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MUCH MORE THAN MUSIC VIDEO:
AN EXAMINATION OF CANADIAN RESPONSE TO AMERICAN PARADIGMS

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ABSTRACT

Although the relationship between Canadian and American culture is often discussed in terms of dominance and dependency, there is little cultural scholarship that examines how Canadians interpret American cultural products and how Canadian "replicas" of American products encompass infatuation and imitation of American popular culture while simultaneously offering critique, resistance and parody. By comparing the evolution of MuchMusic and MTV and the "supertext" of the two networks— programming philosophy, musical and non-musical shows, VJ's, and television aesthetics— I address how MuchMusic functions as both an example of uniquely Canadian sensibilities and as an example of Canada's complicated relationship with the United States.

Bien que les rapports entre la culture canadienne et la culture américaine sont souvent abordés sur l'angle de la dominance et de la dépendance, il y a peu de théories socioculturelles qui expliquent comment les canadiens interprètent les produits de la culture américaine et comment les "répliques" canadiennes des produits américains provoquent l'engouement et la volonté d'imiter la culture populaire américaine et, en même temps, être la cible de critiques, de résistance et de parodie. En comparant l'évolution de Much Music et de MTV, les grandes lignes de la philosophie de ces deux chaînes de programmation, les émissions musicales et non-musicales, les VJ's et l'esthétique de la télévision, je vais élaborer sur comment Much Music joue le

rôle de promoteur des valeurs strictement canadiennes et comment la chaîne de télévision sert d'exemple de la relation compliquée entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis.

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Chapter Three: We Want *Our* MTV: A Content Analysis of MuchMusic and MTV

INTRODUCTION

As an individual who has grown up in the age of music video, I have a special appreciation for music television's ability to reflect, establish, and complicate cultural narratives. By conducting a comparative study of the Canadian and American discourses embedded in music television, I have attempted to address two major questions. Firstly, what is the Canadian response to both homegrown and American popular culture? Are Canadian "replicas" of American cultural products (such as MuchMusic) subordinate, second-rate copies, or do they have the potential to offer recontextualization, resistance, parody and critique? Secondly, why is analysis of the cultural relationships at play within music television significant? How has the current, more traditional televisual structure of music video channels changed the cultural role of music video?

Throughout this study, I will be referring to seemingly homogenous, essentialist definitions of nation culture. Yet, despite the limitations of identifying distinctively Canadian and American discourses, certain widely conceived cultural notions can be discussed in terms of typically Canadian perceptions of both American and Canadian culture and cultural productions. Thus, rather than creating clear-cut definitions of national culture, my aim is to explore nationally-shared psychological states, the narratives embedded in products of American multinational corporations like MTV, and the complicated interaction between Canadians and such products. Also, when discussing "Canada" or

"Canadianness", I will be referring to English-speaking Canadians. While I regret excluding francophone Canadians and Quebecois culture from my research, I believe that the relationship between English Canadians and the United States necessitates separate analysis. Also, since Quebec has its own unique French-language music video network, involving French Canada in my research would necessitate a tripartite comparison of MusiquePlus, MuchMusic, and MTV.

CHAPTER ONE

Two Become One?: The Relationship Between Canadian Identity and the United States

American Dreams, International Screens: The Global Influence of the US

The international perception of the United States as a culturally imperialist force committed to "Americanizing" the world is extremely common— few people are shocked by Coca Cola's expectation that the world will soon be drinking more Coke than water, that a Starbucks coffee shop recently opened in China's Forbidden City, or that the largest McDonald's in the world is in Moscow's Red Square (Spark, 1996: 83). Since the US market has the most mature television and film industry, and because the English language is so internationally pervasive, it is also not surprising that the United States is the clear frontrunner in the global television market. By having the largest and most lucrative indigenous industry to use as a testing ground for products, American corporations have had a definite upper-hand in the global entertainment industry. For example, in Germany, the 21 most heavily viewed films and nine of the top ten video rentals for 1995 were produced by US film studios (Herman & McChesney, 1997: 43). Furthermore, a 1996 survey of 20 000 consumers in 19 nations found that 41.5% of respondents perceived American films and television programs to be excellent or very good, more than double the figure for any other nation (43). As US media giants enter joint ventures with local producers around the world, domestically produced programming has become increasingly

homogenized with the flavour of Hollywood (43). Communications theorist Manuel Castells states, "While the media have become globally interconnected, and programs and messages circulate in the global network, we are not living in a global village, but in customized cottages, globally produced and locally distributed" (Castells, 1997: 341).

The emergence of satellite and cable distribution of programming has assisted in bringing an overwhelming supply of American programming to the world's television screens. In Europe, cable and satellite television revenues increased on average by 30% annually from 1990 to 1994, and are expected to grow at 25% per annum from 1994 to 2001 (Herman & McChesney, 1997: 45). The effects of satellite broadcasting can be seen in the United Kingdom, where audiences that used to be split amongst four domestic channels are now fragmented across a large number of predominantly American satellite channels. Another example can be seen in Germany and Sweden, where formerly successful publicly funded national systems saw their audiences cut by nearly half between 1990-1995, largely attributed to the invasion of satellite television (48). The number of channels available in most nations since the beginning of the 1990's has drastically increased, and in the year 2000, the movement towards a worldwide, Americanized television industry is taking a huge leap with advances in digital technology. It is very likely that within the next ten to twenty years, all television sets will become exclusively digital, with a promise of improved technical quality, lower production costs, and an expansion of the number of available channels by a factor of ten (45).

In 1997, through home satellite dishes, broadcasters were able to provide hundreds of channels, and within the next few years, will be able to deliver several thousand. Nearly 20 million US households are estimated to have satellite dishes equipped for digital television in the year 2000, and by 2004, this statistic is projected to grow to 30 million, with an additional 70 million having access to predominantly digital cable television (45). Herman & McChesney state, "In the satellite digital TV universe, only a fraction of the channels will have the programming traditionally associated with TV— a handful of genres will proliferate and the vast majority of the channels will be provided by the very largest media firms" (46). Since the fixed costs of creating a digital satellite (or cable) television system are astronomical, a prospective company can only become profitable by covering massive areas and capturing a large market. Thus, the global satellite market is destined to be controlled by only one or two firms, and such firms will likely be American (46).

Canadian Bacon: Can We Take the Heat or Should We Get Out of the Kitchen?

Against this economic and technological backdrop, the severity of Canada's struggle within the Americanized global media market can be realized. While the above research clearly indicates a current international phenomenon, the American domination of homegrown entertainment is rooted deep in Canada's cultural history. The fears presently being faced worldwide are issues that Canada has been dealing with since the late 19th

century, when Canadian newspapers, magazines, and theatrical productions experienced an overwhelming competitiveness with their American counterparts (Rutherford, 1993: 263). By the end of the 1920's, despite the massive entertainment boom in Hollywood, there was no Canadian film industry to speak of, and 80% of radio programs listened to were American in origin (263). Since the 1950's, southern Canadians equipped with a simple rooftop antenna, and sometimes even more basic technology, have been watching American television in abundance.

Canadians have grown to demand a choice and selection of American programming, which has led to a conception of Canada as a natural extension of the US broadcasting market (Feldthusen, 1993: 44). American stations now command one third of the English language audience share in Canada, up from one quarter of that share 20 years ago (Manning, 1993: 10). Also, in addition to receiving American stations, Canadians import US programs for broadcast on national stations. Since American producers recoup expenses, considerable profits are earned by domestic sales alone and programs are exported at a fraction of production costs— a financial arrangement that seems difficult for Canadian stations to resist (10). At Canadian video stores, homegrown films are often stored in the foreign film section, and only 3% of all theatrical screen time in Canada goes to Canadian films (Taras, 1996: 175). The bleakness of this entertainment environment can be seen in a 1993 UNESCO study, where Canada was named one of the most "cable-connected" countries in the world, and ranked last out of 79

countries in the amount of broadcasting time devoted to its own programming (Herman & McChesney, 1997: 49).

The term "Canadianization" has been coined to refer to the negative affect of globalization on national cultural industries and "the power of new information technologies to damage polity and culture" (Taras, 1996: 174). The long-standing dismal condition of Canada's entertainment industry has led to widespread concern and confusion in both popular and academic circles. What is it about Canada and our national self-perception that has encouraged or allowed such a heavy cultural influence from the United States? The struggle to define the reasons behind the fragility of Canadian cultural industries has led to a multitude of arguments used to explain our marginality.

Some cultural theorists attribute Canada's weak national fabric to its vast geographical territory— Canada stretches across five time zones and has an extremely small population that is concentrated at the borders of the United States (Pike, 1998: 1282). Canadian culture is weak for the same reason that the Canadian economy is weak— it is very difficult for a country of 30 million people to prosper when living next door to a country of 300 million (Straw, February 2nd 2000 Lecture). Another pervasive argument is that national attitudes have led to a fragile cultural consciousness. The unseductiveness and unsexiness of the English Canadian personality is often understood as a result of forgoing scandal and excitement in favour of a risk-free collective good. A dismal mythology of dependence, first constructed by

communications theorists like Harold Innis and maintained by Canadian artists like Margaret Atwood, has led to a prevalence of hostility towards American influences, a resentment and suspicion of the seemingly glamorous, successful "Other", and a proliferation of victim/survival imagery (Angus, 1997: 30).

The marginality of Canadian cultural industries is also blamed on the Canadian political structure. The protectionist mentality that led to the creation of the Massey Commission (Canada's infamous post-war cultural probe), as well as the publicly-funded CBC, Canada Council, Telefilm Canada, National Film Board of Canada, and the CRTC, is often criticized for encouraging a culture of dependency instead of entrepreneurship. Such critics believe that protectionist policies have done little to create confidence and initiative amongst the Canadian artistic community, and have rather created a mood of apathy and reliance upon the state. Conversely, there are just as many critics who believe that the government does not stand up enough for Canadian artists when challenged by the US. Canadian institutions have a long history of not reacting with sufficient strength when confronted by Hollywood, as seen in Canada's decision to not tax American films entering the country (despite the taxation imposed on the US by other countries) (Straw, February 2nd 2000 Lecture). Also, such critics believe that while protectionist policies encourage cultural autonomy, strategic, economic autonomy has never been made a priority by the Canadian government (Angus, 1997: 27). After all, having staunchly protectionist cultural policy is of

little benefit to Canadian artists if the government cannot afford to support such policies.

The overriding concern inherent in all the arguments mentioned above is whether or not Canada actually possesses a distinctive national identity. The question of exactly what we are protecting, promoting, or even talking about when we discuss Canadian culture has been very pervasive since the establishment of our country. One approach towards cultural identity is the essentialist perspective, which is a theory most often found amongst Anglophones living in Southern Ontario. Essentialists believe that there is an intrinsic, distinctive Canadianness that can be found in our art, and we must fight to promote this cultural identity. The lower-middle class, hockey playing, Tragically Hip loving, "Canadian, eh?" essentialist national identity can be seen in such pop culture productions as Molson Canadian beer commercials (the "My name is Joe, and I am Canadian" advertisement, the impromptu Bay Street hockey match commercial), teen drama Degrassi Junior High (prevalence of Toronto exterior shots featuring TTC streetcars, Shoppers Drug Mart, the CN Tower, the Nathan Phillips Square ice rink, Queen Street West, as well as typical urbanite excursions to "the cottage"), and imagery used by Canadian musicians like the Barenaked Ladies (especially the "Lovers in a Dangerous Time" music video, which depicts street hockey matches, massive snow banks, band members bundled up in Mountain Equipment Co-Op jackets, and the bleakness of Scarborough's suburban landscape).

This predominantly white, lower-middle class, Toronto-centric conception of an essential identity can be contrasted with what is generally perceived as the Trudeau-era Liberal perspective of a diverse Canadian identity. The diversity perspective, often promoted by the CBC, the Canada Council, and the National Film Board of Canada, maintains that Canada can be defined by its range of cultural activities undertaken by various social groups. Multiculturalism, the cultural mosaic, and a Trudeau-era Liberalist vision of inclusive pluralism are important facets of this perspective, and can be seen in the CRB Foundation's Heritage Minutes (retrospective looks at key events in Canada's multicultural history, such as black slaves being welcomed into Canada through the underground railroad, aboriginal Mohawks working with European Canadian settlers to protect Canada from American invasion, Irish immigrant children being adopted by Francophone families, etc.), and CBC programs like Liberty Street (a gay Native bicycle courier and a Caribbean single mother/law student were just a few of the politically correct characters). CBC producer Markye McEwan emphasizes the CBC's effort to "reflect the various diverse, regional experiences of Canadians"(www.cbc.ca):

> One of the strengths of Canada, to me, is diversity...The more you allow Canada to have its own voice, the specific voices of each province, each area, the more you get a strong sense of Canada— not as a singular, but as a collection of different people and different cultures (McEwan in Miller, 1996: 233).

The diversity perspective exists in direct opposition to the compensatory perspective, which is a philosophy usually found amongst right-wing Canadians and the entertainment industry's private sphere.

Supporters of the compensatory approach believe that Canadian cultural products are only useful when filling the gaps left by American cultural flow (ie. Canadian news and sports coverage) or when representing alternative, non-mainstream art generally not produced by the United States. Qualities associated with American film and television have become the definition of what makes good drama and comedy, and because Canadian productions either do not want to or cannot afford to emulate that style, they are often regarded as being inferior to American equivalents. Supporters of the compensatory perspective see Canada as a northern state of the US, with a slightly differing cultural identity best represented by Canadian-specific news, sports, and a scattering of alternative products relating to our Native heritage and official multicultural status. Private broadcasters like CTV emphasize this perspective through their desire to eradicate Canadian content regulations, cease production of unprofitable homegrown drama and comedy, and establish a relationship with the CBC that would see CTV having exclusive rights to all Canadian sports and news coverage and the CBC only producing non-mainstream niche programming (Pike, 1998: 1281).

With this general background to Canadian identity and the marginality of Canadian cultural products in place, it is now feasible to engage in a deeper exploration of the vast research surrounding this ever-pressing debate. To quote McLuhan, "Canada is a land of multiple borderlines, psychic, social, and geographic. Canadians live at the interface where opposites clash. We have, therefore, no recognizable identity, and are

suspicious of those who think they have" (McLuhan in Foster, 1999: 68). Throughout this chapter I will expand upon this statement by discussing Canada's role as a reaction to or critique of the United States— Canada can be defined not on the basis of what it is, but rather what it is not in relation to American culture. While the majority of academic research concentrates on the economic dimension of the relationship between Canada and the US, specifically on patterns of domination and dependency, there is little cultural scholarship that examines how Canadians interpret American cultural products and how Canadian "replicas" of American products (such as MuchMusic) encompass infatuation and imitation of American popular culture while simultaneously offering critique, resistance, and parody. Although there is no question that the overwhelming cultural flow of the United States can largely be attributed to economics, the complicated relationship between the US and Canada cannot be understood as a mere reflex of economic influence (Flaherty & Manning, 1993: xiii).

The steady flow of American cultural products cannot be reduced to a simple discussion of domination and dependency or an analysis of what Canadians lack in comparison to Americans. By seeking absolute values, fixed signifiers, a defined mythology, and unambiguous boundaries in Canadian culture, an American methodology is imposed upon the Canadian experience, and because Canada is devoid of such teleological attributes, the result is a portrayal of Canada as a subordinate, second-rate copy of the US. In order to thoroughly understand Canadian identity, the marginality of

Canadian cultural products, and the Canadian response to American popular culture, it is important to explore the historical relationship between Canada and the United States and how this has impacted current cultural relations. Beginning with a brief definition of cultural identity, in this chapter I will investigate the history of Canada and the United States' structuring principles, the history of American cultural influence in Canada, pervasive images of Canadian and American identity (including Canada as "victim" and "nature" and the US as "Other"), and finally, my analysis of how Canada functions as a critique of the United States and how Canadians resist, parody, reconstitute, and recontextualize American popular culture.

Defining Cultural Identity

To quote Raymond Williams, "Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language...the confusion bred by its complexities pervade every discussion of it" (Williams in Stuart, 1993: 77). Cultural identity is an equally confusing phenomenon that often evades definition. However, it is of interest to explore different perspectives surrounding the construction of national identity.

According to John D. Jackson, identity can be defined as one's conception of oneself and a groups' conception of itself as a collectivity (Jackson, 1995: 221). People create their own identities using materials gathered from the cultural sphere and through everyday interaction with social institutions and other people (221). The institution of mass media heavily

contributes to the development of identity, and the content of programming, as well as the various interests involved in shaping broadcasting structure and policy, all play a role in identity construction. For example, since Canadians spend roughly 23 hours per week watching television, it can be concluded that interaction with this medium and the images presented contribute significantly to both self and group definitions (CRTC, 1998: 6).

Communications scholar Richard Collins challenges this perspective through his assertion that national culture is a "mystifying category error" and is inherently self-contradictory (Collin, 1990: 19). Collins believes that in Canada, publicly funded protectionist incentives (like the CBC) present the interests of a fraction nationalist class, and because Canada cannot be defined as a culturally homogeneous and economically self-sufficient political unit (a nation state), national identity cannot exist. Thus, Canadian people are perfectly happy to consume exclusively American television programming, and have no need to experience specifically "Canadian" cultural articulations (19). According to Collins, political sovereignty can exist without cultural sovereignty— it is possible to exist as an independent state without a national identity, or with a so-called weak identity lacking in teleological symbols and absolute signifiers (16).

Audience theorist Ien Ang combines such perspectives in her assertion that while a neatly-defined, homogenous natural essence can be difficult to define, a more fluid, impure national consciousness can exist:

> There are....many contradictions that are condensed in the very concept of national identity. Defining a national identity

> in static, essentialist terms— by forging, in a matter of speaking, authoritative checklists of Britishness, Dutchness, Frenchness, and so on— ignores the fact that what counts as part of a national identity is often a site of intense struggle between a plurality of cultural groupings and interest inside a nation, and therefore national identity is...fundamentally a dynamic, conflictive, unstable, and impure phenomenon (Ang, 1990: 239-240).

Ang's approach to cultural identity is of particular relevance to my research on Canadian culture. Throughout the upcoming analysis of Canadian and American identity, I will be referring to seemingly static, cohesive cultural images, but I would like to emphasize that I do not suggest an essentialist, homogenous definition of Canadianness or Americanness is possible. Rather, I am interested in exploring the sociocultural history of the US and Canada, and how Canada's complicated interaction with the US has affected our conception of Canadian identity, creation of Canadian art, and consumption of American popular culture.

Early Days: A History of Canadian and American Structuring Principles

As mentioned earlier, the academic study of Canada's relationship with the United States is often confined to the patterns of domination and dependency that have always troubled Canada's economy and culture. While I want to move outside these theoretical boundaries, it is of great importance to provide an in-depth discussion of such scholarship.

One of the most influential theorists in the field of American and Canadian historical cultural analysis is Seymour Lipset, an American

sociologist who has studied Canadian culture since the late 1940's. Lipset's Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada proposes that due to differing structuring principles, Canada has always been and will remain a "distinctive society" (Lipset, 1990: 3). Lipset builds his argument around the premise that the American Revolution was a historical watershed, dividing North America into two distinguishable countries— this division is one that "Americans do not know but Canadians cannot forget" (Lipset, 1990: 1). The national differences that emerged from the American Revolution are intrinsic and systematic— while the United States was born out of revolutionary action, Canada evolved in a counterrevolutionary manner. Thus, Canada and the United States vary appreciably in what Lipset calls basic organizing principles. Canada materialized out of a statist, collectivist, elitist, and class-based philosophy, which directly opposes the United States' ties to anti-statist, individualistic, egalitarian, populist ideology (Manning, 1993: 25).

As apparent in the disparity between the British North America Act's "peace, order, and good government" and the American national anthem's "land of the free and the home of the brave", the contrasting principles of the US and Canada have encouraged two very different historical processes, political and institutional organizations, and social impulses. According to Lipset, the United States adopted Whig values of bourgeois liberal democracy and laissez-faire economics, and encouraged private social responsibility and voluntarism. A sense of committed purpose can be seen in America's

understanding of its national identity and cultural mythology, and by encouraging sectarian Protestantism as a popular, although definitely unofficial religion, the Reformation was extended to its social conclusion (26). On the other hand, Canada acknowledged Tory values of hierarchy and monarchy and embraced the idea of public responsibility for social and economic well-being (26). A pragmatic and compromised approach to national identity emerged, and by remaining loyal to the denominational Protestant and Catholic churches, a formal and state-supported relationship to secular society was fostered (26). According to Lipset, the results of these differing histories is an "entrepreneurial, individualistic, materialistic, and religious" American cultural identity, which exists in direct opposition to Canada's "traditional, tolerant, law-abiding, egalitarian, collectivity-oriented" identity (Lipset in Winter & Goldman, 1995: 203).

Furthermore, although Lipset begins his analysis of structuring principles with the historical watershed of the American Revolution, it can be argued that differing cultural values were already starting to form in Canada and the United States as early as the first waves of colonization. For example, settlers in the United States were determined to permanently prosper in their new land while the goals of setters in Canada were often limited to temporary occupation for the purpose of shipping natural resources to Europe. Thus, a sense of temporality and uncertainty (Canada) versus permanence and determination (United States) can be integrated into Lipset's analysis.

Against this backdrop, it is compelling to examine what Canadian theorists have contributed to the historical understanding of the relationship between Canada and the United States. Most of the Canadian research in this field focuses upon domination and dependency, and can be linked to English Canadian left nationalist thinkers like Harold Innis and George Grant. The discourse of left nationalism involves both an exploration of the historical reasons for Canada's continued economic and cultural dependency on the United States and an argument for cultural autonomy, both fundamentally (in order to express national identity) and strategically (in order to gain economic control) (Angus, 1997: 27). Although the political/economic and cultural elements of this discourse are inherently intertwined, the result has been a contemporary Canadian culture that has embraced cultural autonomy without drastically changing the conditions of economic dependency (27). While the fight for cultural autonomy has had a major effect on national policy and cultural institutions, the economic agenda of this argument has never truly been satisfied.

The two main axes of left nationalism include a) the perception of the Canadian economy as "dependent industrialization", which results from successive colonial relations with France, Great Britain, and the United States, and b) lament for the failure of Canadian cultural autonomy and fear surrounding the American influence on Canadian institutions (29). The first argument is most accurately documented in the classic staple economy theory of Harold Innis, which explores Canada's movement from "colony to

nation to colony" (Wernick, 1993: 295). Innis' staple theory concentrates on the dependency of a society established through a colonial relationship between a marginal colony and an imperial center— by exploiting Canadian staple products and creating an economy of exportation and dependence, mother countries were able to control Canada's economy (Angus, 1997: 30). As a result of dependence on exportation, Canada's manufacturing sector never really developed to its full potential, allowing European mother countries and the United States to indefinitely maintain their position of power. The second argument is best represented by George Grant, whose infamous 1945 pamphlet defended Canada's unconsummated relationship with the invasive American "Other", and explored the United States' tendency to simultaneously seduce and repel (30).

An American source that deals with many of Grant's concerns is Samuel E. Moffatt's 1907 book The Emancipation of Canada, which concludes that Americans and English Canadians have been welded into one people. "While the English speaking Canadians protest that they will never become Americans, they are already Americans without knowing it" (Moffatt in Rutherford, 1993: 265). J.W. Dafoe's 1935 book Canada: An American Nation also explores the domination of English Canada by the United States, but unlike Moffatt, he asserts that Canadians are actually very aware and fearful of Canada's "inevitable" absorption by a monolithic North American civilization.

Furthermore, English Canadian left nationalism can be linked to negative nationalism, a concept developed by Canadian philosopher John Ralston Saul in Reflections on a Siamese Twin: Canada At the End of the Twentieth Century. In contrast to positive nationalism, which can be defined as continual reform (based upon questioning and discussion rather than agreement and solidarity) in order to improve the life of a community, negative nationalism pinpoints a specific national crisis as the key barrier to surviving, prospering, and dealing with other societal problems (Saul, 1997: 300). In the negative nationalist model, all of a nation's problems are fundamentally unresolvable, due to the supposed national crisis. However, the national crisis itself is often unresolvable in any practical terms due to its ties to abstract theories of identity or power (301). Negative nationalism, in the usual process of political opposition, tends to demote social reform to the level of anti-reform (301).

The crisis which Canadian negative nationalists obviously concentrate upon is Canada's lack of cultural and economic autonomy and our reliance upon the United States. Much like left nationalism, this perspective argues that unless we can build a sense of nationhood through shared myths, homegrown popular culture and historical signifiers, Canada has no chance of survival. Examples of this approach can be seen in statements like "It is of fundamental importance to our political and cultural sovereignty that our broadcasting system be a reflection of our history, who we are, of how we behave, of how we view the world...if not, Canada is in grave danger..."

(Canadian Voices, Canadian Choices: A New Broadcasting Policy for Canada, 1988: 16). While such concerns are valid, the problem with negative nationalism is the tendency to override reform with an emotionally-driven, all-encompassing pursuit of autonomy and solidarity, where "the one who sees himself as victim slips easily into a defensive or exclusive position filled with internal references" (Saul, 1997: 298).

Using the discourse of English Canadian left nationalism as a philosophical framework, I will now engage in a history of the developments in Canada's cultural history that have provided both incentive and continued support for this style of nationalism. Since "contemporary Canadian nationalism has developed largely within a debate over the degree of autonomy left to Canadian institutions, the influence of the United States, social policy, and regulation of Canadian culture", it is important to explore the historical development of the cultural relationship between the US and Canada, dating back to the British North America Act (Dorland & Walton, 1999: 198). Although themes of domination and dependency become apparent in the forthcoming analysis, I am more interested in documenting how such themes originally became embedded in debates over national identity and how our current perception of Canadian culture has evolved over the past two centuries.

American Voices, Canadian Choices: The History of US Domination

The British North America Act of 1867 was surrounded by a social ideology that emphasized the values of the Canadian bourgeois mainstream. To quote George Brown during Confederation debates, "Our scheme is to establish a government that will endeavor to maintain liberty, justice, and Christianity throughout the land" (Brown in Rutherford, 1993: 261). Both during and following Confederation debates, English and French newspapers advocated the merits of a community organized around principles of moral institutions— family and marriage, the church and religion, school and education, workplace and work ethic, the courts and fair law, politics and partisan loyalties (261). It was expected that citizens would follow a progressive, but strict, code of conduct, which encouraged self-improvement and social harmony, segregated sexes, and a puritanical distrust of pleasure (261). While such goals were never quite achieved by the Canadian public, the philosophy behind such objectives conveyed a sense of a purer, more superior country, as depicted in the image of Canada as a young, stern maiden and the United States as an older, disreputable male (261).

Canadians had no interest in mirroring the values of the United States, as the US was perceived as a country soiled with disorder, corruption, and a lack of moral authority. This distaste for American culture was enough to justify efforts of "moral protectionism" in Canada, which involved the prohibition of importation, sale, or possession of alcohol in Canada in 1875. By preventing the arrival of American whiskey traders, the prohibition effort

attempted to protect Canada from the general lifestyle of the uninhibited, wild American west (262). The purpose of many Canadian laws emerging from the prohibition era, especially the Lord's Say Act of 1906, was to prevent the phenomenon referred to as "American Sunday", a day of untamed abandonment where pubs and theatres remained open, public transportation operated, sporting events were organized, and commerce prospered (262). Despite such moral protectionist efforts, the developing mass culture of the United States continued to flow northward. However, some aspects of the American cultural flow were welcomed, as seen in the case of tourism—Quebec City's first winter carnival in 1894 was promoted as an opportunity for American tourists to experience pre-industrial, family-oriented simplicity and the Canadian Pacific Railroad was marketed as an opportunity to escape to the breathtaking mountains and untarnished, snowy isolation of Canada's wilderness (262). Thus, even before the beginning of the 20th century, tourism was creating a specific imagery of Canada.

The most powerful vehicle for American cultural flow was the Canadian daily press. The newspapers of the late 19th century, especially the human interest dominated Toronto Telegram, Montreal Star and La Presse (which came slightly later), were based upon the American style of sensationalist, people-related journals like New York's World and The Herald (262). In addition to American-inspired content and style, Canadian journals were also loaded with advertisements for American goods. This led to Canadian advertisements reflecting the American ad copy style of "tall talk"

and "reasons why" arguments (262). The influence of the United States was also prevalent in the more respectable, high-quality dailies like the Montreal Gazette or Toronto Globe. Such papers relied upon American news agencies for world news, and often ran syndicated feature stories, cartoons, fiction, and sermons from American papers (263). The long-standing prevalence of British and American magazines in middle-class Canadian homes created a highly competitive magazine market that was difficult for homegrown periodicals to penetrate. New magazines like Maclean's or Canadian Magazine found that their home market was already dominated by outsiders— in 1912, estimated sales of American magazines and newspapers stood at $880 000 and sales of their British equivalents at $77 000 (263). Also, Canadian book publishers relied upon American and British reprints for profits— original Canadian works often did not appeal to bourgeois tastes. This is established in a survey of bestseller lists from 1899 to 1919— 44% of bestsellers were written by American authors, 36% by British writers, and only 21% by Canadians (263). In addition, there was no real tradition of Canadian playwriting, with most theatres depending on foreign touring companies for live performances.

In the 1920's, it became apparent that Canadians, especially in urban centres, believed that access to a continuous flow of American cultural products was not only unproblematic, but was desirable (265). At this time, due in part to the permeable Canadian border, there was a major increase in the range and velocity of the American influence that had always been part of

Canadian culture. American professional leagues and big-name stars, like boxing's Jack Dempsey and baseball's Babe Ruth, dominated the sports pages of Canadian dailies, and hockey, Canada's unofficial national sport, was transformed by an American takeover. Although many hockey league players were Canadian, the relocation of most franchises to the United States transformed the National Hockey League into a commercially profitable, American-style professional sport (266). In addition to sports, the most influential vehicles of Americanization were mediums of mass communication, both old and new. By 1926, circulation of American magazines had reached approximately 50 million and despite the cinematic boom in Hollywood, there was no Canadian film industry to speak of (266). In American movies, Canada was often portrayed as a snowy, mountainous wilderness where Natives, Mounties, and Europeans fought against each other, as well as grizzly bears, wolves, and Nature itself. In 1929, three of Canada's most significant radio stations, CKAC (Montreal), CFRB (Toronto) and CKGW (Toronto), became affiliates of American networks, and 80% of all programs listened to in Canada were American in origin (266).

Even though the national philosophy of Canada was generally perceived as superior, at this point in the country's history many Canadians began to perceive something problematic about the overflowing supply of American cultural products that they were encountering. In an opinion survey carried out by H.F. Angus in the early 1930's, Americans were perceived as "excitable, childlike, money-mad, lawless, more corrupt, less moral, boastful,

and less cultured", although they were praised for being "daring, enterprising and generous" (270). On the other hand, Canadians were seen as "more honorable, law-abiding, and conservative with a quieter, slower in tempo, saner in quality society" (270). In order to protect Canada from the troubling influence of the United States, it was decided that Canada needed to establish a public broadcasting system to provide "a strong voice for Canadians in their own country" (www.cbc.ca). The CBC states:

> Concerned about the rapid expansion of American network radio, the flow of American programming across the border, and the fear that Canada was fast becoming a mere satellite of American broadcasting, the Aird Commission of 1929 concluded that a publicly owned broadcasting system *had* to be created (CBC, 1996: 32).

The CBC, a national broadcasting network funded through the Canadian federal budget, was designed to "build bridges between our official language communities and help our citizens take full part in their country's life" (www.cbc.ca). The CBC's mandate was to reflect the various regional experiences of Canadians, through what has evolved into two core national television networks (CBC Television in English and La Television de Radio-Canada in French), television services for Canada's North in English, French, and eight aboriginal languages, as well as radio services. The CBC has remained the government's main broadcasting tool for strengthening Canada's national consciousness and cultural fabric. The CBC's expenditures have grown from $10 million a year in 1949/50 to almost $1.4 billion in 1990/91, of which the government contributed nearly $1 billion (Skene, 1993: 51) (after a downsizing project initiated in 1995 is completed,

the CBC will receive just under $800 million in public appropriations) (www.friendscbc.org/cbc/html). In addition to the CBC, the government formed the Canada Council to fund productions in the arts and humanities and, in 1968, Telefilm Canada (formerly known as the Canadian Film Development Corporation) was established to promote Canadian feature films.

Such protectionist incentives, in combination with the launching of independent private television in 1960, did not ensure the development of a made-in-Canada entertainment industry as hoped. Rather, heavy importation of American products was encouraged to guarantee profits and high audience ratings. Thus, in order to further protect Canadian culture from the overwhelming presence of the United States, the Canadian Radio Telecommunications Commission was created. The CRTC was established to ensure that all programming on Canadian television networks and radio stations was composed of at least 30% Canadian content, with Canadian programming featured prominently in primetime hours.

The current success of the CRTC has been limited, as revealed in Audience Viewing Habits and Attitudes, a 1998 CRTC study. In this study, English speaking respondents claimed that while they watched news and sports on local channels, they watched films, talk shows, current affairs programs, and dramas exclusively on US channels (CRTC, 1998: 64). Anglophone Canadians spent about 75% of their average 23 hours per week of television viewing tuned to foreign programs on all available channels

(100). While such statistics might reveal a lack of desire for Canadian programming, it is very important to note that audience levels for Canadian content roughly match the amount available. Audiences cannot watch Canadian programs if they are not aired. The production of English language Canadian drama is only 145 hours per year— it is possible that more people would watch more Canadian programming if it were available. The most shocking reliance on American programming can be found in the area of drama and comedy. According to Winter & Goldman, 92% of the comedies and 85% of dramas aired on Canadian television are foreign productions (Winter & Goldman, 1995: 203). The CRTC found that English Canadians' unaided identification of their favourite television personalities and actors confirmed the overriding influence of the US in English Canada (CRTC, 1998: 65). For example, many people recognized Oprah Winfrey instead of Margaret Atwood, or Courtney Cox instead of Cynthia Dale. Winter & Goldman discovered that lacklustre knowledge of the Canadian judicial system is linked to images presented in US legal dramas like LA Law and Law and Order.

The CRTC's study found that the majority of Canadians feel that the US produces the best TV dramas, talk shows, and films (CRTC, 1998: 72). Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of Canadians noted production quality and entertainment value as the two greatest elements where US programming is significantly superior to Canadian programming. David Taras outlines some of the economic reasons for these unsettling statistics:

> ...it costs far less to purchase an American series "off the shelf" than to produce an equivalent Canadian series. Canadian networks can buy a US show for $50,000 to $75,000— 5-6% of the cost of production per episode. The cost per episode of producing American dramatic series is between $1 million and $1.5 million. These series are loaded with what those in the industry call "production values": highly paid actors and creative personnel, elaborate sets and wardrobes and the most expensive film and sound money can buy (Taras, 1996: 179).

According to Robert Pike, each half hour of entertainment produced in Canada represents a $5 million *loss* in annual profits because American programming can be acquired so much more cheaply (Pike, 1996: 10). Canadian actor R.H. Thompson explores some of the creative constraints that have resulted from a reliance on US programming:

> Canadian TV has suffered because we're trying to do something in a manner that is not true to us. The problem is we don't see that as "not us". We see what we make initially as "bad", because it doesn't fit all the previous examples that have been done so well in the States. We look at our TV and say, "That's bad, we can't do this, we make bad television, let me turn to another station that makes good television,"...the nature of American television drama, its explicitness and its extrovert qualities have become associated with what is good television. That's the assumption that has to be pulled apart (Thompson in Miller, 1996: 234).

This state of contemporary cultural dependency can also been seen in other Canadian entertainment industries, such as film (only 3% of all theatrical screen time in Canada goes to Canadian films with 95% of profits from all films shown in Canada going to the United States (Taras, 1996: 175) and music (in 1995, the market share held by recordings with Canadian content only represented 13% of total industry sales) (Straw, 1996: 95).

From "Wheat Kings" to "Our True North": Images of Canada

With this cultural history in mind, it is not surprising that most sociological scholarship has focused upon the domination of Canadian culture by American influences. I will now explore how this cultural history has impacted academic and popular perspectives surrounding Canada's self-perception, images of Canada, and Canada's attitude towards the United States. Although I am not advocating the essential "truth" of any of the forthcoming approaches, each one is relevant and necessary to the study of Canada's complicated cultural imagery.

As discussed earlier, one of the most prevalent images of Canada is of a harmonious kingdom devoted to peace, order, and good government. This image is heavily linked to the structuring principles of Canada, and is a positive image of which many Canadians are proud. The political history of Canada as a land of prime ministers, premiers, thoughtful compromise, a compassionate state, and the heroism of the Royal Mounted Police provides a strong anthropological culture that helps mask perceived deficiencies in symbolic imagery. The ideal of citizenship and social programs is at the centre of Canadian culture, as noted by communications theorist Richard Collins, who suggests that Canada is not held together by a shared sense of nationhood, but rather by political institutions such as health care and education (Collins, 1990: 4).

Another "positive" image is Canada as Nature— a notion that dates back to early marketing for Canadian tourism (ie. the Canadian Pacific

Railroad) and Canada's representation in early Hollywood films, and has continued to prosper in contemporary tourism, the Canadian souvenir industry, and our promotion of "Canadian" art. "Our true North strong and free" is the catchphrase for this image, with empty spaces, snowy isolation and untouched wilderness serving as visual cues. Such imagery is reflected in Canadian souvenirs—maple syrup products, miniature Canada geese, toy beavers and grizzly bears, Mountie dolls, Native-inspired clothing and jewelry— as well as through the "Canadiana"-style products of the American-owned Roots chain. Roots, the designer of Canadian Olympic athletic gear and manufacturer of wilderness-inspired fashions like "Tuff" boots and beaver logo sweatshirts, was created in 1973 by two Americans intent on transforming their fond childhood memories of Camp Tamakwa in Algonquin Park into high-profit retail success. The image of Canada as Nature is heavily tied to Roots iconography, as noted by cultural critic Mark Kingwell:

> The Roots image is a shameless rummage through the attic of cultural nostalgia, a jumbled composite of camp culture (their own Tamakwa memories, Grey Owl, that geeky show The Forest Rangers)...and some earlier images of "Camp Canada" (Nelson Eddy's stylized Mounties, CP Rail's pastel-washed posters....It's a market-niche, not an identity...stretching not *As mare usque mare* but from Green Gables to the Banff Springs Hotel (Kingwell, 1999: 40).

The images of snowy isolation, remote empty spaces, and majestic wilderness can also be seen in artwork by the Group of Seven, films like Mon Oncle Antoine and The Sweet Hereafter, CBC programs such as North of 60, and advertisements like the CRB Foundation's Heritage Minutes.

The final pervasive image of Canada, which is often the most logical expression of cultural nationalism in Canadian academia, is the image of Canada as Victim. The dismal image of Canada as a vassal state, a perpetual colony, an imaginary nation or non-nation, was first constructed by theorists like Harold Innis to justify hostility towards American economic and cultural imperialism. At its most extreme, victim imagery leads to the assumption that Canada's national identity is purely fictional, a hegemonic construction designed to cover up the fact that "we are colonized—historically, economically, socially, politically, and personally" (Wilden in Manning, 1993: 279). The themes of victim and passive survival have also been articulated by many other academics, including Canadian writer Margaret Atwood. Atwood, in a 1987 testimony before a parliamentary committee on free trade, stated:

> Canada, as a separate but dominated country has done about as well under the United States as women, worldwide, have done under men; about the only position they've ever adopted toward us, country to country, has been the missionary position, and we were not on top. I guess that's why the national wisdom vis-à-vis Them has often taken the form of lying still, keeping your mouth shut, and pretending you like it (Atwood in Manning, 1993: 19).

Thus, Canadians can be seen as survivors and not winners—passive endurance is all that we can hope for (19).

In addition to victim imagery, with her use of "Them", Atwood's statement also touches upon Canada's dominant attitude towards the United States. Manning argues, "Canadian culture is less the product of its own separate evolution than of its interactive relationship with an American Other— this relationship is diffuse, ambiguous, and contradictory" (26). This

hollow or precarious identity has resulted in a negative attitude towards the United States, and a tenuous possession of national enjoyment. In Symptoms of Canada: An Essay on Canadian Identity, Kieran Keohane argues that the Canadian reaction to American culture is one of uneasiness and fear, as "They" pose a threat to the Canadian enjoyment of crime-free cities and harmonious ethnic relations (Keohane, 1997: 20). According to Hegel:

> The achievement of being-for-self can only be released in dialectical struggle. The independent shape has no being-in-itself. It must subject its existence through the fluidity or general dissolution of differences...this *produces* individual existence. When being itself (simple existence) places the Other within itself, it supersedes the simplicity of its essence. In order for this supersession to take place there must be an Other. Being itself must proceed to supersede the Other independent being in order thereby to become certain of *itself* as the essential being...in so doing so it proceeds to supersede its *own* self, for this Other is itself" (Hegel in Keohane, 1997: 220).

To use Lacan, the problem of relationality with the Other arises because the Other is already part of the One— without the Other there is no One (22). Since the One is the original lack, the Other are feared and resented because They threaten to expose this lack. Hostility towards the Other emerges due to the Other's enjoyment, and because this animated existence reveals the precariousness or improbability of the One's enjoyment of its own identity. This original lack of essence or fixed meaning is the traumatic core of social existence, and since the presence of the Other is a constant reminder of this lack, it is a source of anomie and existential anguish. In the case of the United States, the US's existence/national

enjoyment constantly reminds English Canadians of the semantic void that underlies our own existence/enjoyment (23). Furthermore, the Other simultaneously comprises and counteracts the One's identity. While the Other is required for negatively defining the identity (the One is the One because it is not the Other), They are also a threat to the One's authenticity (ie. Quebec is not English Canada, but for French Canadians the rest of Canada corrodes Quebec) (23). Keohane states:

> The enjoyment of a historical identity— that is, the innumerable social practices, languages, signs, codes that animate a particular identity— is constantly under threat of being stolen away by the necessary coexistence of Otherness, because the Other's enjoyment, or, rather the infinitude of the difference apparent in the Other's enjoyment, exposes the arbitrariness and contingency...and...the improbability, precariousness, and fragility of the enjoyment of the One (Keohane, 1997: 23).

The resulting fear and hatred of the Other, and campaigns for defeat of the Other are actually displaced feelings of self-loathing— since the annihilation of the Other would simultaneously result in the annihilation of the One, such hostility can be understood as self-hatred. However, the differences apparent in the excess of enjoyment of the Other, the differences that stir up angst and fear in the One, constitute the space into which the enjoyment of the One can grow (24). For example, English Canadians may detest Americans for their excessive enjoyment but we also desire American culture for its excessive enjoyment. The qualities that we dislike in Americans— consumerism, arrogance, melting pot culture, vulgarity, and violence— are qualities that we envy and desire. According to Keohane, the

antagonistic phenomena of the theft of enjoyment in the discourse of Canadian nationalism are symptoms for the lack of Canadian culture (32). Canada only exists because the systems of its lacking have a particularity—Canadian nationalism derives from common identification with symptoms that mask the lack underpinning the social. Thus, Canadian culture is held together through identification with the symptoms through which enjoyment is organized, like the warmth of our hospitality, or safeness of our cities (33).

Canadian Edition: Canada as a Response, Resistance, Critique of the US

With this detailed background to Canadian imagery, identity, and the relationship between the United States and Canada in place, I will now situate my analytical perspective within such debates, and establish the direction of my forthcoming comparison of MuchMusic and MTV. Throughout this chapter, I have explored how the majority of academic research and popular nationalist arguments concentrate upon the cultural and economic dominance and dependency ingrained in Canada's relationship with the United States. This perspective is definitely the easiest to argue, and one with which most Canadian scholars seem comfortable. The hostile Canadian response to the dominance of the United States is best documented in Margaret Atwood's statement, "The only position they've ever adopted towards us...has been the missionary position, and we were not on top" (Atwood in Manning, 1993: 19).

While I believe that the aggressive power of the United States is genuine, I challenge the view that Canadians are submissive victims, "lying still and keeping our mouths shut, pretending we like" the overwhelming cultural flow of the United States (Atwood in Manning, 1993: 19). Although Canadians readily consume American popular culture and homegrown artists can easily become creatively constrained by what Canadian actor R.H. Thompson calls "trying to do something in a manner that is not true to us and seeing what we make initially as "bad", because it doesn't fit all the previous examples that have been done so well in the States", I propose that there are many examples of Canadian popular culture that encompass infatuation and imitation of American popular culture while simultaneously offering critique, resistance, and parody (Thompson in Miller, 1996: 234). Although Canadian films and television programs are often based on ideas pioneered in the United States (for example, MuchMusic was developed in response to MTV, CBC's Wayne & Shuster, Wojeck, DaVinci's Inquest and King of Kensington are all variations on American programs, CTV's recent ratings smash hit Who Wants to be a Millionaire: Canadian Edition was developed in response to the ABC version, etc.), the Canadian adaptation of American popular culture is much more than a simple reflex copy. Canadian versions are often innovative responses laced with a parodic attitude and subversive objective, providing a public structure for Canadian sentiment and offering a symbolic resistance to American domination (Flaherty and Manning, 1993: xiii).

Due to Canada's long-standing cultural connection with the United States, it is impossible to discuss Canadian popular culture as an independent phenomena, or as a product of its own separate evolution. Rather, Canadian popular culture operates as a relational phenomena that gains its significance through a specific Canadian perception of the US. This relationship is both symbolic and dialectic— symbolically, Canadian popular culture requires its American counterpart as a vague and reversible opposite, and dialectically, Canadian culture inflicts a particular identity on the US and then defines and redefines itself based upon ambivalently held differences (Manning, 1993: 9). The complicated relationship between the US and Canada necessitates continuous comparison— Canadians define themselves based on their interaction with an absolute, powerful, bewildering "Other".

From a Canadian point of view, American and Canadian cultural products represent a lode of contrasting stereotypes. Americans are confident believers in their popular culture, aggressively trumpeting their superiority, and feeling secure in the knowledge that their cultural products are as enjoyable for the rest of the world as they are for themselves (9). American popular culture encompasses glamour, glory, arrogance, consumerism, national mythology, and a well-structured celebrity system. On the other hand, Canadians have a completely opposite approach to homegrown popular culture. Canadian cultural products are often entrenched with a shy ambivalence, a clumsy innocence, twinges of embarrassment, a smug sense of self-protection, and of course, comedic self-parody. As a

figure of speech, it can be said that American popular culture is hyperbole and Canadian culture is oxymoron. Also, Americans can be defined as cultural narcissists and Canadians as cultural schizophrenics (Geoffrey, 1993: 248).

As noted earlier, the ambiguity and fluid nature of Canadian culture has been most commonly discussed in academia in terms of lack and subordination. By comparing Canadian and American popular culture, perceived deficiencies in symbolic imagery result in arguments that Canada is a hegemonic construction, that because we lack an assured mythology we lack autonomy and solidarity, and that we are in danger of losing our nationhood due to the seductive power of American cultural products. It is important to note that such arguments impose an American methodology on the Canadian experience— by searching for examples of absolute signifiers, self-assured identity, well-defined mythology and unambiguous boundaries, such theorists are forcing Canadian culture to conform to a definition of identity that does not fit the Canadian experience. What underlies Canadian culture is not rooted in teleological attributes, but rather in the essential ambiguity of Canada, a land without a particular mythology, clear sense of boundaries, self-assured identity, and strong iconography. Basically, Canada can be defined as a culture without the fundamental attributes of American culture— Canada is Canada because it not the United States.

By failing to find a glorious mythology in the Canadian experience, cultural critics often make the mistake of defining Canada as a second-rate,

subordinate, low-grade copy of the United States. However, although uncertain and fluid, Canada offers a very different North American experience to that of the United States. Furthermore, Canada functions as a critique of the US. For example, multiculturalism, a public value system and national ideology constructed only thirty years ago by Trudeau's Liberal government, derives its significance from its straightforward contrast to the alleged monoculturalism of the US. Multiculturalism can be seen as a symbol of resistance and critique of the cultural sterility and vulgarity that Canadians ascribe to the American melting pot, with the mosaic symbolizing a somewhat self-righteous national ideal (Manning, 1993: 7).

Also, Canadian popular culture serves as a reconstitution and retextualization of American culture. Although Canadian cultural products are often accused of submission, inferiority, and ineffective mimicry, I believe the opposite is true— if one takes the time to analyze the subtleties and complicated layers of Canadian popular culture, a sensibility, disposition, and uniquely Canadian texture become apparent. In addition to Canadian comedy (already well-regarded for its self-parody), many homegrown cultural products are consciously ironic and self-satiric— Canadians make fun of themselves but do not destroy their culture by mocking it. Rather, Canadian culture is affirmed in a complicated, inverted manner, resulting in accidental, modest celebrity and non-heroic public personas whose failures are just as obvious as their successes.

The most in-depth recent academic analysis of the Canadian comprehension of American popular culture and creative response to the US can be found in The Beaver Bites Back?: American Popular Culture in Canada, a series of essays edited by Frank E. Manning and David H. Flaherty. Manning argues that the relationship between the US and Canada is "diffuse, ambiguous, and contradictory...it involves imitation and resistance, infatuation and repugnance, collusion and condemnation, submission and subversion, identification and differentiation, and myriad other forms of acceptance and rejection, all of them potentially inversive" (26). The Canadian response to American television is best documented in Mary Jane Miller's comparison of Street Legal and LA Law, and with Micheal Ames' "The Canadianization of an American Fair: The Case of Expo 86", which offers interesting insight into the borrowing and reconstitution of American materials and Canadianization of American popular themes. In my forthcoming research, I will follow the direction established by such analysis. According to Manning, "There is little sociocultural theory to illuminate how Canadians actually comprehend American popular culture and selectively incorporate it into their own lives" and cultural products (xiii).

As revealed throughout this chapter, the easiest and most rational method to the study of Canadian culture is the left nationalist approach of domination and dependency. While this is a valid approach to analyzing Canadian popular culture, there is a definite lack of cultural analysis that strays outside this philosophy. In my impending analysis, I will utilize an

alternative perspective to explore how MuchMusic has developed in response to MTV, and how MuchMusic as a super-text (encompassing music video flow, non-musical programming, video-jockeys, televisual space, aesthetics, production values, marketing, programming philosophy, awards ceremonies) functions as both an example of uniquely Canadian sensibilities and an example of Canada's complicated relationship with the United States (in terms of resistance, critique, imitation, and infatuation). In Chapter Two, I will provide an overview of academic approaches to music video and a historical sociocultural examination of the evolution of MTV and MuchMusic. Chapter Three will involve a content analysis of MuchMusic and MTV's televisual flow, in addition to participatory research gained through experiencing the MuchMusic Video Awards and several Intimate and Interactive interviews first-hand.

CHAPTER TWO

Behind the Music: An Analysis of Music Video Scholarship and the Evolution of Music Television in Canada and the US

Smells Like Teen Spirit: Music Video and Generation Next

While Canada's complicated relationship with the United States has been widely documented, very few cultural theorists have explored how this relationship operates in the realm of music television. Research focusing upon MuchMusic's ability to provide a public structure for Canadian sentiment and reflect imitation, infatuation, critique and resistance towards American popular culture is an important pursuit for several reasons. Firstly, music television is a significant site of cultural analysis due to its roots in popular culture (as opposed to high culture). Cultural theorist Richard Collins states, "It is the contemporary pervasiveness of... popular culture in and through which the masses are thought to construct their identities and aspirations outside the dominant political institutions of the nation-state" (Collins, 1990: 108). Over the past two decades, music television, specifically MuchMusic and MTV within the North American context, has become an important part of contemporary mass culture.

In the first issue of the 1990's, music industry weekly Billboard described the previous ten years as "the video decade", and since 1990, music television has become increasingly influential in North American society (Gow, 1992: 41). Since its debut on August 1st, 1981, MTV has evolved from a 24-hour visual radio station initially only seen in 800 000

American households, to an all-encompassing televisual guide to popular culture, fashion, industry developments, and the hippest trends in music (McGrath, 1996: 64). By 1991, MTV was offered on 5 050 of the United States' 8 500 cable systems, with some 46.1 million subscribers (Gow, 1992: 41). In its current, more traditional televisual format, MTV reaches over 340 million viewers in 139 countries, most of them teens and young adults (Anson, 2000: 206). In addition to bringing inner city club-chic fashion and music to the small-town heartlands of America, MTV has developed a worldwide presence with the establishment of MTV networks in Latin America, Russia, China, Europe, Brazil, Japan, India, Vietnam, and Australia (43). Although the birth of MTV coincided with other significant structural changes in the American music industry (ie. the rebirth of singles-based Top 40 radio, the re-enfrashisement of teenage girls as record-buyers, the intensification of celebrity/fan culture, and an increase in the rate of turnover of popular records and artists), MTV has had a massive impact on how popular culture is consumed, circulated, and articulated, as well as how popular music is promoted and sold (Straw, 1988: 249). The innovation of MTV is expressed by former Vice President of Programming Robert Pittman:

> It's ridiculous to think that you have two forms of entertainment— your stereo and your television— which have nothing to do with one another. What we're doing is marrying those two forms so that they work together in unison... MTV is the first attempt to make TV a new form, other than video games or data channels. We're talking about creating a new form using existing technologies (Pittman in Goodwin, 1992: 133).

MuchMusic has developed in response to MTV, reflecting a sense of Canadian infatuation with and imitation of American popular culture. However, careful analysis of the subtleties and complicated layers of MuchMusic's programming reveals a uniquely Canadian sensibility, disposition, and texture. Although not as influential as MTV on a global scale, MuchMusic has made itself well-known both nationally and internationally. Since its debut in 1984, MuchMusic has gone from reaching approximately 300 000 Canadian homes to its current reach of 5.7 million households in English Canada (MuchMusic, 2001). Programming is shown simultaneously throughout Canada regardless of time zone differences, thus situating MuchMusic within a specific time and place. In addition to massive popularity in Canada, MuchMusic has also developed a significant international audience. In collaboration with the UK's Sky Channel and MTV, MuchMusic is aired throughout Europe, and a 90 minute Much program called Jyrki is shown on MTV in Finland. Furthermore, in 1992 the MuchaMusica channel was launched in Argentina, and upcoming MuchMusic stations are planned for Capetown, South Africa and Mexico City. In addition, MuchMusic's MuchUSA channel, launched in 1994, now reaches over 13 million American homes (MuchMusic, 2001).

MuchMusic has been instrumental in the development of a more vibrant entertainment industry in Canada, especially over the past five years, with its promotion of cross-Canada concert festivals (EdgeFest), the MuchMusic Video Awards, and live in-house concerts and events (Intimate

and Interactive performances, street festivals such as Da Mix's 10th Anniversary Party). Also, MuchMusic has avoided a Torontonian bias through cross-country programming such as MuchWest, MuchEast, French Kiss, SnowJob in Jasper, Alberta, SandJob in Wasaga Beach, Ontario, and Electric Circus Winter Carnival in Ottawa, Ontario. By creating a national outlet for new music and hip television programming, MuchMusic has diminished geographical differences in taste (ie. Europop in Quebec, Celtic rock in the Maritimes, guitar-driven rock in Ontario), as well as expanding definitions of "Canadian music" to include genres like hiphop, R&B, dance, hardcore and funk. MuchMusic has united the nation's youth in a shared cultural experience, yet at the same time, has resisted portraying a uniform, homogeneous Canadian experience. Thus, MuchMusic has served as a powerful force for both asserting and challenging cultural collectivity in Canada.

Music television is an important subject for cultural analysis because MuchMusic is the only entertainment medium in Canada that provides national access to the latest in music, as well as hip, youth-oriented television programming. Although some local radio stations like CFNY 102.1FM in Toronto (privately owned, mainstream alternative rock) and CITR 101.9FM in Vancouver (university operated, alternative West Coast rock), offer programming for a similar audience, such stations are obviously not national, and are outnumbered by the abundance of country and "oldies" stations in Canada. It is also important to note that despite rap being the only genre in

Canada to show a sales increase in 1998, Canada boasts 200 country music stations but not one single urban radio station (Clark, 1999b: 42). Although hip-hop and R&B have had a presence on university radio specialty shows, MuchMusic serves as the only highly accessible forum for Canadian urban music, and can be credited with bringing this genre into Canadian living rooms.

Also, in terms of television programming, MuchMusic is one of the only Canadian broadcasters that attempts to appeal to the 12-34 demographic. Aside from MuchMusic and MusiquePlus, young Canadians have very little homegrown youth-oriented programming from which to choose— other options include YTV, which is designed for younger children, and a limited range of programs on Canadian networks such as Street Cents, Jonovision, and the now defunct Degrassi Junior High on CBC, Pop Stars and Ready or Not (now cancelled) on Global, and U8TV on Alliance Atlantis' Life Network. However, even in comparison to top-ranked American youth-related programs, MuchMusic still fares well— in a 1997 study, it was found that 74% of Canadians between 12-34 favoured MuchMusic over Party of Five, Beverly Hills 90210, Melrose Place, Saturday Night Live, The Simpsons, and Friends (MuchMusic, 2001). Furthermore, since 1997, MuchMusic's audience has increased by 55% for children under 12, 98% for teenagers, and 37% for 18-34 year olds (Stevenson, 1998: 8). In a recent study, it was found that 48% of English Canadian teenagers and 38% of 18-34 year olds tune into MuchMusic a minimum of five times a week (MuchMusic, 2001).

Accordingly, MuchMusic has become increasingly fundamental to understanding the relationship between young Canadians and American popular culture, as well as how Canadian adolescents consume, disseminate, and articulate homegrown popular culture.

Exploring the cultural sensibilities of young Canadians is especially important due to the steady rise in North America's teenage population. Economist David Foot's Boom, Bust & Echo 2000 examines the ascent of the Echo Generation, or Canadians between 10 and 19 years of age. According to Statistics Canada, the Echo Generation (also known as Generation Y) represents 4.1 million Canadians, with its highest population concentration in Ontario and western Canada (Clark, 1999a: 14). By the year 2004, this number is expected to grow to 4.4 million. The consumer clout of Generation Echo is astonishing— in 1998, nine to 19 year old Canadians spent an astounding $13.5 billion (14). Advertisers usually divide this demographic into two distinct groups— nine to 14 year olds are referred to as "tweens" and 15 to 19 year olds as teens. In Canada, there are 2.4 million tweens and 1.7 million teens (14). In the United States, the presence of the Echo Generation is overwhelming— in 1999, the teen population swelled to 26 million with teens spending $141 billion in 1998 (almost twice as much spent by teenagers a decade ago) (14). The constantly expanding teenage population has had a massive impact on both the Canadian and American entertainment industries. For example, Teen People, launched in 1998, boasts 10 million readers per issue, with a circulation that has grown from 500 000 to 1.2

million in the span of only 18 months. Due to the power of the teenage market, Teen People has become one of the fastest growing magazines in American publishing history. Managing editor Christina Ferrari states, "It wasn't cool to be a teen in the '70's or '80's...the teenage population hasn't taken centre stage like this since the '50's and '60's" (Ferrari in Clark, 1999a: 14). MTV CEO Tom Freston elaborates on the effect of Generation Y on popular culture:

> I think all the big musical trends for the next 10 to 20 years are going to probably come from this younger, new, very large Generation Y. The oldest people of Generation Y are now 17 years old. It's a generation bigger than the boomers...They now are responsible for this boy-band music...It is happy, party music. They have grown up in a life of affluence and good times and their music reflects that (Freston in Beatty & Hymowitz, 2000: 4).

Due to the current influence of the teenage population, MTV and MuchMusic's impact on how popular culture is circulated and expressed, and MuchMusic's status as Canada's only national forum for the latest in music and hip, youth-oriented television programming, an in-depth examination of the cultural relationships at play within music television is both worthwhile and timely. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of music television which, in addition to the discussion of cultural identity in Chapter One, will serve as a theoretical framework for the content analysis conducted in Chapter Three. While most research surrounding music television was inspired by the early, countercultural aesthetic of MTV and individual music videos, I will engage in an updated analysis that reflects the current, more traditional televisual structure of music video channels, as well as the massive cultural impact that

MuchMusic and MTV have had on national identities as entertainment media, as opposed to simply radio station-like broadcasters of music videos.

Rather than exploring video clips themselves, my aim is to understand the political and economic forces that shape the televisual context of music video. My research is concerned with the "supertext" of MuchMusic and MTV— programming philosophy, musical and non-musical shows, VJ's, and televisual aesthetics. In this chapter I will discuss various academic approaches to music television, including those of Richard Gehr (music video categorization), Ann E. Kaplan and Will Straw (postmodernity, celebrity), and Andrew Goodwin, whose non-cinematic approach to MTV provided a great deal of direction in my analysis of music television as a super-text. Following this literature review, I will provide a historical context for understanding the significance of music television, locating its development within a nexus of key changes inside the mass media, including the music industry. In addition, I will discuss the evolutionary stages of MTV and MuchMusic, in order to provide a backdrop for my forthcoming research on how Canada's complicated relationship with the United States is reflected in the realm of music television.

Rage Against the Machine: Academic Approaches to Music Television

Music video scholarship has had a short, but intriguing history, involving a range of commentaries and critiques that inspire significant questions surrounding the music television medium. Since most music video

theory arose from the attempts of academics, especially film theorists, to develop some means of analyzing the early stages of this novel, increasingly pervasive medium, a great deal of the initial scholarship is limited by its temporal scope. The early categorizations of music video became outdated as early as 1990, as both the look of music video and the programming philosophy of MTV are constantly changing in pursuit of new ways to appear hip and irreverent. This tendency toward continual evolution means that any analysis of music television is significantly limited by the time frame in which it is written. However, despite such limitations, previous research facilitates the development of questions for my current study by offering pertinent conceptual contexts.

The first stylistic categorization of music videos was developed by Richard Gehr in his 1983 Film Comment article "The MTV Aesthetic". Gehr's three music video categories (performance videos, free-form/anti-narrative videos, and concept videos) represent the first structural analysis of video genres, and the categorization used by most theorists until the 1987 publication of Ann E. Kaplan's Rocking Around the Clock. While quite basic, Gehr's three categories can still be applied to current styles of music video. Gehr's first category, performance or in-studio videos, feature an artist or band lip-synching to the music on the soundtrack (Gehr, 1983: 37). Although most performance videos are juxtaposed with some clips of a more conceptual nature, the main focus of the video is the lyrical content of the song. Recent examples include U2's "One" (the song symbolizes the band

members coming together musically after a period of conflict, and the video depicts the band playing their instruments together in a rehearsal room) and Alanis Morrisette's "Head Over Feet" (the lyrics explore the purity and simplicity of love, and the video involves only one continuous head shot of Morrissette singing the lyrics). Gehr's second music video category, free-form videos, refers to videos featuring an ambiguous, vague narrative that is open to many different interpretations (37). Such videos depict a series of unrelated images with no formal plotline. Current examples include Nirvana's "Heart Shaped Box" (band's performance is juxtaposed with emaciated old man in a Santa Claus hat hanging on a cross, small blonde child in white hooded robe, crow flying over red skies) and Bjork's "Army of Me" (highly unusual, psychedelic, chaotic mix of images such as a gorilla dentist, a truck fuelled by diamonds, and an art gallery explosion).

Gehr's final category, concept videos, refers to videos featuring one or more members of a musical group participating in a narrative that may or may not be associated with the lyrical content of the song they are promoting (37). The most important aspect of concept videos is the establishment of an imagery that a band or artist wants to connect to their music. Here Gehr's key contribution to music video scholarship becomes apparent— beyond simply promoting a specific recording, a music video's content and style has a massive impact on the construction of a band's imagery and star persona . Gehr's argument can be supported by recent examples like the Spice Girls' debut video "Wannabe" (Sporty, Posh, Ginger, Scary, and Baby personas are

established), Dr. Dre's "Still Dre" (gangsta connections reiterated through South Central LA landscape, guns, and bouncing convertibles), and Britney Spear's debut video for "...Baby, One More Time". For instance, although the narrative of the "Baby...One More Time" video is loosely tied to the song's lyrical content (the lyrics focus upon a girl confessing her loneliness and need for a "sign" from her love interest, and the video depicts a naughty schoolgirl dancing in the hallways and posing for pensive moments of reflection in the high school gym), the imagery presented in the video is key to the construction of Britney Spears' star persona. In order to separate herself from other female bubblegum pop singers, Spears relies on a novel mixture of childhood innocence and ripening sexual eroticism. Spears' unique child/woman, virgin/whore, good old-fashioned Southern sweetheart/vamped-up tramp imagery is crucial to her popularity, and through the "...Baby, One More Time" video, Spears makes great use of music video's ability to construct star identity.

Throughout the mid 1980's, theorists like Deborah Holdstein, Marsha Kinder and Joan Lynch contributed interesting perspectives to the study of music television. Holdstein (1984) made a tripartite division of music videos based on a video clip's lyrical and gestural content. Kinder (1984) posited an alternate categorization of music videos based on her expertise in experimental film, dreamy theory, and television history. Lynch (1984) also posited another system of video classification, recognizing the stylistic differences within video genres, and creating sub-categories to accommodate

these variations. However, Gehr's stylistic categorization of music videos remained basically unchallenged until Ann E. Kaplan's 1987 text Rocking Around the Clock. Kaplan's analysis was significant because it was the first in-depth, substantial account of the forms and lyrical/visual themes of music video, as well as the first methodical application of cultural theorists like Baudrillard, Jameson and Lacan to music television. Also, Kaplan expanded upon Gehr's original music video categories (performance, free-form/anti-narrative, and concept videos) to encompass five new categories (romantic, socially conscious, nihilist, classical, and postmodern videos).

Kaplan's first genre of music video, romantic videos, involves sentimental, love-stricken lyrics, a genderless address (the feeling of romantic loss and yearning can be related to by male or female viewers, regardless of the performer's gender), and a melody that is catchy, reassuring, and easy to sing along to (Kaplan, 1987: 50). Socially conscious videos, on the other hand, problematize love and convey an oppositional reaction to the dominant social order (75). Kaplan's third category, nihilist videos (usually featuring heavy metal artists), represents an even sharper contrast to romantic videos (61). The visuals of such videos are described by Kaplan as anarchist and aggressive, and the video narratives often follow violent, destructive plots. The classical music video genre stems from Laura Mulvey's work on classic Hollywood film, and according to Kaplan, such videos involve the visual objectification of women through a fetishistic male gaze (45). Classical videos either depict a straightforward objectification of women (as seen in the

"bling-bling" phenomena of most recent hip-hop videos, ie. one rapper surrounded by a crowd of breathless, scantily clad "hos") or a narrative derived from suspense, science fiction, or horror films (Michael Jackson's "Thriller", Guns n' Roses "November Rain", and Eminem's "Stan" all focus upon the death or abuse of an "innocent" woman). Kaplan's final genre, postmodern videos, refers to videos with indecipherable narratives or videos that manipulate or complicate the images employed in other genres (15).

In addition to her categorization of music videos, Kaplan's analysis is also significant because it represents the first in-depth account of music video's connection to postmodern culture. In academic circles, following Kaplan's research, music television became widely regarded as the ideal postmodern text. Important aspects of the association between music video and postmodernity include music television's fusion of high art and popular culture (disregard for cultural boundaries), departure from grand narratives or institutionalized televisual structure (seamless 24-hour transmission), prevalence of intertextuality and pastiche (historical/chronological distinctions are lost in a recycled, patchworked imagery that is made to seem current and new), and schizophrenic disregard of rational political and social engagement, leading to a new form of societal resistance (Goodwin, 1992: 15). The problem with Kaplan's analysis, and the academic tendency to link music video to postmodernity, is that the main critical focus is on the image rather than the music itself (17). By focusing on avant-garde aesthetics and cinematic codes, the meaning of the song is forgotten and the role of the

audience is demeaned. For example, in Kaplan's discussion of Madonna's "Material Girl" video, Kaplan identifies Madonna as a postmodern feminist and her video as a pastiche of Marilyn Monroe's 1953 film Gentlemen Love Blondes. This type of analysis undermines the audience's contemporary perception of the text (ie. most young fans of Madonna would not be familiar with a film from 1953 and would instead interpret the video in light of Madonna's other videos and her recent film Desperately Seeking Susan), and ignores the role of music and lyrics (23). Also, throughout Rocking Around the Clock, it is clear that Kaplan holds the theoretically limiting belief that video killed the radio star:

> MTV has resulted in a 'predominantly uni-dimensional, commercialized, and massified youth culture, not really organized by youth itself but by commercial agents, that has absorbed into itself, and trivialized, all the potentially subversive positions of early rock movements. There are of course small sub-groups that are important but because they are marginalized and lack access to the media, they are powerless (152).

Although Kaplan's work suffers as a result of such conceptual limitations, it is important to note that Rocking Around the Clock broke new academic ground, inspiring critical discussion surrounding music television and visual codes of music video.

Andrew Goodwin's 1992 text Dancing in the Distraction Factory attempts to address some of the problems inherent in Kaplan's cinematic-based approach. Goodwin's analysis of MTV, in terms of the televisual framing surrounding music video and the rock aesthetic imbedded in that framing, is of particular relevance to my forthcoming research. In Dancing in

the Distraction Factory, Goodwin engages in a historical/economic/ institutional analysis of the music industry, a textual investigation of music video that is grounded in the sociology of popular music, and an exploration of rock n' roll culture and its connection to music television (Goodwin, 1992: xviii). Most importantly, Goodwin's text represents one of the only in-depth analyses that places equal emphasis on sound *and* vision, music *and* television. Also, since Dancing in the Distraction Factory was published ten years after the birth of MTV, Goodwin's insight into the impact of music television is much more useful than earlier accounts such as Kaplan's. For example, his discussion of the common "video killed the radio star" debate is strengthened by a longer, more familiar relationship with music television. Goodwin points out that appealing visuals have always been important in the music industry (especially for women), and that musicians have never been able to get record deals without being seen (183). The notion that only physically attractive acts succeed in the video era is a myth, with video budget and directorial skills being more important to a video's airplay than an artist's appearance. Goodwin also highlights the positive affects of music television on the recording industry— through music television, artists that likely would not have attained fame without music video, such as Madonna and Public Enemy, were able to bring the politics of race and gender into American living rooms (185). Goodwin counteracts the frequent rock critique that visuals negatively impact songwriting (ie. bands now write songs with videos in mind) with his assertion that there are many interesting examples of

the interplay of music and video production techniques. Also, there is very little evidence to support the widely-held assumption that music videos change the meaning a song holds for its audience. Finally, the theory that music video has "sold out" the music industry is absurd— rock and pop have always been heavily commodified art forms (188).

Dancing in the Distraction Factory also offers an interesting discussion of music television's impact on celebrity identity. As Will Straw points out in his 1988 article "Music Video and its Contexts: Popular Music and Postmodernism in the 1980's", music television has altered the way in which artists are interpreted and marketed. When releasing a new record, the rock super group- dominated industry of the '70's placed great emphasis on the biography, auteurism, and career discography of bands like Fleetwood Mac and Boston (Straw, 1988: 253). Music television, however, encourages an emphasis on the individual singles that an artist releases, rather than an unfolding biography or career (254). Although MTV programs like BIOrhythm and MuchMusic's Spotlight make it clear that audiences are in fact very interested in biographical information about performers, as noted by Straw in 1988, biographical information is not overly important to the audience's interpretation of music, and while stars are heavily-hyped, their lifespan is much shorter and they function in an all-or-nothing, totally chic/totally geek celebrity system. For example, due to one hit single, "Thong Song", R&B singer Sisqo was a major star for about six months, winning an MTV Music Video Award and starring in his own MTV beach party summer program

Sisqo's Shakedown, as well as episodes of MTV's BIOrhythm, FANatic, and MTV Cribs. Although audiences are interested in the biography of Sisqo, it is obvious that this information is not really linked to the understanding of his music, and it is unlikely that a new Sisqo record would succeed simply because its Sisqo— stardom is now based on individual records rather than a sustained interest in artists themselves.

Goodwin expands upon Straw's work with his analysis of how star images are constructed through music videos. He argues that the content of any given star persona may or may not be built on the real-life experiences of the performer, and that manipulation of documentary elements in video produces a fiction presented as if it was mimetic reflection (106). Music videos are often concerned with establishing a sense of authenticity through musical community and culture— for example, Limp Bizkit's "Rollin'" rooftop concert video references Guns n' Roses' "Don't Cry" which is based on U2's "Where the Streets Have No Name" which references the Beatles' performance of "Get Back" in the film "Let it Be". Also, by using production techniques associated with documentary (cinema verite, TV interviews, on-camera spontaneity, gritty behind-the-scenes footage, contrasting use of black and white and colour shots to connote reality/performance), idealized fantasies about the music industry and star persona are promoted. Bands are presented as inseparable groups of friends rather than workers, and the audience is encouraged to feel an intimate identification with a more complete

representation of the star (despite this "real" representation being heavily scripted and manipulated, as is the case with most backstage tour videos).

In addition to his analysis of star construction and the cultural impact of music television, Goodwin highlights the importance of locating music video within a nexus of other major changes within the music industry. Using the industry-based analysis of theorists like Jack Banks, Serge Denisoff, and Tom McGrath, I will now offer a historical context for understanding music television, its connection to other major structural changes in the music industry, its impact on how music is promoted and sold, and how music television has evolved as a medium over the last twenty years.

BIORhythm: A History of Music Video and MTV

Despite music television's somewhat recent emergence in popular culture, the basic concept of the music video, using pictures to sell music, is hardly novel. Examples of visuals set to commercially available sound recordings with the aim of producing audiovisual entertainment can be traced back as early as the 1900's. At the Paris World Fair in 1900, theatre stars promoted their work through short film sketches synchronized with gramophone music (Malm & Wallis, 1988: 267). In Sweden, from 1905 to 1914, commercially available music recordings were used as the basis of short films which were aired in cinemas with mechanical and human ingenuity providing somewhat successful synchronization (267). In 1921, German filmmaker Oskar Von Fischinger began making animated shorts synchronized

to jazz and classical music, and in 1927, the world's first "talkie" movie, The Jazz Singer, was released (Goodwin, 1992: 189). The promotional purposes of the synchronization of pictures and music became more evident in the 1950's with the rise of the Panoram Soundie, a visual jukebox that was featured on programs like American Bandstand, which debuted on WFIL-TV Philadelphia in August, 1953 (McGrath, 1996: 36). The 1950's were a key turning point in music video, due in part to Elvis Presley's television appearances and 1956 film "Love Me Tender", and also due to the flood of youth culture and rock n' roll movies that contained music video-like singing and dancing sequences (Goodwin, 1992: 30). Following in the tradition of Soundies, the 1960's featured the ascent of another video jukebox called the Scopitone. Although the Scopitone, developed in France, was popular for a while amongst European fans and artists, not many American acts ever made Scopitone films, and the machine never really caught on (McGrath, 1996: 36).

Music television continued to blossom in the 1960's with the premiere of the British music variety shows Ready, Steady, Go! in 1963 and Top of the Pops in 1964, the Beatles' 1964 film A Hard Day's Night, Beatles' promotional clips for "We Can Work It Out" and "Paperback Writer" in 1966, the premiere of The Monkees in 1966 on NBC, and the release of Don't Look Back, D.A. Pennebaker's 1967 documentary about Bob Dylan (Goodwin, 1992: 192). A key development in the history of music video can be found in the rise of music variety programs like Top of the Pops and American Bandstand in the '60's. Due to the performance format of such programs, and the fact that

extremely popular acts like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones were usually too busy or touring too far away to make personal appearances, record companies began shooting simple music videos to replace live in-studio performances. Although most of these clips involved bands straightforwardly lip-synching their songs on a sound stage, over time, the clips became more creative and conceptual, foreshadowing current video formats (ie. the Beatles' "Strawberry Fields", the Who's "Happy Jack").

The 1970's began with the premiere of new musical programs like The Patridge Family (1970) and Soul Train (1971). In 1975, the most popular candidate for the very first music video, Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody", was introduced (30). Directed by Jon Roseman and Bruce Gowers, "Bohemian Rhapsody" was a six minute promotional video featuring both performance and conceptual elements. When the song reached Number 30 on the British charts, Top of the Pops began playing the video, which quickly became extremely popular with audiences. After only one airing on Top of the Pops, "Bohemian Rhapsody" entered the British Top 5, where it remained for over three months (McGrath, 1996: 36). Since the success of "Bohemian Rhapsody" proved that a promotional music clip could have a massive impact on a record's sales, a growing number of British artists started to shoot music videos for their songs. Although most videos made during this period were shot on videotape in single day shoots, British music fans went wild for them, prompting the premiere of the first music video program, The Kenny Everett Video Show, in 1978 (35). In North America, the music video scene was not

as vibrant, but there were minor developments, like Billboard's 1977 creation of Starstream, a supplier and distributor of promotional clips to clubs. Following the creation of DJ Casey Kasem's music video show America's Top Ten, a music channel named Video Concert Hall aired in Atlanta, as well as several other cable systems in the southern States, in the fall of 1979 (38).

In early 1981, the commercial potential of music videos became increasingly apparent. Video shows became more common, with HBO's Video Jukebox and USA's Night Flight premiering in 1980 (39). In addition, the music industry was experiencing a serious decline in profitability— in 1979, the disco boom crashed, and competition was so fierce amongst radio stations that stations began playing far less new music than usual. This conservatism led to a disregard for punk and New Wave, movements that had experienced massive popularity in Great Britain, resulting in lacklustre sales for record labels (39). Record companies were keen to boost profitability, and if it meant pouring money into promotional music videos, they were willing to take that financial risk. With basically free programming material being made available and American cable television services rapidly expanding, the establishment of a cable music-only channel became a much more feasible prospect. Also, a rock and roll network promised to be a perfect opportunity for advertisers to target hard-to-reach adolescents— before music television, in the late '70's, the only way to reach teenagers televisually was through Saturday Night Live, and even this was not a guaranteed investment (40).

Furthermore, the performing and recording process of popular music was changing. The new music-making technological revolution brought about by synthesizers demonstrated more forcefully than ever before that musical performance is heavily linked to visual experience (Goodwin, 1992: 33). Ideologies of popular music were shifting, with Britain's romantic New Pop movement taking centre stage. Since New Pop acts like Duran Duran and Human League stressed style and artifice in their performance, a progression towards glitzy, promotion-oriented visuals and movement away from album oriented rock seemed appropriate. For the first time since the Elvis Presley craze of the late '50's and the Beatles mania of the early '60's, teenage females were recognized as influential record buyers and radio listeners. With the rise of New Pop and the intensification of celebrity culture, fan clubs, and band merchandise, young girls once again became involved in the popular music industry, encouraging the creation of a music network that fed into "pin-up culture" (Straw, 1988: 249). In response to these structural changes, in 1981, the Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC) decided to create a 24 hour all-music cable network that would be more than just rock n' roll on television—it would be actual rock n' roll television.

Music Television (MTV) debuted on August 1st, 1981 at 12:01a.m. with "Video Killed the Radio Star" by the Buggles. Although academic analyses of MTV usually insinuate that MTV has retained a stable format over the years, in reality, MTV has evolved significantly as a result of institutional factors like

shifting ownership patterns and changes in the broadcasting, advertising, and music industries. As rock n' roll television, MTV not only needs to display creativity, hipness, and irreverence, but it has to be seen as constantly in motion, and hip and irreverent in new ways. MTV CEO Tom Freston states:

> While we stay focused on the teen and young-adult audience, people pass through that demographic rather quickly. So just as you get accustomed to serving one group and their particular attitudes or attributes...they have kind of gone along. And a mistake is to move along with them. There is a whole new generation coming in the pipeline that is quite different. When a generation moves on, you don't follow it—you focus on the next one coming up (Freston in Beatty & Hymowitz, 2000: 4).

In Dancing in the Distraction Factory, Andrew Goodwin outlines three major stages in MTV's evolution— the 1981-83 romantic New Pop stage, the 1983-85 heavy metal stage and the 1986-1992 period which involved a widening musical scope and a movement towards a more traditional televisual schedule. In addition to providing an analysis of these evolutionary phases, I will also discuss a fourth stage previously unexplored by MTV researchers like Goodwin, Jack Banks, or Serge Denisoff. The fourth, present phase of MTV began with the premiere of The Real World and Beavis and Butthead in 1992, and is characterized by a replacement of music video programming with pop culture/music-oriented television shows. Although Goodwin hinted at the development of program slots and traditional televisual structure in his third stage of MTV, in recent years the format of MTV has made dramatic leaps in this direction. Music videos are now rarely aired outside of the context of video programs like Total Request Live, MTV Jams, Return of the Rock, or Spankin' New Music, with MTV's early days as a visual

radio station all but forgotten. Furthermore, with the creation of MTV2 in 1996, a second cable channel devoted exclusively to music videos, the establishment of MTV Productions in 1993, MTV Interactive in 1994, and www.mtv.com in 1995, MTV has become more of an all-encompassing mediator of youth-oriented, popular/musical entertainment than simply a rock n' roll television network.

The first stage of MTV, which forms the basis for the majority of academic research surrounding music television, was definitely the least influential phase historically. MTV was originally conceived as a form of visual radio with the format of continuous video flow and smooth transition from one video to the next (Banks, 1998: 293). At this time, MTV rarely aired any programming other than music videos, with only occasional artist interviews and concert specials. One of the most significant effects of this format was the institutionalization within the United States of an equivalent to national simultaneously-broadcast network radio (Straw, 1988: 251). Also, in terms of MTV's impact on sales, the decision to label songs at the beginning and end of clips allowed audiences to link a video or record to an artist, increasing that artist's sale potential (252). However, at this point, music videos were still not being made by many artists. On MTV's launch night, VJ's only had access to 250 videos (although this figure is noted by some MTV veterans to actually be closer to 75), and such videos were not all appropriate for play on MTV (McGrath, 1996: 69).

Due to a lack of homegrown visually evocative clips, MTV relied on promotional videos made in Great Britain, which led to a focus on New Pop acts (Denisoff, 1988: 25). Bands like Culture Club and Duran Duran, whose music was heavily connected to style and fashion, gave MTV a progressive, cutting-edge look and established its visuals as anti-realist and avant-garde. Although MTV was not available in Los Angeles and Manhattan until late 1982, its impact on the sale and promotion of popular music in the United States quickly became apparent. The success of the British band A Flock of Seagulls in 1982, coinciding with the massively popular "I Want My MTV!" campaign, was one of the first examples of MTV's growing influence. Despite their lack of popularity in Britain, and their American record label's lack of enthusiasm for a US breakthrough, A Flock of Seagulls created a visually compelling video for their first American single "I Ran". This video, showcasing the band's now infamous hairstyles and unique fashion sense, went into heavy rotation at MTV. Soon, "I Ran" was in Billboard's Top 10 and A Flock of Seagulls' album was in the Top 20 (McGrath, 1996: 86). MTV also worked wonders for the careers of other relatively unknown acts like Duran Duran, Adam Ant, Billy Idol, and Men at Work. However, during this phase MTV was often accused of an all-white video line-up and an exclusionary attitude towards black music—because MTV's programming philosophy viewed rock and urban dance music as incompatible, videos from black artists were rarely shown (Goodwin, 1993: 133).

The second stage of MTV, which began with MTV entering the crucial media markets of LA and Manhattan, is viewed by many rock critics as the true beginning of the music video revolution. Despite network and cable competition (ie. Ted Turner's Cable Music Channel), an antitrust suit from the Discovery Music Network and criticism from both conservatives (National Coalition on Television Violence) and liberals (accusing MTV of racism and sexism), it was clear that MTV had survived the crucial make-or-break phase (136). Most importantly, MTV counter-attacked its rivals by signing exclusivity deals with six major recording companies. In the first three quarters of 1983, advertising sales jumped 300% from the previous year, and by the end of 1983, MTV had completed its first profitable quarter (McGrath, 1996: 104). At this point, videos were responsible for the success of more and more new acts and the financial impact of MTV on the music industry was becoming increasingly apparent. For example, in the spring of 1981, only 23 of the songs on Billboard's Hot 100 singles charts were supported by videos, and by the beginning of 1983, that number had expanded to over 50 (Banks, 1998: 294). With record sales up by 10% in the first half of 1983, the music industry had finally broken out of a three and a half year slump (103).

With more acts making promotional clips, and more money being spent on videos, an entire new filmmaking industry began to evolve. While an average video cost approximately $15 000 to produce in 1981, videos became increasingly elaborate, with artists like Michael Jackson spending $300 000 to produce "Beat It" and "Billie Jean" in 1983 (295). As more

American record companies began pouring resources into music videos, MTV no longer had to rely on European promotional clips, which resulted in fading interest in New Pop. With romantic British pop out of fashion, and MTV expanding its geographical reach, it was important for MTV to appeal to the rockist tastes of its new demographics. This led to MTV's embrace of heavy metal music, and shift towards the use of discrete program slots like The Basement Tapes (the best clips by unsigned bands) Guest VJ (celebrities guest starred and played their favourite videos), Friday Night Fights (viewers call-in show where two videos would compete against each other for the popular vote), MTV Countdown, and the premiere of the first ever MTV Video Music Awards in September 1984 (Goodwin, 1993: 136). With heavy metal en vogue, the style of music videos began to change— the conceptual, ironic modernist, anti-realist videos common amongst New Pop acts were replaced by gritty, performance-based, pseudo tour documentaries designed to emphasize musical virtuosity and authenticity. Until 1986, MTV continued to almost exclusively promote heavy metal, with non-metal rock videos being shown on new MTV Networks station VH-1 (aimed at 25-54 year olds).

MTV continued its focus on heavy metal music until changes in ownership forced a shift in programming philosophy. The third stage of MTV began with the departure of Chief Executive Officer Robert Pittman in August 1986. Although heavy metal was still prevalent during this phase, MTV widened its musical scope to encompass previously overlooked music like rap, hip-hop, dance, and R&B. While it is clear that MTV's acceptance of

traditionally black musical genres emerged out of rap crossovers with white musicians (ie. the Beastie Boys, Run DMC and Aerosmith's "Walk This Way", Public Enemy and Anthrax's "Bring tha Noise", Fat Boys and the Beach Boys' "Wipe Out"), the genre was validated by MTV with the creation of dance show Club MTV in August 1987 and Yo! MTV Raps in August 1988.

In Pittman's absence, MTV became less of a televisual radio station and more of a hip lifestyle network, taking important steps towards the programming philosophy MTV holds today. MTV, which was not listed in TV Guide in its early years of broadcast, increasingly began to focus upon thematically and sequentially organized programming. This allowed MTV's programming schedule to be listed in important publications, and encouraged viewers to tune in for longer periods of time. MTV's more traditional televisual approach involved the use of broadcast television formats such as Beatles cartoons and The Monkees (first aired on networks), The Tube (imported from Great Britain), and non-musical programs such as comedies, a Spring Break special, a game show and a phone-in show (137). This period proved to be very successful for MTV— it became the second highest rated basic cable service in the US, and by the third quarter of 1988, MTV Networks reported a 44% gain in earnings (McGrath, 1996: 5). Also, music television was becoming increasingly influential in terms of record sales— the number of Billboard Hot 100 singles with accompanying videos rose to 82 in May 1986, and grew to 97 in December 1989 (Banks, 1998: 294). This period in MTV's history was also characterized by international expansion. MTV Europe was

launched in 1987, with Dire Straits' "Money For Nothing" as the first video played, and syndicated packages of MTV aired in Japan, Mexico, and Australia (Goodwin, 1992: 138). In November 1989, MTV went live to air in East Berlin, Germany— forty-eight hours later, the Berlin Wall collapsed (McGrath, 1996: 5).

With its worldwide presence as an all-encompassing mediator of popular culture established, MTV can no longer be discussed in terms of postmodern, avant-garde anti-aesthetics and boundary-less flow. As a commercial network with thematically and sequentially organized programming, academic tools of analysis developed by early theorists like Gehr and Kaplan become of little use understanding MTV. MTV, which once existed outside of the televisual norm, is now a representation of the norm, warranting closer, more current, and more comprehensive analysis.

The stages of development discussed by Goodwin effectively encompass the first ten years of MTV's programming history, but since 1992, MTV has progressed even further towards a traditional televisual structure. Music television's first major foray into non-musical programming came with MTV's coverage of the 1992 Presidential campaign—in addition to a year-long "Rock the Vote" campaign, Bill Clinton appeared in the very first Choose or Lose forum in June 1992, and MTV celebrated its first Inaugural Ball in January 1993 (McGrath, 1996: 5). Although MTV News had been branching out into non-musical youth-oriented issues like sex, reproductive health, the environment, and international peace for the past few years (MTV organized

the anti-Gulf War "Give Peace a Chance II" campaign of 1990), entering the realm of politics was a very significant step for MTV. It proved to be a successful one— by taking on such a pro-patriotism, pro-social project, MTV was able to improve its reputation and provide its viewers with much-needed hip, accessible political coverage. Also, at MTV's Inaugural Ball, Bill Clinton (the only presidential candidate willing to appear on MTV) validated music television's entrance into the political sphere, "Now I think everybody here knows that MTV had a lot to do with the Clinton-Gore victory...And one of the things that I'm proudest of is that so many young voters turned out in record numbers. I want you to know how much I believe in Rock the Vote" (Clinton in McGrath, 1996: 9).

In addition to two more in-studio appearances from President Bill Clinton during 1993, two influential non-musical programs also characterized this period. The Real World, a reality-based soap opera chronicling the lives of "seven strangers picked to live together, work together and have their lives taped", began allowing audiences "to see what happens when people stop being polite and start getting *real*" in May 1992. This program, which launched the contemporary reality TV craze, not only features a diverse range of twenty-something cast members, but also offers a taste of different American cities each season. Settings have included a rustic loft in New York City, a converted fire station in Boston, a pier-side house in Seattle, a South Beach mansion in Miami, a renovated plantation house in New Orleans, and a tropical beach house in Waikiki, Hawaii. As a tremendously popular show,

The Real World has been able to highlight important social issues (most notably with San Francisco cast member Pedro Zambora's highly-publicized fight against AIDS), and impact the style of other programming added to MTV's schedule. The Real World has inspired extreme sports-oriented adventure spin-off Road Rules and boy band reality show Making the Band, as well as True Life, MTV Truth, UnDressed, and 2Together (now seen on MuchMusic). While many other significant lifestyle-based programs were added to MTV's roster during the early '90's (including game show Singled Out, fashion program House of Style, and relationship advice show LoveLine), 1992's Beavis and Butthead, an animated series featuring two teenage boys who lounge on their couch talking about music videos that are "cool, heh heh" or "suck", proved to have a massive impact on MTV audiences. Beavis and Butthead was called the "bravest show ever ran on national television" by Time, and was shown on MTV twice a day, six days a week (202). Although the cartoon was critiqued for its violent and often offensive content, it was the first major non-musical MTV phenomenon to inspire a widespread craze (new popular catchphrases, a movie, T-shirts and other merchandise). Also, it encouraged the addition of new animated programs like Daria, Downtown, Spy Groove, and Celebrity Death Match to MTV's schedule.

MTV continued to widen its scope with the establishment of MTV Productions in 1993 (focusing on youth-oriented shows and movies), MTV Interactive in 1994 (video games, CD-ROM products, and interactive TV

services), www.mtv.com in 1995 (on-line guide to the coolest trends in music, entertainment news, and MTV programs), and MTV2 in 1996 (a second cable channel devoted exclusively to music videos). MTV has enjoyed great success with its film-making production unit— MTV Productions is responsible for popular teen horror film The Faculty, football movie Varsity Blues (debuting at Number One, and making $14.3 million in its opening week), and recent hip-hop romance Save The Last Dance (www.ew.com/ew/report). Save the Last Dance is an excellent example of the impact MTV and young female audiences now exert over the film industry— this film opened at Number One and stayed in the top position despite competition from Hollywood heavy-hitters like Castaway and Traffic, and the highly-anticipated debut of Guy Ritchie's Snatch. After only two weeks in theatres, Save The Last Dance (which cost only $13 million to make) has made more than $46 million from an audience composed almost entirely of teenage girls (www.ew.com/ew/report). By producing a film targeted specifically at young females, and engaging in cross-promotions with MTV (ie. recent Save the Last Dance listening party, behind-the-scenes footage on MTV News, appearances from the film's stars on Total Request Live and frequent between-show ads), MTV Productions has shown that it's more lucrative to create a buzz in homeroom than at the office. With the film's soundtrack currently at Number Three in the Billboard charts, the clout of MTV and young female audiences is evident. MTV's infiltration of the film industry can also be seen in the MTV Movie Awards, an event that attracts as

many celebrities and as much media attention as traditional film awards shows like the Golden Globes. The popularity of the MTV Movie Awards is immense— Nielsen data placed the 1999 ceremony in cable's top 20 programs of its quarter (Quart, 2000: 44).

With the creation of MTV2 in 1996, it became clear that MTV's days as a televisual radio station were definitely over. Since videos are broadcast on MTV2 in a smooth, uninterrupted flow, music clips are now rarely aired on MTV outside of the context of video programs like Total Request Live, MTV Jams, and Spankin' New Music. However, since 1998, MTV has made a concentrated effort to cut back on lifestyle-oriented programs and show more music-related programming. New programs like BIOrhythm (artist biographies told through video snippets and song lyrics), Fashionably Loud (fashion shows with live musical performances), Lyricist Lounge (hip-hop freestyling with special guest stars) Making the Video and Making the Tour (behind-the-scenes footage), MTV Cribs (intimate tours of musicians' homes) and FANatic (fans meet and interview their favourite bands) reflect MTV's mission to incorporate more music-oriented programming into its schedule.

The development of MTV's programming philosophy, influential on a worldwide scale, stands in stark contrast to the humble, grass-roots beginnings of Canada's music television channel, MuchMusic. Executive Producer and MuchMusic President Moses Znaimer states, "My view from the beginning was that MTV was going to inevitably hold the global position as a provider of a certain kind of homogenized, essentially Americanized music

service to the world. What we had to offer on a counterpoint basis was local television, with local in this case being defined as a national cultural music channel" (Znaimer in Petrozzello, 31: 1997). Using the history of MTV as a backdrop for comparison, I will offer an overview of how MuchMusic has developed as a distinctively Canadian response to MTV's characteristically American, global presence.

The Great Live North: The History of MuchMusic

Before discussing how MuchMusic has evolved over the past 17 years, it is important to understand how MuchMusic fits into the ideology of Znaimer's Toronto-based Chum/City TV organization. CityTV, called the "temple of ultra-hip" by Wired magazine, was created in 1972 by Moses Znaimer. Znaimer's programming philosophy has changed televisual boundaries through his "flow over show, process over conclusion" approach to broadcasting and his mission to maximize the "immediate, inclusive, liberating, democratic, uncontrollable" potential of the television (www.cjc-online.ca). Born in Tajikistan to Jewish parents during World War II, Znaimer spent his early childhood fleeing Nazi persecution until emigrating to Montreal in 1948 (Dymond & Pevere, 1997: 232). Znaimer grew up in the cultural melange of Montreal's rue Ste. Urbain, later attending McGill University and then moving to Toronto to work at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the late '60's. At the CBC, Znaimer introduced his first interactive television program, the still-running radio phone-in show Cross Country Check-Up

(230). Calling himself a "failed member of the church", Znaimer left the CBC in 1969 to "escape the studio system in which programs are invented in little boxes called offices and executed in big, expensive boxes called studios" (Znaimer in Petrozzello, 31: 1997).

CityTV started out as a bargain basement operation designed to capitalize on changes in Canadian cable television regulation policy and be everything that conventional broadcasting was not— fast-paced, vulgar, noisy, multi-cultural, daring, and unapologetic (Dymond & Pevere, 1997: 232). CityTV's first broadcasting environment was a renovated early '70's rock club called the Electric Circus at 99 Queen Street East in Toronto. At first, despite attention-getting moves like airing soft-core pornography during the infamous "Baby Blue Movies" series, CityTV's viewership was so low that it did not even register in audience ratings (Dymond & Pevere, 1997: 232). The troubled station seemed doomed until Montreal's Bronfman family bought a 45% share in 1975, and hired broadcasting consultant Jacques de Suze to watch local Torontonian television for three days, hoping he would find a unique niche for CityTV (232). Although Moses Znaimer is often credited with transforming the economics and aesthetics of news gathering and demystifying and democratizing the televisual medium, the idea of creating a high-profile, completely local newscast with a street-oriented style actually belonged to Jacques de Suze. Following de Suze's advice, Znaimer created CityPulseNews, a local newscast brimming with personality, momentum, accessibility and mobility, and within a few months, CityTV took off. Even

after CHUM bought out the Bronfman shares in 1978— injecting the financing required to expand to its current location at 299 Queen Street West— Znaimer instructed studio designers to not lose City's raw makeshift feel, as "That's what makes us the underdog, and I don't want to lose that spirit" (Maclean's, 1995: 87). Thus, the free-flowing, technologically exposed CHUM-City environment was born, where spectators became participants and journalists "visual storytellers".

In 1979, The New Music, a newsmagazine dedicated to exploring key social and political issues affecting popular music culture, debuted on CityTV. In addition to Boogie, a dance program that was the predecessor to MuchMusic's Electric Circus, The New Music represented the earliest incarnation of hip, youth-oriented music television in Canada. CityTV also started airing other music programs like The CHUM 30, Toronto Rocks and City Limits, a MuchMusic-esque live, all-night music video show shown on Friday and Saturday nights (Zerhisias, 1994: 4). Since CityTV was producing over 20 hours a week of original music programming, it seemed natural to consider a music video cable channel, which Znaimer claims he proposed long before MTV hit the airwaves. However, the CRTC refused to approve a music video channel until the idea was successfully demonstrated in the United States, thus responding to the threat of MTV rather than a daring, innovative idea. In August 1983, CHUM-City filed a formal application with the CRTC for a 24-hour national specialty network called MuchMusic, and on April, 2 1984, the CRTC approved the application, defining MuchMusic as a

"national English-language specialty television service consisting only of music or music-related programming" (www.crtc.gc.ca).

CRTC Decision 84-338 outlines the early policy regulations surrounding MuchMusic. From the date of commencement of service until December 31st, 1986, at least 10% of MuchMusic's video clips aired had to be Canadian (CRTC, 1984). To assist the development of music video production in Canada, the CRTC demanded that MuchMusic commit 2.4% of its yearly gross revenues to a video production incentive fund (VideoFACT) (Zerhisias, 1994: 4). The CRTC allowed the music video industry a few years to grow, with MuchMusic Canadian content regulations gradually increasing over the first five years of broadcast. Starting January 1st, 1989, Canadian music video clips distributed could comprise no less than 30% of the total number of music video clips aired (CRTC, 1984). As outlined in CRTC Decision 94-439, these regulations have remained intact. Policy dictates that a minimum of 65% of MuchMusic's broadcast week should be devoted to the exhibition of programming featuring primarily music videos with the remainder of the week dedicated to music and entertainment-related programming (news, commentaries, and artist interviews) (CRTC, 1994). No more than 15% of the broadcast week can be committed to music-related programming like music quiz shows, cartoons, and feature films, and no more than 5% of the week may be devoted to social and political issues. An additional 5% of broadcasting time must be spent on French-language videos, with one half-hour program featuring five francophone videos shown each week (ibid).

With regards to Canadian content, MuchMusic must dedicate no less than 60% of the broadcast week and 50% of the time from 6:00pm to midnight to Canadian programming, with no less than 30% Canadian videos.

With stringent government-imposed regulations in place, MuchMusic took to the airwaves on August 31, 1984. MuchMusic's first video was very different to MTV's first clip (the aggressive "Video Killed the Radio Star")— Much started the Canadian video revolution with an ironic, quiet celebration of music video's history (Eubie Blake's "Snappy Songs", an early music-to-film synchronization short from the 1920's) (Zerhisias, 1994: 4). The initial programming budget of MuchMusic was also understated and modest when compared to MTV— while MTV began in 1981 with a programming budget of $20 million (US), MuchMusic started with a $6 million (Cdn) budget in 1984 (Melhuish, 1994: 19). The original hourly format of MuchMusic involved 10 to 12 music videos, eight minutes of commercial advertising, news, gossip, concert information, and commentary from VJ's, with programming based on two three-hour production blocks, combined and rotated on a six-hour basis (Melhuish, 1994: 19). Music-related programming consisted of a national Top 20 countdown, concert presentations, national and international music and entertainment news, and special events like the MTV Video Music Awards.

MuchMusic was successful almost immediately—in its first year it made a $250 000 profit, two years ahead of projections, and after only three months on air, Much had well over 500 000 subscribers (19). Unlike MTV, MuchMusic did not hesitate to mix soul, R&B, hip hop and rap into its

programming, and like CityPulseNews, Much was not afraid to put theories of multiculturalism into visual practice. For example:

> It was no accident that City became the first TV station to reflect Toronto's, and the country's, mosaic with ethnic faces and names on air. "I knew I wasn't the only immigrant," Znaimer says. "So where were they on TV? What I put on the air was merely reflecting life as I saw it on the street, the range of colours, ethnicity, and lifestyle. But I also knew intuitively it was good business, because there were lots of us". (Maclean's, 1995. 87)

On July 13, 1985 MuchMusic televised 11 hours of LiveAid footage from London and Philadelphia (with an unscrambled signal in most markets and a country-wide audio feed), and by September 1985, MuchMusic had doubled its initial subscriber base to 700 000 Canadian households (Johnston, 1994: C5). In September 1986, CHUM-City launched Montreal-based Much spin-off MusiquePlus, featuring eight hours of seamless French language programming (four hours of original programming) rotated on a 24-hour basis (C5).

At this time, although MTV was branching out into non-music lifestyle programming, MuchMusic remained loyal to its focus on music and industry-related news, partially due to CRTC regulations, but also due to its roots in The New Music. The youth-oriented lifestyle programming predominant on MTV simply was not an option for MuchMusic, due to production costs and the CRTC's refusal to reduce video-related programming to 55% instead of 65%. However, in response to MTV's move towards more scheduled programming, MuchMusic slowly increased the number of traditional program slots in the late '80's, even though most new programs were genre-based

music video shows like Pepsi Power Hour (heavy metal), Rap City (rap), Da Mix (hip hop, R&B, reggae, urban contemporary), Electric Circus (dance), Combat de Clip (phone-in popularity contest between two videos) and The Wedge (alternative indie rock). In 1990, MuchMusic held the very first MuchMusic Video Awards, which have come to attract more media attention and audience interest than the Canadian Juno Awards. Although many of these programs were imitations of shows developed on MTV, the MuchMusic programming philosophy ensured a completely different aesthetic, as seen in the 1992 debut of Much's revolutionary program Intimate and Interactive based on MTV's Unplugged. Intimate and Interactive has proven to be a massively successful vehicle for MuchMusic, in terms of audience ratings and its impact on record sales. Peter Diemer, VP of national promotion at EMI Canada states, "Intimate and Interactive is a great promotional tool which gives you a strong national image upon release of an album or in front of a national tour...We usually see sales results immediately" (Diemer in LeBlanc, 1997: 10). Although the original design for Intimate and Interactive (as exhibited in the debut show starring Bruce Cockburn) was to utilize a live satellite hook-up with Much VJ's all over Canada, it proved to be too expensive and was dropped after that show.

During the early '90's, following MTV's coverage of the 1992 US election, MuchMusic began to cover federal and provincial politics with the "Achieving Election" campaign (inspired by MTV's "Choose or Lose"/"Rock the Vote" campaign). Just as MTV was focusing almost exclusively on hip,

youth-oriented programs like The Real World, Singled Out, and Beavis and Butthead at this time, MuchMusic added more lifestyle-related programs like The Ren and Stimpy Show and the kitschy Patridge Family. The Ren and Stimpy Show (a distinctively wild cartoon featuring a sarcastic, streetwise chiwowa and a dim-witted cat, broadcast on the MTV Networks-owned Nickolodeon channel in the US), debuted on MuchMusic in October 1992, and quickly became the highest-rated series on Much. Due to the widespread popularity of The Ren and Stimpy Show, MuchMusic drafted an application to the CRTC for the rights to air MTV's Beavis and Butthead. However, the CRTC quickly became unimpressed with MuchMusic's interest in broadcasting non-musical programming, and within a year, The Ren and Stimpy Show was cancelled and plans to air Beavis and Butthead were axed. In April 1994, the CRTC also ruled that The Partridge Family did not contain enough music in it to qualify for MuchMusic, resulting in Much canceling the program (Johnston, 1994: C5). By September 1994, some of the problems with the CRTC were resolved, and Much went ahead with plans to air Beavis and Butthead— however, this program did not prove to be as popular with Canadian audiences as the innovative pre-South Park intelligent potty humour of The Ren and Stimpy Show. Despite difficulties with the CRTC, MuchMusic continued to include new programming in its schedule throughout the '90's, with recent additions like occasional special Gonna Meet a Rock Star (based on MTV's FANatic), sporadic Much Make-Overs (based on MTV's Mission: Makeover), summer 2000 show Six Canadians On A Bus (based on

MTV's Road Rules), five-minute fashion tip segment Stylin' (based on MTV's House of Style), and internationally acquired programs like S Club 7 (fictional story of seven singing and dancing Brits, produced by BBC), 2Together (boy band parody produced by MTV), and Farm Club (live performance-based show broadcast on the USA Network). MuchMusic has also expanded its live musical programming with extensive Woodstock 2000 coverage and heavy promotion of Canadian national concert tours like Somersault and Edgefest.

With a national presence firmly established, MuchMusic ventured into the realm of international broadcasting with the creation of MuchaMusica in Argentina in 1991. MuchaMusica, which has attained higher ratings than MTV Latino, embodies the style of MuchMusic with a streetfront open-concept studio in the heart of Sal Telmo (www.muchmusic.com). In 1994, Much entered the American market with MuchUSA, a mix of live Much programming and USA-specific shows like Break This (updates and profiles of emerging talent), Clubland (live club performances), and locally produced programs like The Cleveland Countdown (www.muchmusic.com). The distinctively Canadian aesthetic of MuchMusic has also been imitated on many American productions. For example, NBC's formerly stiff Today Show now features hosts mingling with viewers through a windowed studio and dancing in the streets to bands performing live on an exterior stage a la MuchMusic. Also, while it might seem like MuchMusic is always a step behind MTV in terms of programming ideas, over the past few years MTV has played catch-up in terms of the open studio aesthetic. MTV's 1997 move to an office building in

the heart of New York's Time Square that functions both as company headquarters and a multi-level studio is clearly based on MuchMusic's "studio that shoots itself". Also, massively popular viewer phone-in show Total Request Live is completely poached from MuchMusic in terms of its liveness, audience interactivity, casual, informal "drop-ins" from celebrity guests, and host Carson Daly's loose, relaxed VJ style.

With this theoretical background to music video scholarship and the development of MTV and MuchMusic established, I will now demonstrate how MuchMusic functions as both an example of uniquely Canadian sensibilities and as an example of Canada's complicated relationship with the United States (in terms of resistance, critique, imitation, and infatuation). By using specific examples from a wide pool of programming I have recorded during the span of roughly 12 months, I would like to apply the theory discussed in Chapters One and Two to a content analysis of programming— music video flow, non-musical programming (ie. MuchMusic's 6 Canadians on a Bus vs. MTV's Road Rules, Much's Fax vs. MTV News 15:15)— and studio space, aesthetics, production values, VJ's, and station self promotion.

CHAPTER THREE
We Want *Our* MTV: A Content Analysis of MuchMusic and MTV

Tuning In: Introductory Comparisons of MuchMusic and MTV

By examining the evolution of MTV and MuchMusic, it is clear that while MuchMusic certainly reflects a characteristically Canadian imitation of American popular culture, it also provides a site of resistance to and for critique of MTV. Due to Canada's long-standing cultural connection with the United States, it is impossible to discuss MuchMusic as an independent phenomena, or as a product of its own separate evolution. MuchMusic is part of a cultural infrastructure within a country that imitates, embraces, resists, and resents American cultural imports. Thus, MuchMusic must be discussed in terms of what it rejects and absorbs from MTV.

From a Canadian perspective, MTV and MuchMusic represent a lode of contrasting stereotypes. Manning states, "Americans are assured believers in their popular culture, bearing it as aggressive publicists and conspicuous consumers, who know that their product is as good for the rest of the world as it is for themselves" (Manning, 1993: 9). MTV reflects this sense of egotism, glory, and glamour, as well as America's national mythology, its commercialism, and its well-structured celebrity system. MuchMusic, on the other hand, is ingrained with a sense of shyness, ambivalence, accessibility, and of course, comedic self-parody. What underlies MuchMusic, and Canadian culture in general, is not a self-assured identity or well-defined national mythology— rather, MuchMusic reflects the

essential ambiguity of Canada, a land without a clear sense of boundaries, glorious mythology, or precise iconography. Accordingly, the contrast between MuchMusic and MTV can be seen as an extension of the historical interaction between their host nations. As Dorland and Walton state:

> Canada represents an alternative way of being North American to that represented by the US...In ways that cultural nationalists have been reluctant to recognize...patterns of influence and exchange have always been more ambiguous and fluid than unmistakably one thing or another (Dorland & Walton, 1999: 204).

As Foster states, "Canada defines itself not on the basis of what it is, but on what it is not" (Foster, 1999: 68). Essentially, Canadian music television can be defined in terms of what it is not in relation to American television— MuchMusic is MuchMusic because it is not MTV. Although uncertain and fluid, MuchMusic offers a very different entertainment experience to that of MTV. As a Canadian edition of an American cultural product, it is likely that MuchMusic has been accused of submission, inferiority, and American mimicry (Miller, 1993: 106). However, as Flaherty and Manning state:

> "Canadian Editions" of American popular culture can be more than reflex copies— they can be creative responses, often parodic in tone and subversive in intent, that give public form to Canadian sentiment and sensibility— from this perspective Canadian popular culture can be understood, at one level, as symbolic protection from, and resistance to, American domination (Flaherty and Manning, 1993: xiii).

Accordingly, by analyzing the subtleties and complicated layers of MuchMusic's supertext, a uniquely Canadian sensibility, disposition, and texture become apparent.

MuchMusic not only reflects Canadian cultural narratives, it also helps shape our perception of Canadian popular culture. While MTV is concerned with disseminating American culture within the United States *and* the rest of the world, MuchMusic is more inwardly directed, allowing viewers to self-reflexively examine Canada. In addition, MTV has displayed little interest in giving exposure to non-American artists, a tendency that implies that American music is the most superior, if not the only, music in the world. The aggression of MTV and its refusal to be colonized or controlled by any other nation's programming is typical of American popular culture. Richard Collins states, "The strength of the US market and its resistance to colonization by foreign information goods is the foundation of the success of US producers" (Collins, 1990: 178). MuchMusic, however, has a broader playlist and is open to playing non-Canadian music videos, as well as non-American videos. By maintaining a sense of cultural plurality in its programming, MuchMusic functions as a criticism of and resistance to the cultural sterility and vulgarity that Canadians ascribe to the alleged monoculturalism of the US. Although MuchMusic operates within a regulatory environment where the government insists on broader playlists to ensure cultural diversity, MuchMusic has displayed numerous initiatives that extend beyond mere compliance with government policy. Also, it is widely regarded that MuchMusic has done more for the English Canadian music industry than many government-initiated schemes. As Will Straw states:

> ...MuchMusic has contributed to the embedding of music within complex layers of discourse *about* music, surrounding it with

> performer gossip, concert news and other information. These have played a clear role in the current success of Canadian performers (Straw, 1996: 109)

MuchMusic is also concerned with establishing a sense of shared community amongst its viewership, and a cultural history surrounding music video. Whereas MTV schedules its programming according to different time zones, MuchMusic broadcasts live simultaneously throughout Canada. Although MuchMusic's decision to broadcast live is heavily tied to economic efficiency, the live format works in MuchMusic's advantage— MuchMusic is able to situate itself within a specific time and place. In addition, while MTV rarely plays older videos, MuchMusic is committed to reflecting the history of video through programs like Much Classic Mega Hits (older, culturally significant videos) and Spotlight (exploration of a band's videography), as well as including older videos in regular programming flow.

The slick, extremely commercial, heavily mythologized American celebrity system is also evident in MTV's programming. By comparing the MTV Music Video Awards with the disorganized, grass-roots accessibility of the MuchMusic Video Awards, the accidental, modest, non-heroic public personas of the Canadian star system are made evident. Canadian celebrities, if they can even be referred to as "celebrities", are affirmed in a complicated, inverted manner, with stars themselves demonstrating a conscious irony and sense of self-parody. MuchMusic does not tend to construct an elevated status for celebrities, as seen in the low maintenance mentality of programs like Intimate and Interactive, as well as Much's street

front, open-concept studio. This stands in complete contrast to MTV's glorification of glamour, wealth, and fame, and its construction of stars as untouchable and inaccessible.

In this chapter, I will expand upon some of the comparisons mentioned above, and provide specific examples gathered from a wide range of MuchMusic and MTV programming. I will begin with an exploration of musical and non-musical programming, and move into comparisons of aesthetics (specifically in relation to Intimate and Interactive sessions) and extra-textual elements such as VJ's. MuchMusic and MTV are both inextricably embedded within Canadian and American discourses that inform their televisual philosophy, programming, and aesthetics. By exposing evidence of such discourses, I hope to reveal how MuchMusic functions as a critique or recontextualization of MTV, while simultaneously encompassing infatuation, parody, and imitation of American popular culture.

The global character of contemporary capitalism has made nationalist interpretations of American culture problematic, and it can be difficult to disentangle the issue of Canada's relationship with the US from that of its commodification, or the adoption of an international commodity style. Yet, despite the limitations of essentialist, homogenous definitions of Canadianness or Americanness, certain widely conceived cultural notions can be discussed in terms of typically Canadian perceptions of both American and Canadian culture and cultural productions. Rather than attempting to create clear-cut definitions of national culture, my aim is to explore nationally-shared

psychological states, the attitudes embedded in products of American multinational corporations like MTV, and the complicated interaction between Canadian popular culture and such products.

Although my research explores similar territory to Karen Pegley's 1999 PhD thesis, An Analysis of the Construction of National, Racial, and Gendered Identities in MuchMusic (Canada) and MTV (US), it is important to note that my analysis is not concerned with music videos themselves, but rather with music television as a supertext. Also, I am interested in considering specific programs like Intimate and Interactive interviews, awards ceremonies, aesthetics and VJ's, all elements that Pegley either did not discuss or did not examine in detail. Since my analysis is extremely current and considers elements of music television programming not previously explored, I hope to make a significant contribution to the study of MuchMusic and MTV.

The Beaver Snores, the Eagles Soars?: Canadian and American Television

Throughout Canadian televisual history, there have been countless examples of television programs that place American story ideas and production standards on an idealized pedestal. By trying to copy a style of programming not true to Canadian culture, industry, or economic resources, such programs often come across as second-rate, subordinate, low-grade copies of "high-quality" American productions. In most cases, when

Canadian producers try to recreate an American program, attempting an aesthetic they simply cannot afford, their efforts are met with criticism and mocking from Canadian audiences. Also, when Canadian producers move into a realm of programming that is obviously uncomfortable and unnatural—CBC's attempted saucy soap Riverdale, the Life Network's reality expose The Lofters, Global's imitation Saved By The Bell teen comedy Student Bodies—the deficiencies of the resulting programmes, in comparison to their American counterparts, tend to be glaringly evident.

Aside from economic constraints, producing programming that is slick and polished is fundamentally at odds with a kind of specifically Canadian sense of authenticity and modesty. However, the lack of confidence and avoidance of risk ingrained in the Canadian broadcasting industry often results in programs based on ideas pioneered in the United States. It seems that Canadian producers often need to see a program executed successfully in the US before they are willing to take a chance on an idea. The majority of new programs added to Canadian television schedules this year are modeled on particular American shows, with varying degrees of success. Examples include Global's Pop Stars (based on ABC's Making the Band), the Life Network's The Lofters (based on MTV's The Real World), CTV's The Associates (based on NBC's The Practice), as well as many others. Canadian television is at its best, however, when programs are based on distinctively Canadian concepts and do not attempt to replicate the artifice, glamour, and fast-paced drama of American television.

Homegrown programs like Degrassi Junior High/ Degrassi High, The Beachcombers, Street Legal, SCTV, Kids in the Hall, This Hour Has 22 Minutes and Drop the Beat are examples of programs that have nothing to do with submission, ineffective mimicry or inferiority— rather, they effectively convey a sensibility, disposition, and texture that are uniquely Canadian. When comparing a program like Degrassi Junior High to its American counterpart (Fox's Beverly Hills 90210, which was actually inspired by the success of Degrassi Junior High), the contrast to the American mode of production becomes immediately evident. Degrassi Junior High resists the American formulaic style and treatment of subject matter, with events unfolding in a fluid, realistic manner, and characters and storylines gradually evolving over many episodes, or even seasons. This is quite different to the exciting but claustrophobic, tightly framed feel of Beverly Hills 90210, whose violent, sordid storylines often reach dramatic climaxes at a rapid pace, usually within a single episode. It is also important to note that in addition to Canadian comedy programs like Kids in the Hall (well-regarded internationally for its self-parody), programs like Degrassi Junior High or Drop the Beat are consciously ironic and self-satiric. Canadian programs often make fun of themselves, but do not destroy themselves through such mocking. The slow, parodic, non-melodramatic nature of Canadian television is summed up by Mary Jane Miller:

> Our view of ourselves seems to emphasize that, as a culture, we make it by persistence of luck rather than vision, a perception reinforced by a tendency to demythologize our historical heroes by treating a good many of our fictional ones

> ironically or comically. The values of hard work, tolerance for differences among us, and efficacy of collective good will are pervasive in our series and drama specials (Miller, 1987: 181).

Although MuchMusic is fast-paced in terms of camera movement, noise, and studio chaos, many MuchMusic programs serve as excellent examples of the more measured and familiar style that characterizes quality Canadian television. Much Music certainly offers its share of blatant imitations of American programming, a strategy which, as it does throughout the Canadian broadcasting community, tends to result in lacklustre, subordinate copies. A recent example of this was the on-the-road documentary 6 Canadians on a Bus, a disappointing attempt to mimic the production techniques and story ideas of MTV's popular Road Rules and Real World series. However, although programs like Wanna Meet a Rock Star, the MuchMusic Video Awards, CombatZone, MuchMusic Countdown, Fax, and coverage of special events like Spring Break are based on ideas pioneered on MTV, they all reveal a uniquely Canadian aesthetic and distinctive approach to story-telling. Despite their origins as American concepts, programs like Fax and the MuchMusic Video Awards offer a recontextualization of American popular culture and television production standards that mark them as particularly "Canadian" sites of innovative resistance.

Go With the Flow vs. Choose or Lose: Programming Philosophy

The style of MuchMusic's programming is one that is true to Canada's fluid, ambiguous, understated identity, as well as the economic limitations of the Canadian entertainment industry. MuchMusic's Executive Producer, Moses Znaimer, describes MuchMusic's programming philosophy as "a state of mind, an accessible hang-out for a generation" and "everything that MTV is not" (Zerhisias, 1994: 4). Examples of this philosophy taking form in MuchMusic's presentation strategies include the use of 'video journalists' (ie. camerapeople, anchors, and producers are replaced by one live reporter), a breezy sense of simultaneity and immediacy (ie. most programming is live and very little footage is taped or canned), and a "studio that shoots itself" (ie. the MuchMusic building is the world's first television facility without studios). However, it is notable that this philosophy has as much to do with economics as aesthetic preference. While these techniques certainly create an accessible, irreverent, and hip aesthetic, most importantly, they are *cheap*. Yet, even though MuchMusic's aesthetic may be as much accidental it is deliberate, MuchMusic is one of the only Canadian broadcasters that does not try to be anything it is not.

In addition to MuchMusic's establishment of an authentic, accessible aesthetic, its methods of self-promotion create a sense of familiarity and casual, intimate ambience. By comparing MuchMusic's logo and station commercials with MTV, a distinctively Canadian sensibility and texture become apparent. MTV, which has always featured station advertisements at

the beginning and end of commercial breaks, pioneered the creative use of a station logo in mini-narratives. On MTV, the station logo is presented in as many interesting ways as possible, always making the viewer wonder when and where the logo will appear. For example, one MTV commercial features a family of mountain people slapping one of their relatives with a paddle—when the camera moves to a shot of the individual's behind, the MTV logo appears as a sore, red welt. The most famous MTV advertisement, however, is the early '80's commercial depicting the first mission into space, with an astronaut putting an MTV flag on the moon. This communicates a sense of world domination and egotism— not only does American music television have to be the first, it has to be the only. The power and abrasiveness of such commercials are contrasted by MuchMusic's more relaxed, understated methods of promotion.

Although MuchMusic's logo started out as a replica of the MTV large M and scrawled TV, the logo changed in the mid-90's, indicating Much's growing confidence. The new logo features MUCH written inside a globe, symbolizing MuchMusic's foray into the international marketplace. Although the hidden-logo format of Much advertisements is copied from MTV, MuchMusic critiques the in-your-face commercialism of MTV by exclusively using ads created by Sheridan College animation and design students. By providing a showcase for student designers, MuchMusic helps strengthen the Canadian arts community and saves a great deal of money. This communicates a sense of dedication to the collective good, as well as the Canadian discomfort with

excessive, glitzy promotion. Also, commercials promoting events like MuchMusic Tree Toss and Snow Job appear to be so low-fi and cheap that they are funny. While MuchMusic realizes that it has to promote its programming to stay competitive, it does so in a way that critiques the commercialism and aggressive self-promotion commonly associated with MTV and American culture.

Through creating an aesthetic that is both affordable and natural, MuchMusic successfully achieves an original, grass-roots programming philosophy that acknowledges its low budget, engages in distinctively Canadian self-mocking, and at the same time critiques the artifice of MTV in particular, and American culture in general. This philosophy is especially evident in MuchMusic's daily news program Fax, which poses a stark contrast to MTV's news bulletin program MTV News 15:15. Whereas MTV is more traditional and hierarchal in its boundaries between anchor, reporter, production staff, and audience, MuchMusic is spontaneous and unpolished, with hazy and undefined boundaries between VJ and viewer. During MTV News 15:15, regular anchor Kurt Loder appears behind a decontextualized studio setting, reading from a teleprompter, with visuals shown on a backing screen in the left-hand corner. This mode of address establishes a sense of slick continuity, with the older, professional Loder serving as a respected, credible, removed, authority figure. Also, because Loder reports rather than reads the news, he appears to possess more knowledge and information than the viewer and is thus ascribed a higher status. Like a traditional newscast,

Loder's in-studio (often taped) bulletins are accompanied by news segments from the field, which are covered by specific MTV reporters. The production staff working behind the scenes are never shown and the audience is not involved in the broadcast, which maintains strict definitions of anchor, reporter, producer, and viewer.

MuchMusic, on the other hand, ignores the seriousness of the news by presenting it in an untidy, low-maintenance, relaxed style. Unlike MTV, which eschews showing the "behind the scenes" mechanics of television production in favour of slick artifice, MuchMusic offers the traditionally hidden technical shell as the main backdrop for most MuchMusic programs, including its newscast. Much VJ's negotiate themselves around various machines, lights and screens to chat with the technicians and producers during the broadcast. While MTV creates a separation between the preparation of information and its dissemination, MuchMusic blurs such traditional distinctions, allowing audiences to have a more intimate relationship with the broadcasting process. To use theatre as a metaphor, MTV represents the glamourous, polished, artifice of the stage, whereas MuchMusic, with its visible cables, editing bays, studio lights, and technical staff, represents the gritty, mundane, stripped-down feel of backstage. MTV never even acknowledges having a backstage, which indicates a sense of status and hierarchy.

George Stroumboulopoulos, the anchor of Fax, does not attempt to "report" the news by reading a teleprompter— rather, he reads it from a clipboard, frequently stumbling over words. Instead of using producers,

camerapeople, and reporters, field stories are covered by video journalists who often ask questions from behind the camera or shoot themselves using a mirror. This untraditional, somewhat unprofessional approach to reporting reflects an ironic response to authority figures and celebrities, and less of a dramatic, self-righteous approach to newscasting. While News 15:15 often takes a serious approach towards trivial celebrity issues like Puff Daddy and Jennifer Lopez's most recent break-up, MuchMusic chooses to present such stories in a mocking, satirical light. Since Fax, like most MuchMusic programs, is aired live, a sense of simultaneity and immediacy is fostered. Most importantly, the newscast is a potentially interactive experience due to the MuchMusic studio's ground level, open-concept location at the corner of Queen Street West and John Street (one of the busiest corners in Toronto). During Fax, passerbys have the opportunity to peer inside the large floor-to-ceiling plate glass studio windows, watching the action and also becoming part of the broadcast. MuchMusic Executive Producer Moses Znaimer states, "I favour a certain kind of immediacy— in fact, an intense kind of immediacy. The objective of media is to get closer and closer to the real thing" (Znaimer in Petrozzello, 1997: 27)

The interactive possibilities of MuchMusic can also be seen in the immensely popular Speakers Corner, the first televisual letter to the editor, located directly outside the Much studios and available for only $1. Speakers Corner serves as a highly convenient medium for video requests and feedback, and offers viewers the opportunity to become part of MuchMusic's

programming. In addition to letters, emails, and telephone calls, audience requests filmed at Speakers Corner dictate the video flow of Much On Demand and Much Dedications. During this live, all-request program, MuchMusic reveals its willingness to play older videos and clips that stray outside the confines of high-rotation airplay. This programming philosophy directly opposes that of MTV's Total Request Live, a relatively new show that combines elements of MuchMusic On Demand and Much's Countdown. While MuchMusic On Demand features a diverse mix of new and old videos, some of them obscure or non-mainstream, Total Request Live plays only the newest, high-rotation commercial hits such as Britney Spears' "Stronger" or N'Sync's "This I Promise You". Also, videos shown on Total Request Live are almost always exclusively American, revealing MTV's promotion of American music as the best or only music in the world. Rather than serving as a showcase for videos that aren't frequently aired, but are of interest to viewers, Total Request Live reflects the typically American hyper-current popularity contest. Although videos aired are voted on by viewers via phone and the Internet, there is little chance that videos outside of the commercial mainstream will make it on the program.

Also, the hierarchical relationship between viewer and programmer is completely different on MTV and MuchMusic. For example, while the new MTV studio (where Total Request Live is shot) features floor-to-ceiling windows overlooking the constantly bustling Time Square, it is important to note that this studio physically looks down upon the audience below.

Although host Carson Daly waves down to fans on the street, there is no verbal or physical contact, indicating Daly's pedestal-like position of power. This reflects the American tendency to elevate celebrities and treat them like royalty— by restricting the audience's access to Daly, and placing him on a removed, although visible, throne, strict boundaries between viewer and programmer are imposed. On MuchMusic, however, this relationship is more liberated, relaxed and easy-going, reflecting Canada's lack of interest in undemocratically elevating celebrities. By having a street-level studio that audience members can actually touch, viewers are able to become involved in the programming process itself.

MuchMusic's un-American, ironic response to authority and celebrity can also be seen in the MuchMusic Video Awards, an annual ceremony based on the highly successful MTV Video Music Awards. Since 1984, the MTV Awards have offered a more creative, hip, dramatic ceremony than traditional American music awards shows like the Grammy's. The MTV Awards are infamous for their closely guarded surprise performances— scheduled performers are often joined on-stage by unexpected guests (ie. 1999's Aerosmith, Kid Rock and Run DMC performance of "Walk this Way", 1998's poignant Puffy Daddy, Faith Evans, and Sting performance of "I'll Be Missing You"). Also, unusual combinations of presenters ensures on-stage emotional drama (ie. 2000's reunion of feuding teen pop stars Christina Aguilera and Britney Spears, joined by Oscar's outcast Whitney Houston, 1999's on-stage meeting of the mothers of murdered rappers Tupac Shakur

and Biggie Smalls). In addition to such magical television moments, the MTV Video Music Awards has a long-standing reputation for showcasing performances of cultural significance and anti-establishment rebellion (ie. Britney Spears' controversial striptease and Rage Against the Machine's on-stage political protest at the 2000 show, Madonna's infamous "Like a Virgin" performance at the 1984 show).

Furthermore, the MTV Awards is ground-breaking in its incorporation of a rock n' roll aesthetic not previously utilized at traditional awards ceremonies. The stage is surrounded by a mosh pit filled with fans, the ceremony is laced with an "us" vs. "them" attitude towards awards shows like the Grammy's and performances (all by top-selling, hyper-current artists) do not shy away from controversy (ie. 2000's Blink 182 performance featuring midgets on scooters and skateboards, Snoop Doggy Dog's 1997 post-murder trial performance featuring gangsta drive-by and court room scenarios). Although the anti-establishment attitude of the awards show is a bit absurd considering the fact that MTV *is* the heavily commercialized establishment, the exciting, melodramatic, glamourous nature of the ceremony makes for fast-paced, compelling, typically American entertainment.

The MuchMusic Video Awards, while based on the MTV Awards, have a completely different, characteristically Canadian aesthetic. Without the budget or high-profile status of MTV, the MuchMusic Video Awards cannot achieve slick, expensive production standards or hope to attract the same stature of stars as MTV. However, as I noticed when attending the 2000

Awards show, MuchMusic expands upon the rock aesthetic pioneered, but not quite achieved by MTV (due to its unironic commercialism), to create a truly unconventional awards ceremony. While the MTV Awards are staged in a theatre with teleprompters and podiums, the MuchMusic ceremony is shot all over the Chum-City building with no formal structure. Rather than using traditional categories, awards are genderless and presentations and performances are unscripted and unpolished. During the 2000 MuchMusic Awards, a number of interesting moments and on-camera blunders arose from this spontaneity— ie. VJ Rachel Perry being openly mocked by the lead singer of Iron Maiden ("What do *you* know about heavy metal music?"), presenters not being able to access the award winner's names, celebrities openly cutting into one another, the wrong camera going to air.

Stars are seen mingling with the general crowd, and are left alone by audience members, who seem to be more comfortable making fun of celebrities than elevating their status. By speaking with other MuchMusic viewers at the 2000 Awards show, I found a prevalence of skepticism and cynicism towards Canadian celebrities. Rather than pestering homegrown stars like the Barenaked Ladies for autographs, young viewers are more likely to mockingly tear down their accomplishments. Also, Canadian stars are more willing than American celebrities to not take their stardom too seriously, and consciously make fun of their modest national status. This criticism and mocking does not necessarily destroy Canadian culture, rather it reaffirms it in a complicated, inverted manner, resulting in non-heroic public personas

whose flaws are just as obvious as their triumphs. Furthermore, unlike the MTV Awards ceremony, it is exceptionally easy to gain access to the MuchMusic Awards, as I learned after waiting outside the MuchMusic studios for only an hour. The glamour and high-profile unattainability associated with the MTV Awards, and American entertainment events in general, is in typical Canadian fashion, simply not present at the MuchMusic Awards.

The distinctively Canadian self-satiric attitude ingrained in the MuchMusic Video Awards is also evident in Much's coverage of special events. For example, MuchMusic's tongue-in-cheek "Achieving Election" pro-voting campaign is more oriented towards the collective good than MTV's aggressive "Choose or Lose" campaign, which, with its stars and stripes advertisements, is heavily influenced by patriotism and national mythology. MuchMusic's coverage of Spring Break and Summer Vacation, modeled after MTV's special events programming, is an equally innovative, parodic response to American popular culture. MTV's Spring Break and summer coverage of the MTV Beach House, SoCal Summer, and Isle of MTV, is exclusive, invite-only, and glamourous, and serves as a showcase for arrogant, egotistical viewers desperate to make their television debut. MuchMusic's special events programming, Sand Job (shot in Wasaga Beach, Ontario one summer and Daytona Beach, Florida one spring) and Snow Job (shot in Jasper, Alberta and Whistler, BC) embraces attendance from all viewers and offers realistic, inartificial coverage of typically Canadian vacation destinations. Such programming is full of self-mocking, especially the

coverage of Wasaga Beach, a modest, low-profile location that no one really *wants* to visit.

In terms of comedy, MuchMusic reveals its ability to mock itself, as well as celebrities in general, by its use of Ed the Sock, a highly critical, sardonic hand puppet. Ed the Sock's annual Much Fromage special (a celebration of the worst in music video) features Ed critiquing the sleaziness of the music industry, as well as taking biting shots at stars like N'Sync and the Spice Girls. Ed the Sock also interviews artists at the MuchMusic Video Awards, usually making fun of them to their faces. On MTV, it is unlikely that celebrities would be treated so flippantly, or that a hand puppet would be allowed to interview high-profile stars like Geri Halliwell, Blink 182, or the Backstreet Boys. Also, during programs like MuchMusic Tree Toss (a two hour post-yuletide special where VJ's gather on the roof of MuchMusic to dump their Christmas tree), Much VJ's candidly comment on how ridiculous it is to spend two hours shooting something so mundane and unglamorous, but that at least it beats airing re-runs of 6 Canadians on a Bus.

MuchMusic's musical and non-musical programming is generally successful in terms of recontextualing the artifice, glamour, and fast-paced drama of American television to create a distinctively Canadian aesthetic. However, Canadian culture is also embedded with a tendency to imitate American entertainment, even though such imitations are obviously uncomfortable, unnatural, and unaffordable. MuchMusic's 6 Canadians on a Bus, a replica of MTV on-the-road documentary Road Rules, is an example of

how Canadian cultural products can reflect subordination and fascination with American entertainment conventions. While the slick, fast-paced, high-drama antics of Road Rules are captured by a large camera crew, with the cast engaging in exotic stunts like swimming with crocodiles in Australia or bungee-jumping in South Africa, 6 Canadians on a Bus is literally six Canadians traveling on a bus with one cameraperson. Without a full crew, the reality aspect of Road Rules is lost (cast members are not filmed at all times, and one camera cannot capture events occurring simultaneously), and with a low budget, the cast cannot engage in any high-drama stunts. Also, as a blatant imitation of an American concept, cast members seem to subconsciously replicate how they believe Americans act in reality programs, with arguments and conflicts taken to an unnatural level of melodrama. Although 6 Canadians on a Bus does offer cross-country coverage of Canada, it is an example of MuchMusic copying but not recontextualizing American televisual conventions.

Live, Baby, Live!: A Pre-Critical Aesthetic Analysis of MuchMusic's Interview Style

In addition to analyzing the critical, or intentional, aesthetics of MuchMusic's programming, it is also essential to explore the pre-critical, sensory effect of Much's distinctively Canadian style. The richest text for pre-critical aesthetic analysis is the popular live performance/interview program Intimate and Interactive (based on MTV's Unplugged concert series). This

program, a regular fixture on MuchMusic since 1992, involves artists and fans coming together in the Much environment for a unique evening of music and conversation. Input from fans is encouraged during the session, and viewers at home and outside on the street are also allowed to ask the band questions. Whereas MTV always screens audience questions before taping interviews and only allows a small, select group of fans into the studio, MuchMusic promotes accessibility and a go-with-the-flow attitude by allowing as many fans into the environment as possible (on a first come, first served basis) and permitting uncensored audience questions.

A distinction however, must be made between the Intimate and Interactive session and the Intimate and Interactive style interview (referred to as Much Live!). While Intimate and Interactive is a heavily-promoted concert-style event requiring tickets (offered through a 1-800 number and based on a skill-testing question on the featured artist), the Intimate and Interactive style interview is more spontaneously organized (usually promoted only a few days in advance) and features a stripped-down live performance (often acoustic). Also, tickets are not required— by simply waiting outside the MuchMusic environment, I have gained access to Much Live! interviews featuring artists such as Travis, Oasis, Papa Roach, and Chantal Kreviazuk. However, both programs involve live performance, a large studio audience, and a question and answer period. Thus, when I discuss Intimate and Interactive sessions, I will also be referring to the Much Live! interviews.

Before the sensory impact of MuchMusic interviews can be assessed, it is important to first understand the relationship between the audience and the medium. According to Larry Grossberg, popular culture operates at the intersection of body and emotions, thus facilitating an ability to affect and be affected by culture (Grossberg, 1992: 79). Grossberg states, "For many people, certain forms of popular culture become taken-for-granted, even necessary, investments...as a result, specific cultural formations become affective alliances" (79). The logic of such affective alliances varies according to their place on an individual's "mattering map", which can be thought of as a complex ordering of one's investment and anchorage to certain people, places, and events. Grossberg refers to the ordering of alliances with terms like "volition", "will", "investment", "commitment" and "passion" (81). An individual's mattering map dictates his or her structure and economy of belonging.

Intimate and Interactive sessions allow individuals to strengthen their investment and anchorage to a particular affective alliance, which could be a band or a scene, like hardcore rock or Britpop. By participating in the interview, either by being part of the in-studio audience or asking a question from home or the street, fans have a physical experience of interaction and community bonding, thus enhancing their commitment to a band or scene. While audiences for MTV interviews and performances are seated quite a distance away from the artists, on MuchMusic, in-studio audience members are crowded together in a restricted space and are within close physical

proximity to a band or musician. As I learned when attending an Oasis Intimate and Interactive session in 1998, being so close to one's idols generates a powerful emotional charge, and encourages a sense of collective experience. Since the musician being interviewed is likely an integral part of most in-studio audience members' mattering maps, a sense of togetherness and union is established. This sense of union is facilitated by the physical rush or high of being able to get into the studio— the disbelief and joy of actually being there promotes a friendly, uninhibited state of mind, encouraging conversation amongst strangers. During my Oasis Intimate and Interactive experience, I found myself trading tips about fanzines and bootlegs, and exchanging opinions about concert performances and favourite B-sides.

A similar notion of community can also be found amongst the fans watching the interview from the outside streets. As I learned while waiting outside No Doubt's 1996 Intimate and Interactive session, although the street crowd is also bonded by passion and commitment to a common affective alliance, other emotions like desperation, desire, and hope are involved in the experience. However, since fans are watching from street level, they are much closer to the action than fans waiting outside MTV. Thus, the feelings of desperation and isolation are not as great. While fans wait outside MTV for hours in hopes that the band might wave at them through the windows, fans outside MuchMusic will at least get to interact with the band when they come outside to say hello, sign autographs, and answer questions. Also, bands will

often perform one song outside. During No Doubt's 1996 Intimate and Interactive session, lead singer Gwen Stefani encouraged the street audience to sing along with the performance, and nearing the end of the show, Stefani came outside to sign autographs and perform an entire song. For the fans waiting on the street, a mentality of "we're all in this together" is created through cheering and screaming in unison, and singing the artist's songs before the start of the interview. Although the home audience cannot have the same intense physical response to the text, viewers are connected to a sense of community through extra-textual and relational techniques to be examined later in this chapter.

By taking part in the Intimate and Interactive experience, audience members can become further educated and socialized in the ideology of their affective alliance. Fans can gain a greater sense of belonging to a scene by participating in or watching a session, and are given the opportunity to be educated on the style, slang, and affective alliances of the musicians featured. This is especially important in terms of the vast number of Canadian teenagers living in non-urban areas. The newest trends of a scene or band can be observed and quickly replicated by fans in a quest for authenticity. For example, new jewelry (like chunky beads or chains), body piercings and tattoos, and current fashion statements (like hats of specific sports teams or pants made by a particular skate company) can inspire massive trends throughout a scene. Recent examples of this include the red fitted New York Yankees cap worn backwards by both Fred Durst of the

hardcore rock band Limp Bizkit and the bassist for Korn (in their November 1999 Much interview), as well as the Korn band-members' decision to stop wearing Adidas in favour of Puma (inspiring legions of Korn fans to replace their Adidas shoes and tracksuits with Puma gear). Similarly, the Intimate and Interactive sessions offer fans of a particular genre the opportunity to become familiar with the latest slang used by particular artists. For instance, Oasis' use of slang like "mad fer it", "we 'ard", and "its gonna be mega, man", the Spice Girls terminology like "girl power!" or Limp Bizkit's affection for adding words like "chump", "man", and "dude" to the ends of sentences are important for establishing a communal vocabulary for fans.

Furthermore, having an idea of the band in question's musical mattering maps is integral to the genre education of fans. Korn's affiliation with metal and hip hop (their style of hardcore rock comes from the amalgamation of these two genres) can be seen during their MuchMusic interview, where they cited favourite artists to be Faith No More (metal), Rage Against the Machine (hardcore rock), and various hip hop groups like NWA. During Much interviews, Backstreet Boys have noted Boys II Men, Prince, Michael Jackson, and Babyface to be huge inspirations, and Oasis have cited their favourite artists as the Beatles and David Bowie, tying themselves to particular genres of music.

The emotional affect created by the Intimate and Interactive interview is not only a result of commitment to a mattering map, but also stems from the interview being a live broadcast. It is important to note that while MTV

schedules its programming according to different time zones, MuchMusic broadcasts live simultaneously throughout Canada. This encourages a heightened sense of community and spontaneity, situating the interview within a specific place and time, unlike the taped, edited predictability of MTV interviews.

As a live program, it is important to consider the non-verbal aspects of the Intimate and Interactive interview, as well as what is transpiring in the environment around the actual interview. Although it can be said that MuchMusic intentionally creates a chaotic, charged, and crowded space, an unintentional or pre-critical aesthetic arises from this. Fans are packed into every available corner of the environment, and the structure of the interview is very loosely organized. Unlike MTV interviews, questions asked by the VJ's often arise spontaneously and the interview flows in the natural direction of a conversation, rather than within the confines of a structured itinerary. Furthermore, although audience questions and comments could be pre-screened, since the program is aired live and audience members are allowed to speak directly into the microphone (rather than having a VJ read an audience question, as is the practice on MTV), a fan can really say whatever he or she pleases. For example, during Sporty Spice Melanie C's October 1999 MuchMusic interview, a disgruntled Spice Girls fan asked Melanie C if she was "selling out and becoming a wannabe punk", and another fan questioned her sexual orientation. Although questions asked by audience members are rarely intrusive or offensive, they can be personal or non-

scripted. Furthermore, the fielding of audience questions is almost always appears disorganized. Both the cameraperson and the VJ always spend a few seconds looking around the environment for the person who is supposed to ask the next question, creating a discontinuous flow and air of confusion. In a November 1999 Much interview with Silverchair, lead singer Daniel Johns commented on this confusion with comments to his bandmates like "Did you ever notice that MuchMusic is always totally unorganized? They never know what is happening". However, the band then claimed to enjoy this lack of co-ordination and competence, saying "...but we love it, man. It's totally punk."

This sense of chaos and spontaneity indicates that the Intimate and Interactive interview can be understood as an authentic rock text, rather than a text of televisual conventions. Although MTV pioneered the concept of rock n' roll television, MuchMusic is more true to the nature of rock music in its philosophy that a mood of excitement, electricity, and impulsiveness is more important than accuracy and competence. To use musical genre as a metaphor, MuchMusic's low-key, low-fi alternative/rock aesthetic can be contrasted with the MTV's more stylized, formulaic, commercial pop aesthetic. If the performance interview can be considered to be like a concert, MuchMusic represents the crowded, sweaty mosh-pit vibe of an intimate club gig and MTV reflects the more spacious but removed, highly polished feeling of a stadium pop show. In terms of seating arrangements, it is interesting to consider the placement of fans throughout the MuchMusic environment.

Rather than facing the artist, as on MTV, fans surround and engulf the artist from every angle. The fans sitting behind the artist often look directly into the camera, strengthening the rapport between at-home and in-studio fans, thus increasing the sense of fan community. The fact that at-home audience members can make eye contact with other fans makes the viewing experience more real and more of a primary experience. Rather than simply observing an interview taking place, the rock aesthetic and liveness of MuchMusic interviews makes the audience feel as if they are part of an emotionally charged and unpredictable musical event.

As a study of human perception and sensation, aesthetic analysis works within the discourse of the body and the senses. In exploring the sensory affect of MuchMusic interviews, it is important to assess both visuals and movement (real, apparent, implied and perceptual) as well as audio phenomena (sounds and their duration, rhythm, theme, harmony and loudness). In order to create an atmosphere and mood unique to Intimate to Interactive sessions, MuchMusic stimulates the senses with a variety of techniques. The tense, unpredictable, "anything can happen" feel of MuchMusic interviews is partially achieved through camera motion. Nikos Metallinos states, "Motion vectors created in the visual field provide the raw materials for the synthesis of dynamic and tension arousing pictures" (Metallinos, 1996: 217). The camerawork displayed in MuchMusic programs often involves the quick zooming in and out of images, as well as rapid movement from shots of the audience to shots of the VJ to shots of the band

at an unpredictable pace. This erratic camera movement helps convey the uncontrolled, spontaneous atmosphere of the interview space to viewers at home. As the camera whizzes around the environment, usually revealing other technical staff in the background, the viewer feels a surge of excitement and tension that would not arise with a smooth, stylized MTV interview. Also, the camera is often shaky, exploiting the connotations of handheld camerawork, and the authenticity and impulsiveness associated with cinema verite documentary technique. The shakiness of the camera also helps communicate to viewers that the interview is a live broadcast— the unpredictability of particular shots and erratic movement from angle to angle reveals that the program is not edited.

In terms of sound, there are no stylized noises or rhythms throughout the MuchMusic interview (except for performance segments during Intimate and Interactive sessions). The sounds heard during Much interviews (other than the actual interview between band and VJ) include screams and cheers from the in-studio crowd, muffled whispering amongst audience members, screams from the street crowd and static from the microphone used for audience questions. This background noise is key to the raw, intense rock aesthetic, as it reinforces the chaos and unpredictability of the interview. Audience members are rarely told to be quiet, and since the program is filmed live, people have the opportunity to say absolutely anything. During the November 1999 Silverchair interview, audience members screamed during most of lead singer Daniel Johns' comments, intensifying the concert-like

experience of the interview. At-home viewers are made to feel like they are part of a loud, chaotic performance, rather than witnesses to a controlled, carefully planned interview.

The establishment of MuchMusic's close fan community and grass-roots rock aesthetic can also be attributed to VJ's, both on a pre-critical and critical level. Also, MuchMusic VJ's both reflect and help shape Canadian culture, in terms of their ethnic diversity, accessibility, and demystification of the broadcasting process.

With or Without You: The Relationship Between VJ and Viewer

Inspired by the family-like atmosphere of newsmagazine programs like Good Morning America, MTV created the VJ rock n' roll family to serve as a point of identification for viewers. Former Vice President of Programming Robert Pittman believed that VJ's should be "guides who sublimate their egos, human faces you can relate to" (Pittman in Goodwin, 1996: 140). Both visually and aurally, VJ's use familiar conventions of radio DJ's and news presenters to anchor the music television text. While there are similarities between the VJ's mode of address on MTV and MuchMusic, there are also crucial differences which reflect the Canadian and American discourses embedded in the two stations.

In order to win the trust and respect of young music fans, it is imperative for MTV and MuchMusic to have a strong street credibility. This credibility is established in a fashion similar to that in which intellectual

credibility is established by the nightly news. The gaze of the VJ, like that of the news anchor, is directed at the camera, and this sets up a face-to-face contact between VJ and viewer. This intimacy "imposes itself upon consciousness in the most massive, urgent and intense manner— a here and now of the body and the present, an intersubjective world objectified by language" (Morse, 1986: 61). Key to the creation of a familiar atmosphere and a face-to-face reality is the mode of address. The mode of address is based on the belief that a program should identify with its audience, and invite the audience to identify with it (Hartley, 1982: 87). Hartley states, "The language employed will thus be the news' own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed: its version of the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares" (96). As programming aimed at young, culturally informed viewers, MuchMusic and MTV rely upon a casual, hip mode of address. However, as discussed earlier, MTV's mode of address is more professional and polished than MuchMusic's untidy, spontaneous address. Here the difference between the status of VJ's on MuchMusic and MTV becomes apparent.

On MuchMusic, VJ's appear to be more like "us", reading prepared texts, and often misreading these texts. Due to the live nature of Much, VJ's seem to learn the information at the same time that we do, demystifying the broadcasting process, and making the relationship between VJ and viewer a familiar, comfortable one. Thus, VJ's are presented as common, ordinary people, which reflects Canadian disinterest in elevating pop cultural heroes

and celebrities. On MTV, however, programming is often not live and VJ's appear to be reporting the news rather than reading it, indicating a sense of power and status.

The relaxed, conversational style of MuchMusic VJ's obscures the boundaries between the everyday, or primary experience and the mediated, or secondary experience. This can be referred to as parasocial behaviour, which is a viewer reaction somewhere in between responding to a familiar person and responding to a machine (Morse, 1986: 69). On MuchMusic, VJ's often appear to be speaking directly to the viewer, or at least including the viewer in the broadcasting experience, even though the viewer knows he or she is not seen or heard by the televised speaker. This blurs the distinction between primary and secondary experience, and between discourse and story, leading viewers to willingly collude in a fictitious, although significant, experience. The chief test of truth of discourse (rather than truth of representations) is whether or not the VJ is sincere (Morse, 1986: 63). On MuchMusic, VJ's always seem careful to make sure that the subject of enunciation matches the subject of utterance, or in other words, that they believe what they are actually saying. In order to establish an intimate relationship with viewers, VJ's are straightforward and sincere, and also have a magnetic personal charisma that entices viewers to watch, listen, and trust. When interviewing bands, MuchMusic VJ's do not shy away from candid or controversial questions, and since interviews are broadcast live, artist responses cannot be edited. For example, when interviewing N'Sync

and O Town, MuchMusic VJ Rachel Perry questioned the bands' relationship with unscrupulous boy band Svengali Lou Pearlman, much to the bands' discomfort. In another instance, when interviewing ex-Poison frontman Sebastian Bach, VJ George Stroumboulopoulos continued with his somewhat offensive line of questioning (comparing Skid Row to Poison) until Bach broke his microphone and stormed out of the interview.

The close attachment and familiarity that viewers often feel towards VJ's is also dependent on how closely VJ's resemble the audience. Since MTV VJ's are removed, untouchable, star-like individuals, it is difficult for viewers to feel like they can relate to them. For example, MTV VJ Carson Daly dates high-profile Hollywood actresses like Tara Reid and Jennifer Love Hewitt, hangs out with Limp Bizkit and Papa Roach, and is featured in the song lyrics of Eminem's "Real Slim Shady". However, MuchMusic VJ's, in typical Canadian fashion, are unpretentious non-heroic public personas whose flaws are just as obvious as their triumphs. VJ's are presented as normal, everyday people, and to Torontonians, it is not surprising to see a VJ riding the TTC, attending a concert or eating a vendor dog on Queen Street. Also, in order to create a sense of intimacy and informality, programs are sometimes hosted by VJ's from their personal homes. In September 2000, VJ Rachel Perry hosted a MTV Video Music Awards party at her apartment. The program consisted of Rachel and her non-celebrity friends eating chips and making fun of the ceremony, communicating a sense of familiarity and normalcy to Much viewers. In August 2000, Sook Yin Lee enjoyed a casual

afternoon with Radiohead lead singer Thom Yorke at her modest home, allowing viewers insight into her "real" life and challenging the traditional interviewing process. By eating cereal in Lee's messy kitchen and experimenting with a toy piano in Lee's bedroom, Yorke and Lee resisted the American tendency to elevate celebrities and sensationalize fame. Since MuchMusic VJ's are not sensationalized, glamourous celebrities, they are a more accurate reflection of the viewing public than MTV VJ's.

As noted earlier, multiculturalism can be seen as a symbol of resistance to the cultural sterility and vulgarity that Canadians ascribe to the American melting pot. In addition to symbolizing a somewhat self-righteous national ideal, the cultural mosaic is also a more realistic reflection of North American society. Although the United States is just as racially and culturally diverse as Canada, Canadians pride themselves on celebrating cultural plurality rather than imposing sterility and monoculturalism. MuchMusic VJ's are an excellent example of Canada's critique of the American melting pot, and Canadian television's dedication to reflecting the local, ethnic diversity of its audience. Four of MuchMusic's seven regular VJ's move outside the confines of the white suburban identity— Master T, an active member of Toronto's Jamaican community, Sook Yin Lee, an Korean woman from Vancouver, Namugenyi Kiwanuka, a woman who escaped Uganda, East Africa as a refugee, and George Stroumboulopoulos, a member of Toronto's Greek community. Master T, host and producer of Da Mix and Rap City states:

> I learned that when you're a VJ, and when you're black, your community looks at you on a different level...This music (hip hop) touches everybody, but it's important to deal with the racial demographic because, a lot of times, they don't see themselves reflected on American TV. This is much more than just kickin' out videos" (Master T in Hayashi-Tennant, 1999: 3).

Thus, MuchMusic VJ's not only visibly represent Canada's racial diversity, but also work to reflect the deeper cultural experience of different ethnic communities. For example, Master T played an active role in Toronto's Caribana Festival and the MuchMusic Da Mix 10th Anniversary street party, and Namugenyi Kiwanuka is a leading representative for War Child. MTV, on the other hand, has a long-standing history of alleged racism. Accusations of exclusionary practices date back to the early days of MTV, when the station neglected to program videos by black artists due to "the format". Although MTV now airs a great deal of hip hop, R&B, soul, and Latin-infused videos, the ethnic diversity of the United States is still not accurately reflected in MTV VJ's. The majority of MTV's regular VJ's are white, all-American men, with Ananda Lewis serving as the only high-profile African-American VJ. Despite the large Latin community in the United States, the only VJ of Latin descent is occasional House of Style host Daisy Fuentes. Even though Spanish is an unofficial second language in the US, and the Cuban-American and Puerto Rican-American communities are a key part of the national landscape, MTV VJ's do not reflect this diversity. Also, the Asian-American community is not represented at all. Thus, since MuchMusic VJ's are a more accurate reflection of their viewers, it can be concluded that Much audiences have a closer, more familiar relationship with VJ's than MTV audiences.

In terms of establishing an authentic relationship with viewers, the MuchMusic VJ's role as musical connoisseur rather than inaccessible celebrity is also important. Since many of MuchMusic's viewers are isolated in rural areas of Canada, MuchMusic VJ's serve an important role as connoisseurs of a particular genre. For urban viewers, the authenticity and involvement of MuchMusic VJ's in a musical genre provides a sense of street credibility necessary for the station to be regarded as hip. Since urban teens have access to current music being played at clubs, they are very aware of whether or not Much is in touch with the contemporary music scene. Without the support of urban viewers, MuchMusic would lose its credibility with small-town teenagers— the fact that rural teenagers can watch city kids participating in Intimate and Interactive sessions, artist interviews, and other Much-related events like EdgeFest and the MuchMusic Video Awards communicates to small-town teens that Much truly is hip.

MuchMusic VJ's are constructed to possess cultural pedigree due to their educational and cultural capital within a specific genre or scene. As Pierre Bordieu states:

> The competence of the connoisseur, an unconscious mastery of the instruments of appropriation which derives from slow familiarization and is the basis of familiarity with works is an "art", a practical mastery which like an art of thinking or an art of living cannot be transmitted solely by precept or prescription (Bordieu, 1984: 66).

In order to create a hip, credible aesthetic, VJ's are presented as masters of a particular genre or scene, communicated through style, language, and musical knowledge. The rural viewer thus establishes an apprentice/master

relationship with the VJ, paying close attention to the VJ's conduct and attempting to mirror his/her fashion sense and language. For the urban viewer, the relationship with a given VJ is built on that VJ's displayed mastery of his or her designated musical genre or subculture. It is important to note that MuchMusic categorizes VJ's more than MTV— on MTV, one VJ (such as Carson Daly or Dave Holmes) might interview a range of artists, but on Much a VJ is constructed as a hip hop expert or an alternative expert.

The construction of the VJ's cultural pedigree can be noticed everywhere from the Much website to interviews to genre-specific programming like Loud or Da Mix. Sook Yin Lee, host of MuchMusic's indie and alternative program The Wedge and interviewer of alternative rock acts like Travis and Blur, is the quintessential indie guitar girl. Before joining the Much VJ team, Lee was a songwriter and guitarist for Canadian indie band Bob's Your Uncle, and also worked as a noise specialist, performance artist, film maker, comic book illustrator, and writer. Her authenticity within the scene is also communicated through her style, which includes lots of dark colours, plaid, braids, little toques, body piercings, tattoos, and wild stockings. Sook Yin Lee's cultural capital within the indie music audience is massive, as she is taken seriously as an alternative musician, and is regarded as to be hip due to her fashion sense and knowledge of the underground scene. On the Much website, Sook Yin's top five favourite songs of the week are posted, further communicating that she has finger on the alternative music pulse.

Master T, host and producer of Da Mix and Rap City, is constructed completely differently from Sook Yin Lee, and his specific framing works to win him respect from fans of hip hop, rap, soul, and R&B. He is regarded by many hip hop fans to be the definitive source for the best in black music in North America. Master T uses vocabulary like "y'all", "representin'", "fo' sho'!" etc., and his long dreadlocks, gold chains and penchant for bright colours communicate his affection for all that is funky. Master T is often requested as an interviewer by some of the biggest names in music, including Prince, Dr. Dre, Jennifer Lopez, and Janet Jackson— indicating that his taste expertise is appreciated by the very artists to which his viewers relate. In contrast to both Master T and Sook Yin Lee is George Stroumboulopoulos, host of Loud and Fax. Stroumboulopoulos, a former CFNY 102.1 DJ, embodies all aspects of the hard rock genre, from his multiple piercings and tattoos to his pet snake and affection for Deftones and Misfits t-shirts.

Thus, it can be concluded that MuchMusic VJ's both reflect and help shape Canadian culture, in terms of their ethnic diversity, accessibility, and demystification of the broadcasting process. Through their authentic, "just like us", grass-roots approach, MuchMusic VJ's have helped establish a stripped-down, accessible hang-out for Canadian youth. Furthermore, through their educational and cultural capital within specific musical genres and scenes, MuchMusic VJ's have assisted in creating a discourse of information surrounding music. This acknowledgement of musical culture,

from performer gossip to industry news to musical connoisseurship, has assisted in raising the profile of the Canadian music industry.

By exploring the programming philosophy, pre-critical and critical aesthetics, and VJ's of MuchMusic and MTV, it is clear that both networks are inextricably embedded with Canadian and American discourses. Although MuchMusic reflects a characteristically Canadian imitation of American popular culture, it also resists and critiques American televisual conventions. MuchMusic offers a very different entertainment experience to MTV, and in my forthcoming conclusions, I shall sum up my research findings and illuminate the uniquely Canadian texture, disposition, and sensibility ingrained in MuchMusic.

CONCLUSIONS

By conducting this research I have attempted to address two areas of deficiency within contemporary cultural studies. Firstly, the majority of Canadian cultural analysis concentrates on the economic dimension of the relationship between Canada and the US, specifically on patterns of dominance and dependency. Although there is no question that the overwhelming cultural flow of the United States can largely be attributed to economics, the complicated relationship between the US and Canada cannot be understood as a mere reflex of economic influence. There is a definite lack of scholarship that examines how Canadians interpret American cultural products and how Canadian "imitations" of American products encompass infatuation with American popular culture, while simultaneously offering resistance, recontextualization, and parody. Secondly, despite music video's critical attention over the past twenty years, relatively few scholars have addressed the televisual context surrounding music video. Most research focusing on music television was inspired by the early, countercultural aesthetic of MTV and individual music videos, and does not accurately reflect the current, more traditional televisual structure of music video channels. Also, due to the current influence of the teenage population and MuchMusic's status as Canada's only national forum for the latest in music and hip, youth-oriented television programming, an analysis of the cultural relationships at play within music television is both worthwhile and timely.

As discussed in Chapter One, the most straightforward approach to the study of Canadian culture is the left nationalist approach of dominance and dependency. By investigating the history of North American structuring principles, the history of American cultural influence in Canada, and persistent images of Canadian and American identity (including Canada as "victim" and "nature" and the US as "Other"), it is easy to see why so many theorists have adopted a negative nationalist perspective (as defined by John Ralston Saul). While I believe that the aggressive power of the United States is genuine and Canadian cultural products are often based on ideas pioneered in the United States, Canadian cultural products, like MuchMusic, can be much more than subordinate, second-rate imitations. As Manning states:

> Canadians import and eagerly consume American cultural products but reconstitute and recontextualize them in ways representative of what consciously, albeit ambivalently, distinguishes Canada from its powerful neighbour; state capitalism, social democracy, middle-class morality, regional identity, official multiculturalism, the True North, the parliamentary system, institutionalized compromise, international neutrality, etc. (Manning, 1993: 7).

Although pervasive images of Canadian identity like multiculturalism and the "True North" are ingrained in our cultural history, it is important to note that Canada's national mythology has always been more fluid and ambiguous than unmistakably one thing or another. Canadian culture can be defined not on the basis of what it is, but rather what it is not in relation to an absolute, forceful "Other". Canadian culture is a relational phenomena that gains its significance through a specific Canadian perception of American

popular culture. Therefore, in order to explore the cultural narratives embedded in Canadian music television, it is important to approach MuchMusic as part of a cultural infrastructure within a country that imitates, embraces, resists and resents American popular culture. Since the relational nature of Canadian culture necessitates continuous comparison, it is best to discuss MuchMusic in terms of what it rejects and absorbs from MTV.

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, MuchMusic functions as both an example of uniquely Canadian sensibilities and as an example of Canada's complicated relationship with the United States (in terms of resistance, critique, imitation and infatuation). Rather than exploring the actual video clips shown on music television networks, my research is concerned with the political and economic forces that shape the televisual context of music video. In examining the evolution of MuchMusic and MTV and the supertext of the two networks— programming philosophy, musical and non-musical shows, VJ's, and television aesthetics— I have addressed how music television both reflects and shapes our perception of Canadian popular culture.

Future Research/Limitations of This Study

The multitextual layers of music television offer many rich areas for future analysis. I would now like to outline the limitations of my research, hopefully assisting future researchers of MuchMusic and MTV. The most challenging aspect of my study was avoiding essentialist, homogenous

definitions of Canadianness and Americanness. The nature of cultural comparison, ie. one nation *versus* another nation, can lead to seemingly static, cohesive cultural images. However, rather than creating clear-cut definitions of national culture, I have attempted to expose nationally-shared psychological states, some more complicated and contradictory than others.

Several of the Canadian narratives embedded within the supertext of MuchMusic are more straightforward than others due to their historical legitimacy. For example, by maintaining a sense of cultural plurality in its programming, MuchMusic reflects Canadian criticism of and resistance to the cultural sterility and vulgarity ascribed to the American "melting pot". Also, MTV's international success, slick production standards, and glamourization of fame represent sensibilities that Canadians have associated with the United States since the early days of radio and classic Hollywood film. Canada's lack of a grandiose celebrity system is well documented—Canadians are uncomfortable with creating an elevated status for celebrities, and Canadian "stars" are usually characterized by their non-mythic personas and semi-accidental rise to fame. Also, MuchMusic's grass-roots realism can be tied to the Canadian tradition of public arts, and the tendency of Canadian artists to adopt a greater sense of accessibility than their American counterparts (Rutherford, 1993: 275).

However, some of the narratives embedded within MuchMusic and MTV are not necessarily self-evident, but instead are situated within complicated, contradictory multitextual layers. For example, it was often

difficult to decipher whether or not MuchMusic's programming decisions were reflective of cultural narratives or were simply due to economic constraints. Many of my arguments about accessibility and shared community were grounded in MuchMusic's stripped-down aesthetic and decision to broadcast live. I chose to focus on how this is representative of a nationally-shared state of mind, but it could be argued that our inability to produce slick, polished programming results from a lack of resources rather than our inherent authenticity. For example, many Canadians enjoy successful careers in the American television and film industry, indicating that it is possible for Canadians to produce glamorous, fast-paced programming.

Also, to further complicate matters, as former Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson states, "If you're supposed to be anti someone you resemble so much, it makes for a kind of schizophrenia" (Pearson in Wall, 1993: 248). Although I have successfully identified distinctively Canadian narratives embedded in MuchMusic, my own experience as an avid fan of American bands, television programs, and films has made this a complicated process. As I have argued, Canadians and Americans are different— however, it can also be posited that such differences are fundamentally philosophical. Thus, the average Canadian consumer, who is not as concerned with philosophical debates as academics and politicians, has no difficulty identifying with and enjoying American cultural products. As Dorland and Walton state:

> Canada's population, rather than comprising some unified semiotic of Canadian nationalism, has never been more than a thin line stretched across the continent. In ways that cultural nationalists have been reluctant to recognize, Canada is

profoundly a border culture (Dorland and Walton, 1999: 204).

For example, while a great deal of the research I conducted in Chapter Three is based on my primary, subjective experiences at MuchMusic, it is important to note that the majority of these experiences involved non-Canadian bands like No Doubt, Oasis, and Travis. However, although my MuchMusic experiences might have involved non-Canadian artists, I believe that the raw spontaneity and authenticity of the actual experiences reflect a distinctive sense of Canadianness. Thus, my own interaction with MuchMusic is representative of the complex, confusing relationship between Canadians and Canadian and American popular culture.

In terms of future studies, it is important that researchers do not approach MuchMusic or MTV with an aim of identifying absolute cultural signifiers. Also, researchers must be prepared to do more than just randomly tune in to MuchMusic or MTV searching for straightforward answers. The video content and non-musical programming of MuchMusic and MTV are constantly changing, and it is imperative that researchers have a lengthy, in-depth familiarity with the text. As an individual who has extensively participated in all aspects of the MuchMusic experience, I have a special appreciation for MuchMusic's unique role in Canadian popular culture. Although I am not suggesting that all pop cultural research needs to be primary or experiential, it is important that researchers recognize the complicated, multi-layered, sometimes contradictory nature of music television. In addition to acknowledging the cultural significance of music

television, I have attempted to illustrate how the complex relationship between Canadian and American cultural narratives is reflected and established by MuchMusic.

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