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MEDIA OWNERSHIP, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION, AND DEMOCRACY IN THE CANADIAN MEDIASCAPE

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> As a young journalist, I want to be sure that Canada's media remains a place where the public can hear a wide range of voices. A few giant media corporations controlling journalists will only hurt the spread of information.
>
> As a female professional born and raised in Canada, with ties to the Chinese and Vietnamese communities, I want a choice in what I see on TV, hear on the radio and read in the newspaper and on the internet ... We are already seeing less local content and less diversity of ideas in our media. And there has NEVER been sufficient representation of minority communities in its many varied aspects ... Our future lies in true pluralism, where one voice representing the queer (community), or only one voice representing the Asian community, is not enough. We need to have access to multiple points of view.
>
> Gone, or so it seems, are the days when each paper, each station, each magazine offered a different analysis allowing the citizenry to access a diverse range of opinions and analysis which, in my estimation, is what "fertilizes" a democracy making it possible for it to grow and flourish.
>
> —Campaign for Democratic Media: Excerpts from comments made in the summer of 2007 through "Stop the Big Media Takeover" campaign. Retrieved August 2012, from http://openmedia.ca/sites/openmedia.ca/files/crtcdiversity_commentsCC_0.pdf

These comments reflect just a few of the opinions from Canadian citizens about the state of media ownership and concentration in Canada. In 2007, more than 1,900 Canadians from across the country participated in the Campaign for Democratic Media's "Stop the Big Media Takeover" in response to a CRTC call for comments in its 2007 Diversity of Voices hearing. This review (as described in more detail in

Chapter 5) was initiated after a wave of proposed consolidation in the media industries, alarming many about the healthy fate of local, regional, and national content and raising concerns about whether or not an appropriate diversity of perspectives, including editorial, would be achievable and sustainable without urgent regulatory intervention. The comments also reflect passionate debates about the role of media in a democratic society, and how—and even if—**corporate media** should be held accountable.

Five years after the Diversity of Voices decision, which established guidelines for mergers and acquisitions (deeming that if a single ownership group controlled between 35-40 percent of the market, the proposed acquisition would be subject to review, and rejecting any deal leading to a 45 percent ownership rate as it would constitute excessive concentration), the Canadian mediascape is even more concentrated than before. For instance, the March 2012 announcement of the proposed merger of Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) and Astral Media Inc. for $3.38 billion would have brought BCE close to the 40 percent threshold with the pay and specialty television holdings. While media mergers need to be approved by the CRTC and the Competition Bureau, in many instances mergers are routinely approved without public scrutiny. In this instance, given the acrimony over the proposed merger (see "Bell, the Behemoth," below) the CRTC held public hearings in Montreal in September 2012. One early dissenting voice was that of political economist Dwayne Winseck, who commented about the proposed merger, "This is truly incredible. If we care at all about the health, diversity and range of voices in the Canadian media, such ventures need to be turned back" (Winseck, 2012). Indeed, in October 2012, the CRTC denied BCE's request to control Astral, with CRTC Chair Jean-Pierre Blais commenting that the deal would "have placed significant market power in the hands of one of the country's largest media companies"; and cited concerns about ownership concentration, vertical integration, and market power in an anti-competitive manner. Further, the CRTC said they were "not persuaded that the transaction would have provided significant and unequivocal benefits to the Canadian broadcasting system and to Canadians sufficient to outweigh its concerns" (CRTC, October 18, 2012).

Media accountability is complex because media serve many masters. Consider for a moment the diversity of media strategies that make up the Canadian mediascape: mobile communication (which includes telephony, advertising, and content distribution); social media including social network sites like Facebook, blogs, and Twitter; podcasts; RSS feeds, email, and listservs; zines; streaming video and video sites such as YouTube; cable and satellite television; community television; commercial radio; campus and community radio; movie theatres; video rentals; magazines and newspapers; and film festivals. Each media strategy has its own social and economic context, including audiences with unique needs and producers with unique goals. Media are used as a source of entertainment, information and news, ideology, history, ideas, and information about products and services. Media are used to achieve political power. Everyone has a stake in the social, political, and economic futures of the places where we live, and in a wealthy and technologically integrated country such as Canada, "the media" are how we collectively engage in these kinds of discussions. Or, in other words, media are at the centre of Canadian democratic reality. Who owns the media raises the rather daunting question of who owns Canada's democracy.

This chapter will provide an introduction to issues, trends, and policy implications surrounding media ownership and democratic outcomes in Canada. It will examine the critical issues of technological convergence, the importance of the public interest, the role of public service media, and the burgeoning media reform movement. We conclude with a brief consideration of the notion of "cultural citizenship" and what it means for Canadians to "own" their own culture through active participation, consumption, and policy reform.

The stakes couldn't be higher. As Canadian communications scholar Marc Raboy writes: "Who decides how issues of media governance get resolved—and, consequently, how media are used—is therefore a question that goes to the heart of how every society in the world today will experience the twenty-first century" (Raboy, 2006, p. 291). Whose culture it is, and ultimately whose democracy, are the questions at stake when we talk about ownership of media in a democratic society.

TRENDS IN GLOBAL MEDIA

There are four main trends in global media: (1) convergence; (2) conglomeration and concentration; (3) globalization; and (4) deregulation. Since the mid-1990s, the global communication sector has undergone a process of rapid neoliberal transnationalization, characterized by increased mergers and acquisitions at national and international levels, and a concomitant global media policy regime that favours market competition, privatization, and a reduction or elimination of foreign ownership restrictions. Capital investment has catapulted the communications industry (broadcasting, telecommunications, newspapers, and advertising) into the largest sector in the global mergers and acquisitions market (Jin, 2008). All these trends characterize **neoliberalism**, which promotes the idea that the marketplace and the accrual of profits should be allowed in all facets of social, economic, and cultural affairs.

Convergence refers to the manner in which digital technologies alter and blur the traditional distinctions between print and broadcasting media. It was widely promoted in the 1990s as the ownership of cross-media platforms and assets, coupled with the integration of digital technologies, produced both vertically and horizontally integrated conglomerates. Proclaimed as "one-stop" shopping for consumers, media behemoths envisioned themselves as providers of information and entertainment, content and distribution, telephone and cable, subscriptions and advertisements. Characteristic convergence mergers in the new millennium included the 2001 acquisition by CanWest Global Communications (Global TV) of Western International Communications (TV stations), Southam (newspapers), Hollinger's Canadian internet properties and the *National Post*, and the 2010 acquisition by Bell Globemedia

(Bell Canada phone company, internet portal Sympatico, satellite distributor Bell ExpressVu) of CTV, the Canadian Television Network, and *The Globe and Mail.*

Convergence strategies shifted from multimedia content convergence for consumers to cross-media opportunities for advertisers. An early example of this was TimeWarner's $1 billion expenditure for cross-platform advertising with companies including Burger King, Kellogg, and Kraft Foods (Powell, 2002). Typical packages in convergence strategies include newspaper and television ads coupled with internet ads, product placements, and even "virtual ads" wherein products are digitally placed into programs or on-air promotions. Another early example was CTV's *Canadian Idol* series, where the integration of makeup and hair products provided by L'Oréal Paris and voting via text messaging (SMS) services provided by wireless companies including Bell Mobility, Microcell, Rogers Wireless, and SaskTel Mobility became an integral component of the cross-platform interactivity that characterized this popular reality television genre (Baltruschat, 2009).

One of the challenges of convergence lies in the policy realm; given the pervasive digitization of media convergence, what regulatory rules should adhere to each medium and which piece of legislation and/or administrative body should be responsible for governance? As François Bar and Christian Sandvig (2008) discuss with respect to the United States, policymakers tend to deal with the challenges of convergence through:

> incremental adaptation of past rules rather than fundamental redesign of the policy regime. They have chosen either to treat a new medium with the policy previously applied to whatever it seemed to resemble, or to adjust through the accretion of exceptions and additions. Thus, policy treats cable television as an extension of broadcast, itself viewed as an extension of radio. (p. 532)

In Canada we see how this emergent techno-policy conundrum plays out in our policy regime. In 1999 when the CRTC ruled on whether internet content should be regulated under the *Broadcasting Act*, it wrote that because everything transmitted over the internet is predominately alphanumeric text, regulation was not necessary (CRTC, 1999). A decade later, the CRTC, in its New Media Project Initiative, grappled with this same issue but with an increasingly sophisticated internet universe consisting of embedded and integrated video streaming, social network sites, and a plethora of user-generated content. The commission's response, once again, was to exempt new media and mobile broadcasting from regulation, and to call for a national digital strategy (CRTC, 2009).

Conglomeration and **concentration** are structural features of the global media system, whereby a small number of media firms end up (through mergers and acquisitions) owning the majority of media products. Conglomerate media firms operate across various media platforms—television, newspapers, satellite, cable, film, publishing, and the internet. There are two main types of ownership concentration in the Canadian media today: horizontal and vertical. **Horizontal concentration of ownership** occurs when a firm in one line of media buys a major interest in another media operation not directly related to the original business, or takes a major stake in a nonmedia company. However, this form of conglomerate ownership has been eclipsed by media companies characterized by **vertical concentration of ownership** (or **cross-media ownership**), which:

> refers to the ownership or control by one entity of both programming services, such as conventional television stations, or pay and specialty services, as well as distribution services, such as cable systems or direct-to-home (DTH) satellite services. Vertical integration also includes ownership or control by one entity of both programming undertakings and production companies (CRTC, 2011, September 21).

Globalization refers to the transformation of communication spaces and social relations occurring across national borders. It is characterized by economic globalization—the integration of the global economy through free-trade mechanisms and international bodies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO); and by cultural globalization—the absorption and integration of global cultural forms into other cultural products and services. Neoliberalism, the dominant political economic system today, inflects globalization with the values (and valorization) of private markets, deregulation, and trade liberalization. Neoliberalism also permeates the ideological undercurrent of recent international ICT (information and communication technologies) policy, notably the 2003 and 2005 **World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)**, whose multistakeholder approach brought together industry, governments, and civil society to grapple with the issues of global digital divides and information and communication technologies for development (Pickard, 2008).

Finally, **deregulation** is the belief by governments and international trade bodies that competitive markets are fostered by *not* regulating the media. The mantra of market forces weaves itself through industry hype, government rhetoric, and policy documents. But, as Robert McChesney comments, referring to the United States, "while the rhetoric extols small government, free markets, competition, and entrepreneurial risk-taking, the reality is that a large government is doling out crucial contracts, monopoly licenses, and subsidies to huge firms in highly concentrated industries" (2004, p. 51). The same can be said about Canada. Generous corporate tax benefits, government funding programs to encourage and increase Canadian innovation in the ICT sector and make Canada globally competitive, and self-regulatory measures in the ICT sector characterize our current regulatory environment.

CONCENTRATION OF MEDIA OWNERSHIP

Ben Bagdikian, former dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, was one of the first media critics to write a full-length

study of global media ownership concentration. In the first edition of *The Media Monopoly*, published in 1983, he documented 50 major corporations that controlled the media; by the time of the seventh edition, 21 years later, there were only 5 major media corporations.

> The leaders of the Big Five are not Hitlers and Stalins. They are American and foreign entrepreneurs whose corporate empires control every means by which the population learns of its society. And like any close-knit hierarchy, they find ways to cooperate so that all five can work together to expand their power, a power that has become a major force in shaping contemporary American life (Bagdikian, 2004, p. 4).

"Mediasaurus" is how Dwayne Winseck (2008) describes the state of media ownership, characterized by huge financial mergers, being transnationalist in scope, vertical integration between major U.S. television networks and Hollywood studios, an increased acquisition of independent firms, and being heavily owner-controlled by newsworthy men. Distinguishing between numerical diversity (the number of channels available in any given area) and source diversity (the number of media owners in a given market), Winseck concludes that, at the level of source diversity, markets are indeed becoming more consolidated.

What is perhaps more insidious is not just the symbolic power of transnational media corporations, but also their blatant political power. This is illustrated well by the case of News International, where untrammelled power was accompanied by sheer arrogance, greed, and criminality. In the summer of 2011, News Corporation (headed by CEO Rupert Murdoch) came under intense scrutiny after its British subsidiary News International and its *News of the World* tabloid was accused in a labyrinthine phone-hacking scandal. A five-year investigation by Scotland Yard revealed that hundreds of citizens, politicians, and celebrities had their personal phone records hacked by journalists intent on revealing titillating scoops for their popular readership of 2.8 million a week, and of course, the accrual of profits for the company. The tipping point was perhaps the revelation that reporters had hacked the mobile voicemail of murdered schoolgirl Milly Dowler, compromising the police investigation. The *News of the World* shuttered its operations after 168 years of operation and Murdoch was forced to withdraw his $12 billion bid for control of British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB). Former journalists, editors, and corporate officers were arrested, police officers involved in the case resigned, and a Parliamentary panel was struck, where Murdoch and his son James (executive chairman of News International) apologized for the unethical nature of the accusations but claimed plausible deniability. In May 2012 the parliamentary committee issued its condemning report, concluding that "Rupert Murdoch is not a fit person to exercise the stewardship of a major international company" (Burns & Somaiya, 2012).[1]

The five major transnational corporations that make up the current global media-entertainment complex are Comcast Corporation, The Walt Disney

Company, News Corporation, TimeWarner Inc., and Vivendi SA. Vertical and horizontal concentration and conglomeration, interlocking boards of directors, mutual promotion and synergy amongst their media products, as well as a surprising and often bland homogeneity of content characterize each corporation (see Table 9.1).

TABLE 9.1 Top 5 Global Media Corporations

Comcast (U.S.)	Founded 1963 CEO: Brian L. Roberts Diversified entertainment, information and communications company. Principle operations are cable through Comcast Cable (operates in 39 states and the District of Columbia). In 2011 the company acquired a 51% stake in NBC Universal from General Electric. Now called NBCUniversal LLC, assets include NBC broadcast stations, cable network properties (including Bravo, CNBC, MSNBC, Oxygen, Weather Channel USA, Golf Channel, Style, and E!), Universal movie studio, Universal theme parks in Hollywood and Orlando. Through Xfinity, it provides video, high-speed internet, and phone services to residential and business customers 2011 consolidated revenue: $55.8 billion (US) Comcast Corporate Information: http://www.comcast.com Comcast Corporation Annual Report 2011: http://www.comcast.com/2011annualreview/?SCRedirect=true Information on the Comcast-NBC deal from FreePress: http://comcast.freepress.net (accessed August 24, 2012)
Walt Disney Company (U.S.)	Founded 1923 CEO: Robert Iger Diversified global entertainment company with media networks (Disney/ABC Television Network, ESPN); 11 parks and 43 resorts located globally; Disney Consumer Products; Disney Interactive Media Group 2011 consolidated revenue: $40,893 billion (US) Walt Disney Company corporate website: http://thewaltdisneycompany.com Walt Disney Company Annual Report 2011: http://cdn.media.ir.thewaltdisneycompany.com/2011/annual/WDC-10kwrap-2011.pdf Free Press Disney Ownership Chart: http://www.freepress.net/ownership/chart (accessed August 24, 2012)
News Corporation (U.S.)	Founded 1922 CEO: Rupert Murdoch Diversified global media company operating cable networks (Fox News Channel, specialty pay TV channels); filmed entertainment (film and television including 20th Century Fox, Fox Searchlight Films); television (Fox Broadcasting Company, Fox Sports); direct broadcast satellite television (BSkyB, SKY Italia, SkyDeutschland, FOXTEL); publishing (including English-language newspapers *Wall Street Journal, The Times, New York Post,* Sunday Mail); other assets (Hulu.com, American Idol.com)

TABLE 9.1 Continued

	Consolidated revenue 2011: $33,405 billion (US) News Corporation website: http://www.newscorp.com News Corporation Annual Report 2011: http://www.newscorp.com/Report2011 Free Press News Corporation ownership chart: http://www.freepress.net/ownership/chart (accessed August 24, 2012)
Time Warner (U.S.)	Founded 1985 CEO: Jeffrey Bewkes Media and entertainment company with television holdings (HBO, Turner Broadcasting System, Warner Brothers Entertainment), magazine holdings (includes *Time, Entertainment Weekly, People, InStyle, Sports Illustrated, Fortune*); Time Warner Global Media Group; online holdings include TMZ.com Consolidated revenue 2011: $28,974 billion (US) Time Warner corporate website: http://www.timewarner.com Time Warner Annual Report 201: http://b2bcdn.timeinc.com/tw/ourcompany/TWX_AR_2011.pdf Free Press News Corporation ownership chart: http://www.freepress.net/ownership/chart (accessed August 24, 2012)
Vivendi (France)	Founded 1853 CEO: Jean-Bernard Lévy Telecommunications and media entertainment company with assets including Groupe Canal (France); Universal Music Group; SFR (French telecommunications group); Maroc Telecom Group (active in Northern Africa); GVY-Brazil; Activision Blizzard (video console games) Consolidated revenue 2011: $28.8 billion euro Vivendi website: http://www.vivendi.com Vivendi Annual Report 2011: http://ir2.flife.de/data/vivendi/igb_html/index.php?bericht_id=1000003&index=&lang=ENGs *Columbia Journalism Review* "Who Owns What" chart on Vivendi: http://www.cjr.org/resources/?c=vivendi (accessed August 24, 2012)

CANADIAN MEDIA OWNERSHIP

Canada's mediascape is characterized by one of the most consolidated media systems in the world, with a high degree of cross-media ownership. What is unique about contemporary media ownership concentration is the dramatic increase in the vertical integration of media companies. And despite warnings (in the media itself!) about an economic crisis of the media industries, they are more than ever resilient and highly profitable. In fact, the Canadian media industry is the eighth largest in the world, and with the emergence of new media, the networked media economy has tripled in the last 26 years while "revenue for internet access rose from $239-million in 1996 to $6.8-billion [in 2010]"... and "online advertising grew from zero to $2.2-billion over the same time" (Winseck, August 23, 2011; see also Winseck, 2011).

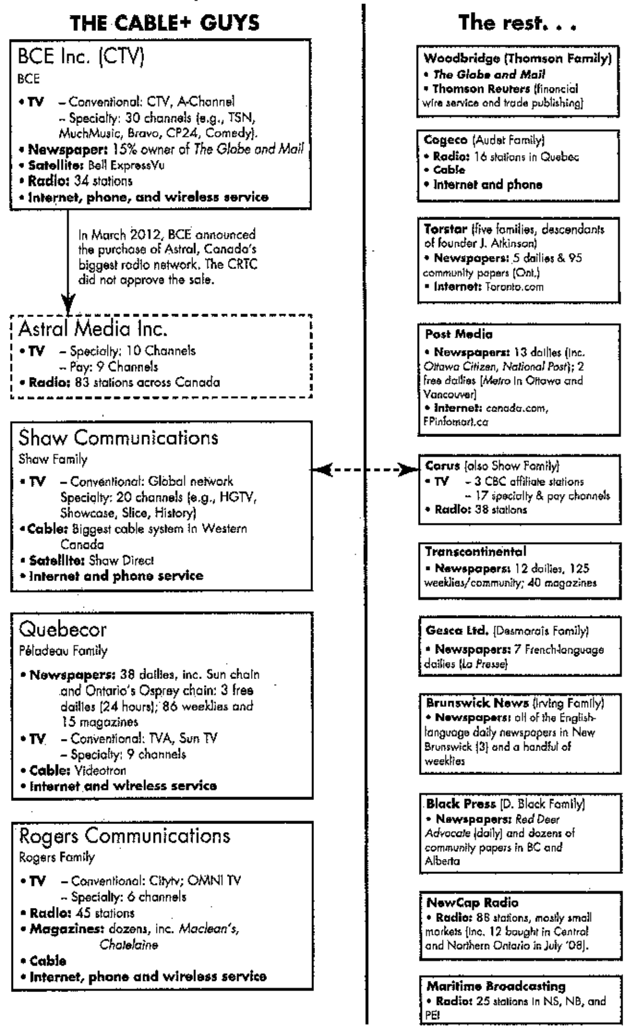
The four dominant players in Canada as of Fall 2012 are BCE Inc., Shaw Communications, Quebecor, and Rogers Communications. Figure 9.1 outlines private media ownership as of Fall 2012. This current media configuration, it should be noted, will inevitably change with future buyouts and mergers.

Figure 9.1 illustrates the dominance of the "Cable + Guys" in 2012, with the incredible market power of BCE as a dominant figure in the Canadian mediascape. The rapid change in the media landscape is illustrated well by Figure 9.2 outlining private media ownership in 2009, where a "tri-opoly" of companies CTVglobemedia, Canwest, and Quebecor) reigned. From 2009 to 2012 the Canadian mediascape changed rapidly. Notably, Canwest Global Communication, which was an influential player with significant global broadcasting and publishing assets, went bankrupt in 2009. Founded in Winnipeg in the 1970s, Canwest operated the Global TV network and broadcast holdings and published ten major Canadian daily newspapers, including the *National Post*, which it bought from the (now defunct) Hollinger Inc. The company's newspaper holdings were purchased by a newly formed company called Postmedia Network while its broadcasting holdings were sold to Shaw Communications, now known as Shaw Media.

Bell, the Behemoth

Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) is by far the largest media company in Canada, and since 2000 it has embarked on a considerable enterprise of consolidation and partnerships to ensure that it can control both content and distribution. Its Bell Media division purchased the CHUM radio stations in 2006, the assets of the CTVglobemedia broadcasting empire in 2010, and in 2012 announced its intent to acquire Astral Media. These acquisitions have been propelled by the need to accumulate content for display on a variety of mobile and wireless devices and as well to strategically position the company in certain geographical markets. For instance, its bid to acquire for $3.38 billion Quebec-based Astral Media was seen as a tangible way for BCE to make lucrative inroads into Quebec and to thus compete with media stalwarts Quebecor and CBC/Radio-Canada, which are dominantly positioned in that francophone market (Rubin & Lu, 2012). The aggregate viewership of Bell and Astral businesses is estimated to be 32 percent (CBC News, 2012, March 16). Three smaller cable companies–Quebecor Inc., Cogeco Cable, and Eastlink—initiated an online campaign (saynotobell. ca) against the proposed merger. The campaign warned consumers of higher costs and lessened Canadian culture should the deal be approved by the government, and urged them to contact the CRTC and the Competition Bureau. To secure exclusive content to be disseminated via its wireless and broadcasting networks, in 2012 Bell also partnered with rival Rogers to purchase for $1.07 billion Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment, the largest sports franchise company in Canada, which owns the NHL's Toronto Maple Leafs, the NBA's Toronto Raptors, Major League Soccer's Toronto FC, the AHL's Toronto

FIGURE 9.1 Private Media Ownership in Canada, 2012



Source: Canadian Media Guild <http://www.cmg.ca/en/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Media-ownership-chart-2012.pdf> Reproduced with permission.

FIGURE 9.2 Private Media Ownership in Canada, 2009

THE "TRI-OPOLY"

CTV Globemedia
Woodbridge Co Ltd., Teachers Pension, Torstar, BCE
- **Newspapers:** *The Globe and Mail*
- **TV** – Conventional: CTV, A-Channel (6 stations)
  – Specialty: 26 Channels (e.g., TSN, MuchMusic)
- **Radio:** 34 stations
- **Internet:** workopolis.com (40%)

Canwest
Asper Family
- **Newspapers:** 13 dailies (inc. *Ottawa Citizen, National Post*); 2 free dailies (*Metro* in Ottawa and Vancouver)
- **TV** – Conventional: Global (9 local stations, closing or selling five E! stations)
  – Specialty: CW Television (21 channels, e.g., Showcase, HGTV, Discovery, History)
- **Internet:** canada.com, FPinfomart.ca

Quebecor
Péladeau Family
- **Newspapers:** 38 dailies, inc. Sun chain and Ontario's Osprey chain; 3 free dailies (24 hours); 86 weeklies and 15 magazines
- **TV** – Videotron cable
  – Conventional: TVA, Sun TV
  – Specialty: 9 channels
- **Internet:** canoe.ca, jobboom.com (more than 12 sites)

CANADA'S "LARGEST RADIO NETWORK"

Astral Media Inc.
- **TV** – Specialty: 10 channels
  – Pay: 6 channels
- **Radio:** 80 stations across Canada
- **Internet:** TATV

Note: This chart does not include public and public-service media, including CBC/Radio-Canada, TVOntario, Knowledge Network, Télé-Québec, APTN, and Canadian Press, or independents.

The Cable+ Guys. . .

Rogers
- **Cable**
- **TV** – Conventional: Citytv (five stations); OMNI TV in Toronto
  – Specialty: 6 channels
- **Radio:** 45 stations
- **Magazines:** dozens, including *Maclean's, Chatelaine*

Corus/Shaw
- **Cable**
- **TV** – 3 CBC affiliate stations
  – 10 specialty stations
  – 2 pay TV stations
- **Radio:** 53 stations
- **Internet:** corusnouvelles.com
- **Satellite:** Star Choice

Cogeco
- **Cable**
- **TV** – Canal Indigo (32%)
- **Radio:** 2 stations

Waiting to gobble or be gobbled?

Torstar
- **Newspapers:** 5 dailies & 95 community papers (Ont.)
- **Internet:** Toronto.com
– Torstar owns 20% of CTV

Transcontinental
- **Newspapers:** 12 dailies, 125 weeklies/community; 40 magazines

Gesca Ltd. (Power Corp)
- **Newspapers:** 7 French-language dailies (*La Presse*)

Irving (Brunswick News)
- **Newspapers:** all of the English-language daily newspapers in New Brunswick (3) and a handful of weeklies

NewCap Radio
(Newfoundland Capital Corp.)
- **Radio:** 88 stations, mostly small markets

Maritime Broadcasting
- **Radio:** 25 stations in NS, NB, and PEI

Source: Canadian Media Guild. http://www.cmg.ca/Reproduced with permission.

Marlies, and the Air Canada Centre. Rogers also owns the Toronto Blue Jays baseball team, the Rogers Centre, and the Sportsnet broadcaster. The deal, approved by the CRTC in August 2012, highlights how crucial competitive sports and sports franchises are for the profitability of the media industries (CBC News, 2012, May 2). In approving the transaction, CRTC Chairman Jean-Pierre Blais stated that the deal was in the public interest, as it was creating "new home-based sports programming" (Trichor, 2012).

Concerns about media ownership concentration in Canada are not new. In 1970, the Davey Senate Committee on the Mass Media warned that daily newspapers were owned by fewer and fewer owners. The Royal Commission on Newspapers (Kent Commission) reiterated this concern in 1981, at which time the three largest chains controlled 57 percent of the daily circulation. In December 2011 group ownership characterizes newspaper ownership, with the top three groups composed of Sun Media (Quebecor)/Osprey, Postmedia Network Inc. (formerly Canwest), and Médias Transcontinental (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2011). Table 9.2 details these holdings.

In their annual *Communications Monitoring Report* (2011) the CRTC reported that in 2010 the television broadcasting industry delivered over 700 services. The major English-language private conventional companies include BCE (CTV and the A Channel, revenue shares 47 percent), Shaw (Global, revenue share 33 percent), and Rogers (CityTV and Omni, revenue shares 14 percent). In the French-language market the private conventional companies include Quebecor (TVA, revenue share 65 percent) and Remstar (V, revenue share 18 percent). CBC, the national public broadcaster, operates in both the English- and French-language markets. There are also several public provincial broadcasters, such as TVO in Ontario and the Knowledge Network in BC.

In 2010 the radio market industry comprises over 1,200 radio and audio services, with 99 percent of these over the air and 1 percent delivered by **BDUs** (broadcasting distribution undertaking, which can be a cable, satellite, or microwave distributor). Private commercial broadcasters account for 61 percent of radio services, the CBC 8 percent, and 30 percent are from Aboriginal, community, campus, and religious services. The largest English-language private radio operators are Astral, with revenue shares at 21 percent, Corus (16 percent), Rogers (13 percent), BCE (10 percent), and Newcap (7 percent). The largest French-language private radio operators include Astral (44 percent), Corus (22 percent) and Cogeco (17 percent). CBC, the national public broadcaster, operates in both the English- and French-language markets.

It is clear from this brief overview of Canadian media ownership that the terrain shifts dramatically in response to economic and technological trends. Returning to the aforementioned CRTC Diversity of Voices decision, Lise Lareau, president of the Canadian Media Guild, commented that "It doesn't change anything" (Robertson, 2008). The decision "allows the big players to become bigger, and does very little if anything to limit media concentration in Canada," echoed Peter

TABLE 9.2 Canadian Daily Newspaper Ownership

Quebecor/Sun Media/Osprey Media (36)	*Barrie Examiner*
	Beacon-Herald, Stratford
	Brockville Recorder & Times
	Chatham Daily News
	Cornwall Standard-Freeholder
	Daily Graphic, Portage La Prairie
	Daily Miner & News, Kenora
	Daily Observer, Pembroke
	Daily Herald-Tribune, Grande Prairie
	The Daily Press, Timmins
	The Expositor, Brantford
	Fort McMurray Today
	The Intelligence, Belleville
	Kingston Whig-Standard
	Le Journal de Montréal
	Le Journal de Québec
	London Free Press
	Niagara Falls Review
	The North Bay Nuggett
	Northumberlandtoday.com
	The Observer, Sarnia
	Packet & Times, Orillia,
	Peterborough Examiner
	Sault Star
	Sentinel Review, Woodstock
	Simcoe Reformer
	Sudbury Star
	Sun brand: Toronto, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Calgary & Ottawa *Sun*
	Sentinel Review, Woodstock
	St. Catharines Standard
	The Sun Times, Owen Sound
	St. Thomas Times-Journal
	The Tribune, Welland
Postmedia Network Inc. (10)	*Calgary Herald*
	The Gazette, Montreal
	Leader-Post, Regina
	National Post
	Ottawa Citizen
	The Province, Vancouver
	StarPhoenix, Saskatoon
	Vancouver Sun
	Windsor Star

TABLE 9.2 Continued

Transcontinental Inc. (10)	*Amherst Daily News*
	Cape Breton Post
	Evening News, New Glasgow
	The Guardian, Charlottetown
	Journal Pioneer, PEI
	Prince Albert Daily Herald
	Times-Herald Moose Jaw
	Truro Daily News
	The Telegram, St. John's
	Western Star, Corner Brook
Power Corp. of Canada (7)	*Le Droit*, Ottawa/Gatineau
	Le Nouvelliste, Trois Rivieres
	La Presse, Montreal
	Le Quoitidien, Chicoutimi
	Le Soleil, Quebec
	La Tribune, Sherbrooke
	La Voix de l'Est, Granby
Glacier Canadian Newspapers (7)	*Alaska Highway News*, Fort St. John
	Alberni Valley Times, Port Alberni
	The Citizen, Prince George
	Dawson Creek Daily News,
	The Kamloops Daily News
	Nanaimo Daily News
	Times Colonist, Victoria
Torstar (4)	*Guelph Mercury*
	The Hamilton Spectator
	The Record, Grand River Valley
	Toronto Star
Other	Black Press: *Red Deer Advocate*, *The Trail Times*, *Cranbrook Daily Townsman*, *The Daily Bulletin*, Kimberley
	CTVglobemedia: *The Globe and Mail*
	Continental Newspapers Ltd: *Penticton Herald*, *The Daily Courier*, Kelowna; *The Chronicle Journal*, Thunder Bay
	F.P. Canadian Newspapers LP: *Winnipeg Free Press*
	Brandon Sun
	Glacier Canadian Newspapers/Alta Newspaper Group: *Lethbridge Herald*, *Medicine Hat News*, *The Record*, Sherbrooke
	Halifax Herald Inc: *The Chronicle Herald*
	Sing Tao Newspapers Ltd.: *Sing Tao Daily* (50 percent with Torstar)
Independent	*L'Acadie Nouvelle*, Caraquet
	Le Devoir, Montreal
	The Whitehorse Star

Source: From *Canadian Daily Newspaper Ownership* Dec. 2011 <www.newspaperscanada.ca/sites/default/files/Ownership%20Daily%20DECEMBER%202011.pdf> Canadian Newspaper Association.

Murdoch, vice-president of media with the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers union (Trichur, 2008). Their remarks have proved to be prescient, as the current climate of heightened mergers in an era of untrammelled communicative capitalism raises the question of democratic accountability.

A policy concern that has emerged in connection with concentration of media ownership is journalistic freedom. The choice and quality of news can be undermined as controversial topics are deemed too sensitive to explore (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003). Naomi Klein, addressing the ethical implications of journalistic self-censorship, argued that under conglomeration, "the zones where journalists are expected to tread cautiously are also stretching. It becomes awkward to cover not only one's parent company, for fear of being accused of boosterism, but all of their holdings, and their competitors' as well, for fear that it will seem like sour grapes" (Klein, 2000, p. A15). For instance, in 2002 CanWest came under intense criticism from local citizens and national and international newspaper unions for centralizing its editorial policy and in some cases firing editors and columnists who did not conform to ideological prescriptions. The company's actions galvanized local citizens to debate the notion of editorial freedom and media democracy (Shade, 2005). Policy initiatives such as Diversity of Voices seemed expressly positioned to address some of these concerns—even though, according to many, in the end they failed to do so.

Media labour has also attracted attention. With cross-media platforms, what is the responsibility of management to workers in compensating for their intellectual property that can be printed in a daily newspaper and then repurposed to a website? Can employees working in one division of a conglomerate legally do work for another division during a labour dispute? These issues were raised in the longest media strike in a decade, when the Journal de Quebec workers walked out on Quebecor, with the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) seeking a more balanced and equitable control of its work as the company reorganized for an increasingly digital environment (Surridge & Malhomme, 2008).

Another important policy controversy is foreign ownership in the broadcasting and telecommunications sectors. For as long as there have been broadcasting and telecommunications markets, Canadian regulators and the Canadian public have had concerns about who should be allowed to own the companies that provide these services and fill our airwaves with programming. In recent years there is growing support in some quarters for opening Canadian markets to foreign owned companies. In 2011, the federal government successfully challenged the CRTC's decision to deny an Egyptian-based mobile phone company the right to sell services in Canada (CBC, 2011), as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. And in 2012, the Canadian government announced plans to lift foreign restrictions altogether for telecommunications companies with less than 10 percent of market share by revenue (CBC, 2012, March 14). Once again, what is at stake depends in large part on whom you ask.

Debates about foreign ownership generally reflect tensions between three dominant stakeholders: industry organizations, the government, and civil society representatives. In Europe and in North America, foreign ownership restrictions tend to reflect three broad areas of concern (Globerman, 1995). The first reflects

restrictions intended to protect sovereign power and the ability to control what happens within a national territory by (i) protecting services important to national defence, (ii) maintaining political leverage over telecommunications providers; and (iii) protecting public monopolies. The second set of concerns reflects attitudes toward economic outcomes with policies intended to (i) protect incumbent advantages for domestic companies, (ii) promote regional development, and (iii) preserve domestic monopolies. And third, restrictions are sometimes justified in terms of reciprocity in response to policies restricting foreign ownership in other jurisdictions. We can add to this list the policy objectives that emerge from concerns about **cultural sovereignty** and the degree to which cultural content should reflect the histories, experiences, and concerns of communities within the geographic boundaries of Canada (Raboy, 1990).

It is difficult to argue against the importance of public access to cultural content that reflects local, regional, and national concerns and experiences. And yet, policies that promote and protect cultural sovereignty have come under increasing criticism from various stakeholders who prefer market-based justifications over regulation to address these kinds of concerns. There are no simple solutions. At best, we can identify the range of key issues to consider when questions of foreign ownership restrictions arise in a Canadian context, as detailed in Table 9.3.

With so few media companies dominating so much of the Canadian mediascape, should Canadians be worried about who owns Canadian culture? In an intervention to the CRTC about vertical integration, Karen Wirsig of the Canadian Media Guild and Cathy Edwards of CACTUS (Canadian Association of Community Television Users and Stations) expressed concerns that "broadcasters that are not part of an integrated ownership group—CBC/Radio-Canada, provincial broadcasters, community stations, independent private stations—stand to lose in this brave new world of vertical integration and commercial negotiations" (Wirsig & Edwards, 2011, p. 3).

TABLE 9.3 Considerations Regarding Foreign Ownership in Broadcasting and Telecommunications

Political sovereignty	National defence
	Political leverage over corporations
	Protecting public monopolies
Cultural sovereignty	Problems with national identity and social exclusions (see below)
	Diversity of voices that reflect Canadian demographics
	Developing Canadian cultural expertise and talent
Public interest and democratic governance	Quality local, regional, and national information
	Diversity of stakeholder interests reflected
	Maintaining accountability of public and private institutions and public officials
Economic	Encourage regional development
	Protect incumbent advantages for domestically owned companies
	Consumer prices
Reciprocity jurisdictions	In response to foreign ownership restrictions in other jurisdictions

What then are strategies for safeguarding Canadian sovereignty that Canadian citizens can enact? Reflecting on the impact of the News Corporation hacking scandal, discussed above, Robert Hackett and David Skinner (2012) argue that such media controversies, albeit egregious and detrimental to the public interest, can educate and mobilize the public to counter through responsive policy reactions designed to strengthen media democracy principles. The media reform movement is one example of advocacy for media policies and institutions in the public interest.

MEDIA REFORM IN CANADA

The regulation of media in Canada has a built-in role for the Canadian public. The CRTC oversees the creation of media policy through a process that invites public participation and comment on significant policy changes. Public hearings can attract thousands of submissions. The Diversity of Voices hearings in 2004 received close to 2,000 submissions; policy review hearings for community television in 2010 received over 3,000 submissions; and proposed changes to internet fees for consumers (i.e., usage-based billing) also in 2010, were stopped in part through widespread participation of the Canadian public (a petition against the changes was signed by more than 500,000 Canadians presented by citizen's group OpenMedia). Public involvement is a cornerstone of media policy in Canada.

This does not mean, however, that the policy formation process in Canada is without critics. The Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, for example (an all-party Parliamentary committee), in its 2003 report *Our Cultural Sovereignty,* expressed concern about conflicts of interest on the part of CRTC commissioners, noting that critics "worry that a revolving door exists which allows those serving on the Commission to come from industry or law firms that deal with the Commission and then go back to industry after their terms are over" (Canada, 2003, p. 568). Citizens groups have also criticized the public hearing process as being onerous and requiring significant commitments of time, resources, and expertise largely out of reach for most Canadians. Throughout the evolution of the Canadian media industries, media reform organizations have emerged to address these kinds of deficits by bringing together scholars, activists, and media professionals with different levels of expertise in an effort to coordinate policy submissions in the public interest. The challenge for these groups, however, has always been sustainability and funding; while industry groups can finance regulatory interventions and contract research with the profits they accrue from their businesses, public interest groups in Canada continue to struggle to finance their efforts and rely on volunteer support. In response to these concerns, in 2012 the CRTC announced the creation of the Broadcasting Participation Fund designed specifically to help public-interest and consumer groups offset the costs of participating in the CRTC's broadcasting proceedings.

The media reform movement in Canada comprises diverse public interest organizations and citizen-based initiatives that aim to conceptualize a vision to reform

and reframe media institutions and policies for broader values vital for social well-being and democratic communication. Shade (2011) states that media reform "refers to a social movement, citizen actions countering encroaching media consolidation and commercialization, and policy interventions to protect, promote, and promulgate the public interest" (p. 147) and is "characterized by four often overlapping elements: media criticism, education and literacy; creating, producing, and distributing independent media; media policy activism; and media justice" (p. 150). In the mid-2000s in the United States, buoyed by foundation support and a lively community of activists and momentous policy victories with respect to media ownership caps and low-power FM radio, the movement consisted of an array of groups concerned with media concentration, racial justice, children's rights, gender equity, and digital policy issues such as net neutrality, broadband access, and copyright and digital rights management. Canadian media reform activities coalesced around similar issues, with efforts to reframe policies for the public interest played out in Senate committees, and through Industry Canada, the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, and, most intensely, CRTC hearings. Table 9.4 provides a summary of some key Canadian media reform organizations and policy moments.

Labour organizations have also focused on media reform campaigns: the 6,000 member-led Canadian Media Guild has in recent years drawn attention to the impact of strategic cuts in the media industry, (http://www.cmg.ca) and the Communications, Energy & Paperworkers Union concentrates on the impact of increased foreign ownership in the telecom sector (http://www.cep.ca). The gender dynamics of labour in the media industries was the focus of a 2010 conference held in Vancouver; Women in View raised awareness of the paucity of empirical data about the status of women in the film and digital media field as producers, directors, and content creators, and highlighted systemic barriers toward equity (Murray & Beale, 2011). The Toronto-held Making Media Public Conference in 2010 also analyzed the state of labour in the Canadian mediascape, drawing attention to the decline in funding for public service media, the need to improve working conditions for media workers, and the need for policies to protect the intellectual property of freelance journalists working in a media system that digitizes and repurposes their work across different media platforms (Cohen et al., 2011).

PUBLIC BROADCASTING, CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP, AND DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

Media convergence, concentration of ownership, and concern for accountable governance raise questions about Canada's public culture. How can we best ensure that it reflects the public interest values of a democratic society?

The Canadian *Broadcasting Act* is the legislative framework governing broadcast media. Section 3 of the act states that Canada's broadcasting system is made

TABLE 9.4 Media Reform Organizations

Organization	Key People	Policy Issues	Objectives and Results
Canadian Radio League, 1930s	Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt	Lobby for the implementation of the 1929 Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird Commission) to advocate for public radio in Canada. What could make it distinct from U.S. radio?	The Canadian *Broadcasting Act* of 1932 created the CRBC (Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission). This established public broadcasting and eventually the CBC.
Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, founded 1985 http://www.friends.ca	Ian Morrison, spokesperson Support: 66,000 individual volunteer donations; contributions from the CRTC or organizations affiliated with licensees are not accepted.	Defends public, private, and community broadcasting.	Monitors the media, commissions independent research, prepares briefs and CRTC policy submissions. Advocates for CBC funding, influenced direction of *Broadcasting Act* of 1991 and Canadian Heritage study on broadcasting policy.
Canadian Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, founded mid-1990s	Coalition of academics, activists, and labour/community groups, such as Council of Canadians.	Media concentration and media diversity.	Promoted legislation to address ownership concentration; recommended limiting and reversing levels of media ownership concentration; providing measures to promote diversity in media ownership; and encouraging social responsibility in the media.
Media Action Média (MAM) (formerly MediaWatch), founded 1981. http://www.media-action-media.com	Founded initially under auspices of National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Then independent organization, membership comprising industry professionals, academics, students, and citizens. Now virtual board.	Improve media representations and equity of women in the media industries through research and policy.	Development of CRTC guidelines on sex-role stereotyping guidelines as a condition of licence; undertaking media content analyses on sexism in newspapers, television, magazines, and radio; working with the Canadian Advertising Foundation on the revision of sex-role stereotyping guidelines; and serving as the Canadian representative for the Global Media Monitoring Campaigns (run by the WACC). Currently reports on diversity in Canadian television drama; increasing women's voices in opeds through Informed Opinions.

TABLE 9.4 Continued

Organization	Key People	Policy Issues	Objectives and Results
OpenMedia.ca (formerly Campaign for Democratic Media) 2007 http://openmedia.ca	Steve Anderson, executive director. National, nonprofit, and nonpartisan media reform organization. Membership: network of civil society, consumer, labour and media advocacy organizations, grassroots activists, and academics.	Increase public awareness and informed participation in Canadian media, cultural, information, and telecommunication policy formation. Campaigns advocate for an open internet.	"Stop Big Media" campaign re: 2007 CRTC Diversity of Voices hearing. SaveOurNet.ca campaign on net neutrality, 2010. Petitioning CRTC for licensing of English-language service of Al Jazeera international television news network, 2010. StoptheMeter.ca campaign against usage-based billing, compelling the CRTC to revisit its original decision, 2011. Stop Online Spying, against Bill C-30, a cyber-surveillance bill, 2012.

up of three constituting elements: private media, public broadcasting, and community media. The act sets out goals and objectives for all broadcast media, many of which are specifically aimed at protecting some element of the public interest (See Appendix A). The degree to which these policy objectives are realized is a matter for debate, but the intent behind them suggests a continuing belief in the importance of public interest when making decisions about broadcasting in Canada.

Public Service Broadcasting

The creation of a national broadcaster is one of the ways that the government of Canada has tried to protect public interests within the Canadian broadcasting system. The CBC was created in 1932 to protect Canadian culture from the threat of American radio networks whose programs at the time dominated Canadian airwaves. The CBC's mandate, according to then Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, was to foster "national consciousness" and "national unity" and to ensure that all Canadians, regardless of "class or place" could have "equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of radio broadcasting" (Romanow, 2005). Today, the CBC has grown into a large multiplatform media network encompassing two national television services, 50 regional television stations, two national radio services, and online and satellite services that reach global audiences. CBC's services are offered in English, French, eight Aboriginal languages, and seven languages for international audiences. In its 2010–11 *Annual Report*, the CBC reported its English-language radio audience at 14.7 percent of the national market, and its English-language prime-time television at 9.3 percent; for French-language radio, CBC's share was 19.5 percent and 19.9 percent for prime-time Télévision de Radio-Canada (all figures from BBM Canada). CBC.ca and Radio-Canada.ca reported more than 7.5 million unique visitors per month (CBC Radio Canada, 2011). The CBC continues to be a relevant force in Canadian culture.

Many argue that public-service broadcasting is "a necessary democratic agency" that needs to be invigorated through sustained public support (McChesney, 1999). This is founded on the belief that public broadcasting can fulfill a cultural role that markets are unable or unwilling to provide. Others, however, question the legitimacy of public broadcasting, especially within a context of increasingly disaggregated and global audiences in a digital world.

These questions have had particular resonance recently as the CBC/Radio Canada prepares for its first licence renewal hearings in more than a decade (the hearings are scheduled for November 2012 (CBC, 2012, May 18). The CBC has come under increasing pressure from private-sector stakeholders and conservative detractors. Through a series of high-profile and costly access-to-information requests, Quebecor, one of the largest private media groups in Canada, provoked the CBC into releasing more financial information than required under existing legislation (Allick, 2011). And in 2012, the federal Conservative government made comparatively severe budget cuts to the CBC, decreasing funding by $115 million over a three-year period (CBC, 2012, April 4).

Some of the difficulty in coming to terms with public broadcasting in the 21st century reflects changing expectations about its role. There has always been an expectation that public broadcasting serve in the "public interest," but what this means exactly shifts over time in response to changing public concerns and who the relevant stakeholders are in any given period. The idea of "public interest" can point to policy equanimities—for example, the levels of procedural fairness at work in particular broadcasting policies, how representative they are of public opinion, and the degree to which they articulate commonalities or conciliatory compromise between competing actors (Pal & Maxwell, 2004). "Public interest" can also refer to specific outcomes—from the nationalist aspirations of urban, English-speaking residents of central Canada in the mid-20th century; to a desire for technical and bureaucratic modes of functioning in the 1950s and 1960s; to the accommodation of forms of public discontent in the 1970s; to an emphasis on consumer choice and a neoliberal tendency toward deregulation in the late-20th and early 21st centuries (McCauley, 2003; Raboy, 1990). Civil society advocates in the communications sector have also advanced various and differing claims on behalf of the public, including universal access, privacy protection, and the creation of Canadian content (Shade, 2008); opportunities for self-expression (Napoli & Aslama, 2011); job creation, literacy, health benefits, public safety, and civic participation (Dailey & Powell, 2011); and public broadcasting as an antidote to the power of wealth over the airwaves (Basen, 2003). The "public interest" represents a discursive territory where public 'will' competes for legitimacy with the market demands of the private sector and the regulatory objectives of the state.

One of the hurdles for proponents of public broadcasting in the 21st century is criticism of some of the traditional justifications for state-run media. For example, national broadcasting is generally lauded as a tool for creating and maintaining national identity, but whose identity often reflects social inclusions/exclusions based on race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, and language (Aula, 2000; Clarke, 1997; Dhruvarajan, 2000; Gregg, 2006; Jiwani, 1998). Technological changes are also challenging traditional justifications for public broadcasting. In an increasingly networked and global cultural milieu, cultural protectionism based on terrestrial borders appears in some respects anachronistic. These questions have yet to be resolved.

Another factor to consider in assessing the role of public broadcasting in the 21st century is the failure of market-based strategies in and of themselves to adequately address certain cultural needs. Without regulatory intervention, for example, private broadcasting markets have consistently failed to provide reliable quality local news coverage to all but the largest, urban markets (CRTC, 2009, July 6). Similarly, the high cost of developing Canadian television drama has consistently proven to be an obstacle to its production by private-sector stakeholders without government subsidy or tax incentives. Left to market mechanisms alone, it isn't clear if there would be opportunities for developing Canadian cultural expertise in these areas, or how well the broadcasting system would serve rural, coastal, and northern communities. In recognizing these failures, public interest advocates argue that investing in public broadcasting is one of the ways Canadians can invest in democratic futures. For example, cultural policies that improve public access to reliable information serve democratic goals that are hard to value in market terms (e.g., the provision of reliable and relevant information to citizens making political decisions). Public broadcasting can also play an essential role: in the protection and preservation of cultural memory and heritage; in encouraging diversity of opinions in political discussions; in fostering the development of Canadian talent and expertise; in helping to achieve social justice objectives; and in promoting the accountability of both public and private institutions. These are all worthy objectives, and they elude easy assessment in market terms. Any appraisal of the role of public broadcasting and its continued relevance in Canadian society must take these issues into account or risk ignoring the profound and changing ways cultural production and consumption shape democratic outcomes.

TECHNOPOLES, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Concerns reflecting the changing expectations for public broadcasting in the 21st century draw attention to more fundamental questions about the importance of public participation in cultural environments. The excitement over digital, networked, and increasingly global cultural and economic flows often obscures their dependence on the material locations and historic conditions on which digital information networks depend. Labour, finance, infrastructure, managerial expertise, and institutional capacity are all required to recreate and maintain what Canadian communications scholar Vincent Mosco calls "technopoles," locations where technical capacities (in relation to global, digital networks for the exchange of information and commerce) have outstripped citizenship capacities in their social importance (Mosco, 1997). Technopoles often emerge in what Saskia Sassen calls "global cities" where, among other things, pools of inexpensive and often socially and politically vulnerable labour can be accessed by those with managerial control over capital to provide the services on which the infrastructures of information depend (Sassen, 2006). The paradox, of course, is that while emergent global information networks offer opportunities for expanding forms of cultural participation, they depend in part on these domains where economic growth supersedes all other social values.

As we saw in a previous section, convergence and technological changes are transforming the mediascape. Big media is getting bigger, more centralized, more hierarchical. Concentration of media ownership is on the increase. But another trend has emerged in connection with new technologies—an unprecedented proliferation of collaborative cultural production through decentralized networks of individuals and groups. As Henry Jenkins (2006) writes: "Patterns of media consumption have been profoundly altered by a succession of new media technologies which enable average citizens to participate in the archiving, annotation, appropriation, transformation and re-circulation of media content" (p. 554). Digital media and new technologies have created infrastructures that allow increased participation in culture through fragmented, bottom-up collaborative efforts, and some scholars have argued that these emerging networks are transforming "the very foundation of how liberal markets and liberal democracies have co-evolved for two centuries" (Benkler, 2006, p. 1) These changes register most loudly in the ways that citizen-led cultural engagement is transforming political landscapes.

Discussions about media ownership and influence over cultural outcomes must take into account the kinds of "ownerships" exercised by individuals and groups through blogging, independent film and documentary, online social networking, streaming video, podcasts, etc., and how these disaggregated cultural efforts are influencing Canada's social and political reality. If big media is one side of the digital coin, then citizen's media is the other.

What makes this significant in democratic terms is the nexus between culture and wider social and political transformations—what some communications scholars refer to as "cultural citizenship" (Stanley, 2006). Cultural citizenship represents the opposite tendency to that of technopoles and describes how cultural participation increases influence over social and political realities. Cultural citizenship, for example, links culture with the political importance of identity. Projects such as the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (see Chapter 18) allow historically marginalized or excluded communities to assert control over how they are represented in public forums. Cultural participation also brings people together—to share ideas, to celebrate, to express themselves, to create, to be entertained and to learn—which

builds networks among strangers and creates opportunities for collective responses to social and political problems. A good example of this is the Dominion Media Co-ops, which maintain a network of websites across Canada (locally based in Halifax, Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver) where thousands of contributors share citizen journalism, opinion, commentary, video, photos, and audio documentaries, and participate in ongoing conversations about issues of public relevance in Canada and around the world, and often engage in strategic conversations about changing political outcomes (see http://www.mediacoop.ca). Opportunities for collaboration in turn increase levels of social trust, which are essential for establishing senses of belonging and acceptance (Stanley, 2006).

The consumption of culture and its economic outcomes are one aspect of cultural reality in Canadian society, but economic factors describe only a small part of what happens when citizens participate in the technologically diverse mediascapes that make up their day-to-day cultural lives. Cultural citizenship expresses at a more fundamental level the implications of not only media ownership, but also ownership over the processes that give us our collective sense of what it means to be Canadian.

CONCLUSION

Media concentration and cross-media ownership raise important questions about the lack of diversity in news content, a lessening of local coverage, and paucity in the diversity of sources. Are Canadian media providing quality news coverage of international political and social issues? How have economic pressures in Canadian media companies influenced the autonomy and professionalism of journalists? Do convergence and globalization create opportunities for the Canadian media industry, or do they threaten Canadian sovereignty and cultural diversity?

The high levels of concentrated ownership in Canada, some of the highest in the Western world, should have Canadians thinking about the answers to these questions. Convergence, consolidation, deregulation, and globalization continue to be influential trends in the emerging social and economic realities of the 21st century in Canada and elsewhere. Canada's public culture is dominated by large commercial media companies that play an increasingly central role in every aspect of modern, technological society—not least of which is in the formation and exercise of public accountability in democratic terms.

As this chapter highlights, movements and strategies have emerged with an interest in protecting public interest in culture. The CBC, Canada's public broadcaster, has a mandate to nurture Canadian culture. And Canadians have turned to policy reform as a way to ensure public interest concerns are taken into consideration when laws and regulations are formed. Important public issues such as **net neutrality** and the auctioning off of radio spectrum, continue to be unresolved territories where media governance is pitted against private and public interests, with policymakers in between. What is at stake, ultimately, in all of these endeavours, is the degree to which Canadians are allowed to participate in the ongoing formation of Canadian society.

Citizen as consumer is one of the ways that Canadians participate in culture. Undeniably, the ways markets negotiate cultural exchange (i.e., the supply and demand of cultural goods) has a profound impact on our daily lives. But a focus on only consumption obscures other important cultural processes. Canadians *making* culture are involved in shaping Canadian society based on their experiences, histories, and interests. Participation in culture helps determine and define social reality on a day-to-day basis and allows the public to play an important role in exercising "ownership" over Canada's democracy.

Thanks to David Skinner for his astute comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

APPENDIX A

THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING ACT, SECTION 3

(i) the Canadian broadcasting system should be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians;

(ii) the Canadian broadcasting system should provide through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty;

(iii) the Canadian broadcasting system should serve to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada;

(iv) the Canadian broadcasting system should encourage the development of Canadian expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity, by displaying Canadian talent in entertainment programming and by offering information and analysis concerning Canada and other countries from a Canadian point of view;

(v) the Canadian broadcasting system should through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society;

(vi) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should be varied and comprehensive, providing a balance of information, enlightenment and entertainment for men, women and children of all ages, interests and tastes; be drawn from local, regional, national and international sources; include educational and community programs; provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to be exposed to the expression of differing views on matters of public concern, and include a significant contribution from the Canadian independent production sector;

(vii) the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as the national public broadcaster, should provide radio and television services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains;

(viii) the programming provided by the Corporation should be predominantly and distinctively Canadian, reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions, actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression, be in English and in French, reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities, strive to be of equivalent quality in English and in French, contribute to shared national consciousness and identity, reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada.

QUESTIONS

1. Reflect on the policy objectives for the *Broadcasting Act*. Do you agree that these are important objectives? Do you see them reflected in the television that you watch? The radio that you listen to? What goals do you think are missing?
2. Do you think that Canada has a distinct culture? Try to identify specific attributes of Canadian culture and list them. Do you think that these are reflected in public service broadcasting? What *should* a public broadcaster in Canada do? What shouldn't it do?
3. Thinking about the difference between a consumer of culture and a culture maker, identify at least three ways that you consume culture and three ways that you make culture. How are they different? How are they similar?
4. Identify three social identities. Where do they come from? Are they positive or negative? Think of ways that individual Canadians could change the social identities that you identified. In what ways is media ownership significant to your answer?
5. Can you think of one or more examples from your own life where participation in a cultural process (online or otherwise) has led to collaboration, increased social networks, or some kind of group effort? Describe. In what ways do you think your group activities contributed to or influenced Canadian culture?

NOTE

1. For more on "MurdochGate" see a timeframe of events at *The New York Times* (2011, November 29), Anatomy of the News International scandal. Retrieved August 2, 2012, from http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/09/01/

magazine/05tabloid-timeline.html?ref=europe; see also a visual of the players at *Bloomberg Businessweek* (2011), News Corp.'s tangled web. Retrieved August 2, 2012, from http://www.businessweek.com/europe/graphic-news-corps-tangled-web-07142011-gfx.html

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