identification of particular musicians as icons (see above).

Mashup: This type of "fuse experiment" involved arrangement of two or more pieces into a single performance.

Remix: This type of "fuse experiment" involved one musician resetting a piece by the other collaborating musician. This type of experiment usually involved a significant alteration of style/genre cues.

Improv: This type of "fuse experiment" was based on live improvisation.

New song: This type of "fuse experiment" involved composition of new material specifically for performance on Fuse.

Best of: A song selected by Fuse producers as a series highlight.

c. *Primary Approach.* Unlike the other variables in this section of my analysis, this coding referred to the combined effect of all of the songs featured in an episode of *Fuse* and attempted to characterize an overall approach to collaboration:

Performer/helper: Indicates a relatively equal "exchange of services" with each musician taking turns as lead and backing. This approach was quite typical of episodes that featured two singer-songwriters with varied levels of experience (i.e., a young/new musician and an established performer).

Duo: Collaboration conceptualized as performing existing repertoire in duo form and/or providing backing on each other's music. Similar to "Performer/helper" except with a less hierarchical division of labour. This approach was most typical of pairings that featured two musicians with similar levels of performing experience.

Icon performer: The focus of the show was on performance by a particular individual/group who was identified as having special status. These episodes usually involved minimal levels of collaborative performance and/or one band functioning as the backing resources.

Expanded backing band: Similar to "Icon Performer," but without the identification of one musician as iconic. This approach to collaboration often involved performers who were experienced session musicians and/or instrumental virtuosos.

Experimental: Significant emphasis placed on experimentation with form and/or technique.

Jam: Emphasis on improvisatory forms.

Lack of Collaboration: This categorization indicates minimal perceptible interaction between performers and was only applied to episodes in which "supporting" musicians were consistently off-mic or there was obvious resistance to interaction between the musicians.

7. Blocks

The section of the template was based on markers of form included in the program logs for fourteen episodes. These markers—"Introduction," "Background/Influences," "Development," and "Collaboration"—were extrapolated and applied to the rest of the series based on similarities in verbal and musical content.

8. Advertisements

Advertisements for upcoming episodes (usually included as tags at the ends of episodes) were transcribed and coded according to criteria that was similar to that used in the "Introductions" section.

9. Miscellaneous

Based on the results of the In-depth Studies, this final section tracked content that related to perceptions of authority, authenticity, and normalcy:

a. *Beatles references.* Early in the series, the host frequently described musicians as "always" claiming the Beatles as influences. This variable tracked actual musician references to the Beatles.

b. *Music historiography.* This variable tracked who was asked to narrate the history of the Canadian music scene (i.e., who were the icons with insider knowledge) in order to explore who was granted the authority to produce knowledge about the nature of Canadian music.

c. *Religious Normalcy*. This variable tracked references and assumptions made about normative behaviours/ideas/worldviews expressed by hosts and performers in order to explore whether a particular system of values was privileged.

d. *Gender norms*. This variable tracked references to gender norms and biases in the commentary on *Fuse*.

Appendix F   THE MUSICIANS

While my analysis is focused on the meanings embedded in content and broadcaster's role as an encoder—that is, as a curator and producer of culture—I did solicit feedback from musicians about their experiences of performing on *Fuse*. Approximately 200 messages were sent out to musicians, managers, and record labels via email, twitter, and Facebook with an explanation of my research and a link to an online questionnaire (described below). In total, twenty-nine musicians completed the survey, one musician engaged my questions via a series of emails, and one musician spoke to me directly. Because my sample of musicians was relatively small to begin with—and the rate of response smaller again—there was never any possibility of compiling any sort of statistically significant analysis based on musician input. Moreover, musicians—with significant exceptions—rarely offered up details that were distinct from information that was compiled from other sources. Instead, responses served two purposes: (1) information helped to flesh out details in my demographic analysis of musicians in relation to the Canadian population more generally; and (2) responses helped to contextualize my understanding of the motivations and intentions associated with performing on *Fuse*. This appendix summarizes musicians' responses.

MUSICIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

I approached lead musicians/soloists via email with a request that they complete an online questionnaire about their experience of performing on *Fuse*. Responses were automatically downloaded into a database that I then incorporated into my main "Overview Analysis" database to enable comparisons of data obtained from a variety of sources.

1. Name?
2. Hometown?
3. City/region of residence at time of appearance on *Fuse*?
4. Nationality?
5. Year of birth?
6. Gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Other
7. Sexuality?

    a.   Lesbian/Gay   d.   TwoSpirit
    b.   Transexual   e.   Heterosexual
    c.   Bisexual   f.   Other

8. Racial identification? (The categories listed are based on the 2006 Census of Canada, which in turn bases its categories on the "Employment Equity Technical Reference Papers" published by Employment and Immigration Canada in 1987. The same categories are used to enable comparison of representations on *Fuse* with existing census data for the period).

<div>

a. White

b. Black

c. South Asian

d. Chinese

e. Filipino

f. Arab

g. Southeast Asian

h. West Asian

i. Korean

j. Japanese

k. Aboriginal

l. Latin American

m. Other

</div>

9. Religion?
10. Language?

a. English

b. French

c. Bilingual

d. Other

11. What motivated your appearance on *Fuse*?

a. Request from show producers

b. Application to show producers

c. Request from another performer

d. Other

12. What was your understanding of the premise of *Fuse*?
13. How was this premise communicated to you?
14. How did you prepare for your appearance on *Fuse*?
15. Were you satisfied with the ways in which you and your music were represented on the show? Why/why not?
16. Other comments?
17. Are you willing to answer follow up questions about your experiences on *Fuse*?

a. Yes

b. No

18. If so, is there a contact address (e.g., email or phone) where I can reach you?

MUSICIAN RESPONSES

The majority of respondents reported that they were recruited to perform on *Fuse* by show producers (one musician reported applying to producers to perform and one musician responded that another musician had requested her participation). Several of the musicians reported receiving an email and/or a phone call from Amanda Putz or Caitlin Crockard that explained the premise of *Fuse*. That premise, most concurred, was

collaboration. A sampling of musician responses about the premise for *Fuse* include the following explanations:

> To bring together two artists and for the purpose of amalgamating their sounds through some type of collaboration. The word collaboration could have numerous meanings or outcomes in my experience as a participant and listener.

> I had heard several broadcasts, so understood it as a mixing of musical genres—of musicians who don't usually perform together.

> To put artists together to create a new collaborative take on works from both artists catalogues, for a live audience and a radio broadcast.

> We knew there was something about playing other peoples' music, and them playing ours. This felt like this was an opportunity for us to learn how to get outside of our comfort zone, and perhaps learn something of other cultures' music and vice versa.

> To have 2 or more musical acts come together for one afternoon of rehearsals, followed immediately by a live performance for a studio audience which was recorded by the CBC. The musical acts were to collaborate in an effort to play one another's material in new forms, influenced by the style and input of the collaborators.

Musicians tended to understand *Fuse* as a program about collaboration, though the form of that collaboration varied. Some emphasized that it was about combining very different styles, others dwelled more on the act of simply learning new repertoire and performing it together. Some of the musicians reported listening to *Fuse* regularly, a practice that further shaped understandings about the nature of the requested performance.

I asked musicians about how they approached preparing for their appearance on *Fuse*. Most musicians described activities that were part of their normal professional praxis: making sure their songs were well-rehearsed and thinking through what they wanted to perform. For most, *Fuse* was just another performance. Several of the musicians mentioned listening to recordings of their "fuse" partner in advance to learn songs or come up with ideas about how they might work together. Others, still, emphasized that the main preparations happened in the CBC recording studio on the day of the recording. Comparatively few mentioned corresponding with their partners in advance to work out a plan of action.

Finally, I asked musicians about their level of satisfaction with their performance and the broadcast. Most replied positively, but in very general terms—quite similar, in fact, to on-air commentary about the experience of collaborating. Musicians mentioned the format of the show, the opportunity to work with a musical hero, and interactions with the host as particularly positive aspects of the show. A few of the musicians, however, were quite introspective about the experience (again, echoing patterns of response observed more generally across the series). One musician described the music resulting from their collaboration as "a strained, forced experience." He elaborated that the music his group performed consisted of tightly arranged vocal harmonies that don't leave room for other voices. Moreover, he didn't feel that his band had much to contribute to the other band featured in that episode because they were stylistically too different. While he described the performance as musically limited, he was more positive about the overall effect of the broadcast:

> Socially, I think the show met the objectives of the producers—a mash-up of styles and repertoire, made all the more pungent by the fact that one band had the dad, the other, the daughter, from the same family. It was a memorable but not particularly joyful experience.

Other musicians framed their ambivalence more positively, commenting that performances went amazingly well given the constraints of the situation (e.g., the stress of learning new music on the fly and putting together a full concert program with strangers in only a couple of hours). And one musician, commenting on the challenge of working with musicians from traditions with fundamentally different understanding of harmony, form, and arrangement of voices, described the frustration of moments when a partner appeared to be "playing over the music to his own end." The situation was described as "ultimately satisfying," culminating in a performance that was positively received and resulting in notable moments of learning about alternative approaches to creating music.