FROM PUBLIC INTEREST TO CREATORS' INTEREST:

AN EXAMINATION OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE SHIFTS IN CANADIAN
BROADCASTING: 2003-2017

by

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ABSTRACT

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE SHIFTS IN CANADIAN BROADCASTING: 2003-2017

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This thesis investigates the policy discourse shifts in Canadian broadcasting that occurred between 2003 and 2017 by examining two government consultation processes about Canadian broadcasting in the digital age: the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report, and the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. These two consultation processes are compared through a policy document analysis, analyzing government policy documents and stakeholders' submissions to the consultations. Through this analysis, it was found that, although both reports stressed the necessity of policy reform, three key shifts in the policy discourse were identified: a shift from distinctly Canadian to internationally viable, a shift from cultural good to economic good, and a shift from public interest to creators' interest. Because of these shifts, although these reports addressed similar problems about broadcasting in the digital age, the reports had considerably different outcomes regarding their policy recommendations.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wonderful mother, father, and brother for their unwavering support

throughout all my endeavours.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

SETTING THE STAGE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Since television emerged in the 1940s and 1950s, broadcasting has consistently been disrupted by new technologies. From the introduction of cable to satellite, to pay and specialty television services, these innovations have introduced new ways for Canadians to watch television and new challenges for Canadian policymakers to adapt broadcasting policy to new cultural and technological norms. Throughout Canada's history, there have been many reviews of broadcasting policy, often initiated alongside new technological developments in broadcasting. From the 1929 Aird Commission on Radio Broadcasting, to the 1951 Massey Commission, to the 1957 Fowler Commission, to the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force on Broadcasting Policy in 1986, the Canadian government has on numerous occasions had the ability to reshape broadcasting policy in Canada (Raboy, 1990, pp. 22, 95, 119, 306). In each review, a committee came forward with their recommendations on how to best improve the Canadian broadcasting system. As broadcasting moved into the 21st century, the Canadian government began to focus on how to address broadcasting policy in light of new digital technologies.

To show how the government addressed broadcasting policy in the digital age, this thesis will begin with the highlights of broadcasting policy debates and discussions so far in the 21st century. To begin, on October 17, 2000, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage met and agreed to the following:

> That the Committee undertake a study on the future, and the public interest of Canadian Media in light of recent corporate mergers in the Television, Newspaper, Internet and Cablevision sectors. This would include a review of the regulatory framework of the

Broadcast Act and explore options for government to define and protect Canadians in the face of new mega-media conglomerates (Canada, 2000).

Delayed by an election, the Standing Committee, led by Committee Chair MP Clifford Lincoln, was able to move forward with this study on February 27, 2001, where they committed to studying the "health of the Canadian broadcasting system and how successful it has been in effectively meeting the objectives in the *Broadcasting Act*" (Canada, 2001b). This study formally began in April 2001, and the Committee consulted with Canadians and major stakeholders until December 2002. Specifically, the Committee wanted to hear from Canadians about both "the present state of the Canadian broadcasting system" and the "future directions for the Canadian broadcasting" system, listing the following themes to focus on:

- Context
- Cultural Diversity
- Broadcasting Policy
- Ownership

- Public/Private Sector
- Production/Distribution (Canada, 2001g).

In total, through this consultation process, the Committee received almost 150 briefs from organizations as well as individuals and traveled nationwide to conduct 28 site visits and to hold public hearings (Canada, 2003, p. 801-837). Over 250 organizations, government departments, and individuals presented to the Committee at these hearings about the state of the Canadian broadcasting system (Canada, 2003c, p. 801-837). Following the conclusion of these consultations, a draft report was brought to the Committee in February 2003 (Canada, 2003). Once the report was finalized, it was brought to the House of Commons on June 11, 2003 (Canada, 2003c, p. 821; Canada, 2003d).

This final report, titled "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" was described as "a new departure in Canadian broadcasting and contains new ideas

and what the Committee views as a bold new vision for the future of the system" (Canada, 2003a). Also known as the Lincoln Report (named after Committee Chair Clifford Lincoln), this report is a thorough 872-page survey of the Canadian broadcasting system. Not only does the Committee make 97 recommendations for the future of Canadian broadcasting, but it also provides an extensive overview of the past and present state of Canadian broadcasting (Canada, 2003a; 2003c). The full list of 97 recommendations can be found in Appendix A.

In the introduction, the report states that it aimed to "determine whether the ideals and objectives set out in the *Broadcasting Act* of 1991 were being met and whether the Act itself was in need of reform" (Canada, 2003c, p. 3). It is here where the Committee introduces the key foci of this report: The *Broadcasting Act* and the system's governing mechanisms; Canadian programming; public and not-for-profit broadcasting; the private sector; community, local and regional broadcasting; and ownership (Canada 2003c, pp. 7-14). The report provides an in-depth analysis of each topic, providing quotations and insights from participants in the consultation and, ultimately, providing the recommendations of the Committee. This report recognized the rapid pace of technological change in Canadian broadcasting and believed that government involvement would be "central to ensuring that Canadians have a wide choice of Canadian programming" (Canada, 2003c, pp. 15, 609). Therefore, the Committee recommended a substantial change to the funding mechanisms in place and recommended that mandates and reporting requirements be more clearly defined, stating that "the current structure of government is poorly equipped to handle the challenges that the immediate future will bring" (Canada, 2003c, pp. 610-613). In this report, the Committee states that "if we accept the status quo, we risk squandering what has been gained over 70 years" (Canada, 2003c, p. 613).

The government responded to this report later in 2003, where the government stated that they would "take steps" to realigning its regulatory mechanisms and agreed that mandates needed to be updated and clarified (Canadian Heritage, 2003, p. 2). However, the response was lacking in firm commitments to change, with most comments consisting of the government's recognizing of the issues addressed by the Committee and their willingness to potentially investigate them further. Also, the government noted that the response addressed "many – but not all – of the recommendations in the report" (Canadian Heritage, 2003, letter p. 1). This lead to the Committee requesting a second "more detailed" response to this report after Prime Minister Paul Martin took Office in 2004 (Canada, 2004). This response was provided in 2005, where the government provided a recommendation-by-recommendation response, stating that "the Government's action plan should put at the forefront answering the needs of Canadians" (Canadian Heritage, 2005, p. 6). They ultimately found that the *Broadcasting Act* continues to serve its objectives well and that a "major review of mandates" for broadcasting organizations is not required (Canadian Heritage, 2005, pp. 5, 12-14). Again, most of their responses were commitments to further explore topics rather than firm commitments to legislative and policy change. As indicated in this government response, the Martin government did not move forward with any amendments to the *Broadcasting Act*.

The Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage did continue to study issues about broadcasting during Prime Minister Martin's tenure, however. Specifically, the Committee released two reports on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), requesting to create an independent task force to review the CBC's mandate "in light of the new media environment and technological advances" and asking the government to "tighten its policies in broadcasting…so that Canada entirely controls broadcasting in radio and television on its territory" (Canada, 2005a;

2005b). However, considering the relatively short tenure of the Martin government (February-May 2004 and October 2004-November 2005), ultimately, there was not much time for the government or the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage to accomplish much reform on broadcasting policy during this time. Therefore, the government did not follow through with most of the recommendations from the Lincoln Report and the subsequent broadcasting reports from the Standing Committee. Ultimately, the Lincoln Report and its 97 recommendations were not revisited.

The Right Honourable Stephen Harper became the Prime Minister of Canada on April 3, 2006, and held this position until August 2, 2015, as the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada. During this period, the government, Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) released many policy decisions and reports about broadcasting policy in Canada. First, during Stephen Harper's tenure, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage conducted multiple studies around the future of broadcasting policy in Canada, although none that compared in size or scale to the Lincoln Report. Specifically, the Committee presented reports to the House of Commons on the Canadian Television Fund, the future of the CBC, local and community broadcasting, emerging media, as well as private television and new media platforms (Canada, 2007b; 2008b; 2009b; 2011a; 2011b). In these reports, the Standing Committee made recommendations to ensure "stable, multi-year and predictable" funding for the CBC, increasing funding to for the Canada Media Fund, to "examine the growing emergence of non-Canadian broadcast players in the new digital realm," among many others (Canada, 2009b, p. 32; Canada 2011a, p. 44; Canada, 2011b, p. 12). Although some of these Committee reports received government responses, these responses also

lacked firm commitments to implementing the recommendations laid out in these reports (Canada, 2007a; Canada 2008a; Canada 2009a).

Another significant event in broadcasting policy that occurred during this time was the CRTC hearing into the renewal of the new media exemption order in 2009. This exemption order was created in 1999 which exempted new media broadcasting undertakings (which encompasses online broadcasters) from regulations set out in the *Broadcasting Act* (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC], 1999). This new media exemption order had been in place since then, with some minor amendments made since then. After consulting with media stakeholders in 2009, it was decided by the CRTC that the new media exemption order would stay in place and that online broadcasters would continue to be exempt from *Broadcasting Act* regulations. Specifically, the CRTC stated that it "does not consider that broadcasting in new media currently pose a threat to traditional broadcasting licensees' ability to meet their obligation" and that instead new media is used in a complementary manner (CRTC, 2009). This new media exemption order continues to be in force today, as it was again renewed in 2012, now called the "exemption order for digital media broadcasting undertakings" (CRTC, 2012).

In the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage's report on private television ownership and new media platforms, the Committee recommended that the CRTC (2011) investigate the "growing emergence of non-Canadian broadcasting players in the new digital realm" (para. 7). Also, a group of 35 anonymous executives from the Canadian "distribution, telecommunications, broadcasting, production and creative sectors" called the "Over-the-top Services Working Group" published a letter in the Globe and Mail at around the same time in 2011 (Gourd, 2011). In this letter, the working group demanded that the CRTC follow through with this Committee recommendation to have a hearing and stated their concern that OTT services like Netflix, which

had just launched in Canada in September 2010, were "becoming a significant presence in the domestic market" (Gourd, 2011). Based on these factors, the CRTC decided to conduct a "fact-finding exercise" about the over-the-top (OTT) programming services in Canada in 2011. Following this exercise, the CRTC (2011) believed that "there has been increasing evidence that broadcasting in new media may have an impact on the Canadian broadcasting system in the near future" (para. 2). Although this proceeding was merely a fact-finding exercise and thus no policy decisions were made based on it, this exercise showed the increasing discontent from the Canadian media industries with the government's inaction and lack of regulation of online television services.

The CRTC launched one of their most substantial reviews of broadcasting policy in 2013 with their "Let's Talk TV" consultations. Launched on October 24, 2013, this consultation was a three-phase process to consult with Canadians about the future of television. Through this consultation process, "Let's Talk TV" reached over 10,000 Canadians who provided their input and insights into this matter (CRTC, 2014b; 2014c). The CRTC made its final decisions from the Let's Talk TV proceedings in early 2015. These decisions included lifting simultaneous substitution from the Super Bowl, relaxing Canadian content quotas, and mandating pick and pay and "skinny basic" television packages (CRTC, 2015c; 2015d; 2015e; 2015f). Considering that the proceeding was to discuss the future of television, the focus of these decisions was primarily on changing the traditional television system, with no decisions made regarding online television, other than the proposed exemption for "hybrid VOD services" which would exempt internet streaming services like CraveTV and the (now non-existent) Shomi (CRTC, 2014a). Although a strong opposition, including most of the Canadian media industry – voiced their concerns with OTT services in Canada during this hearing, the CRTC's decisions also appeared to be a decision

to not investigate potential reform of broadcasting policy further considering new internet technologies.

Although the focus of Let's Talk TV was primarily on traditional television, that does not mean that online television was not discussed. One of the critical issues that arose was the idea of a "Netflix tax" which would impose a tax on Netflix and similar online broadcasters. The idea of a Netflix tax has taken multiple forms over the past few years, recommending that online broadcasters meet the same requirements that are in place for traditional broadcasters. Some suggested that online broadcasters charge provincial/federal taxes like the GST/HST, and some suggested that online broadcasters be required to make contributions to fund Canadian content and/or the Canada Media Fund. This became a political issue with Stephen Harper announcing, during the Let's Talk TV public proceedings, that the government would "oppose any tax on services like Netflix and YouTube" (Bradshaw, 2014). This ultimately forced the CRTC to take this potential policy instrument off the table, even though most Canadian media stakeholders were asking for online broadcasting services to be regulated. Further, when the election campaigning for the 2015 Canadian federal election began, the idea of a "Netflix tax" became a campaign issue. At this time, each party leader committed to not imposing a "Netflix tax" on online broadcasters, as it would be an additional cost to Canadians (Mas, 2015). This idea of a Netflix tax quickly became an almost toxic idea that politicians could not consider because of the potential backlash from Canadians about increasing the price of services that millions of Canadians use.

The Department of Industry, on April 4, 2014, launched Digital Canada 150, which Harper described as a document that "sets out a vision of what Canada can achieve by the time we celebrate our 150th anniversary, in 2017, and beyond" (Government of Canada, 2014, p. 3). This digital strategy was more centred on telecommunications issues, focusing on internet connectivity,

internet security, innovation, and digital government (Government of Canada, 2015, pp. 4-16). However, there was also a small section in this strategy focused on Canadian content, where the government affirmed that "recognizing that arts, culture and heritage are more important than ever in a multilingual, multinational era of instant online communication" (Government of Canada, 2015, p. 17). Most of the new commitments the government made in this section were not about broadcasting, and instead covered various topics like the Canada Book and Music Funds, national archives, and museums. However, Digital Canada 150 mentions Let's Talk TV and their commitment to hold a "Discoverability Summit" to help viewers find Canadian content online. Therefore, it appears that, through the tenure of Stephen Harper, although there was an increasing emphasis on the digital shift, this was not seen extensively in broadcasting policy, with very little change occurring when given the opportunity to address broadcasting in the digital age.

The Right Honourable Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party of Canada took power in October 2015, and this government introduced a large-scale exploration of broadcasting and Canadian culture early on in their term. In April 2016, the Minister of Canadian Heritage, Melanie Joly, announced that, regarding cultural and media policy, "everything's on the table" (Leblanc, 2016). This was at the beginning of the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations which were initiated by the Department of Canadian Heritage on April 23, 2016, in a release which sought out input from stakeholders and the Canadian public on "how to strengthen the creation, discovery and export of Canadian content in a digital world" (Government of Canada, 2016g). A pre-consultation paper was released the same day, stating that the government needed Canadians' input to see how they should update policy to adapt to this changing broadcasting environment (Government of Canada, 2016h). Although a structural review of Canadian cultural policy was not a campaign promise of the Liberal government when they took office, Joly began this large

consultation process as a response to new digital technologies and complaints she received about "Ottawa's inability to respond to ongoing changes" (Leblanc, 2016). By stating "everything's on the table," Joly noted that this could include reviewing the *Broadcasting Act* and *Telecommunications Act*, updating the mandates of the CBC and the CRTC, and potentially creating new laws and governance structures (Leblanc, 2016).

Alongside this release, a questionnaire was launched where Canadians could give their input on topics related to Canadian Content in a Digital World. Through this survey, which received over 10,000 responses, it was found that Canadians see both Canadian content and local content highly valuable, but they think foreign competition challenges the cultural industries and that is is more difficult for Canadian content to stand out online. (Canadian Content in a Digital World, 2016a, pp. 3-4, 7-8). Following the pre-consultation phase and the questionnaire, the second phase of consultations began in September 2016, where Canadians were encouraged to contribute and "provide their suggestions on positioning Canada's cultural sector at the heart of Canada's creative economy" (Government of Canada, 2016k). In the consultation paper written for this phase, the government introduces the three principles that would guide the work of this consultation:

1. Focusing on citizens and creators;
2. Reflecting Canadian identities and promoting sound democracy; and
3. Catalyzing social and economic innovation (Government of Canada, 2016a).

These three principles were accompanied by seven pillars of the consultation and accompanying discussion questions to give Canadians suggestions for what to discuss when contributing to these consultations. The full list of principles, pillars, and discussion questions can be found in Appendix B.

There were three primary means of contributing to the consultations. The first was in-person consultations that were held across the country with the Minister of Canadian Heritage, Mélanie Joly. In total, there were six of these events, held in Vancouver, Halifax, Toronto, Montréal, Edmonton, and Iqaluit. These events were invite-only, with the Department of Canadian Heritage inviting critical stakeholders to these events, including creators, producers, academics, and corporate executives in the creative industries (Government of Canada, 2016b; 2016c; 2016d; 2016e; 2016f). In total, there were over 235 people that participated in these in-person sessions with the Minister (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 5). The second means of engagement was through an online portal on the Canadian Content Consultations website, where participants could create their submissions or provide their "ideas" to the following questions:

1. What does a cultural system that supports creators and respects citizen choice look like to you?
2. How can we meet the challenge of promoting Canada's creativity in the digital world, and use Canadian content to promote a strong democracy?
3. How do we support Canada's artists, content creators and cultural entrepreneurs to create a cultural ecosystem in which they thrive and that will benefit the growth of our middle class at home, and help them reach beyond our borders?

<div align="center">(Canadian Content in a Digital World, 2016b)</div>

In total, there were over 26,000 unique visitors to this platform with 1,287 contributors and 824 contributions (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 5). Finally, Canadians could engage with this consultation process through social media. Using the hashtags #DigiCanCon and #verslenumerique, Canadians could voice their opinions on this topic through social media websites like Twitter and Facebook (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 47). Also, although the in-person events were invite-only, two of these events were streamed on Facebook Live with open commenting so that any Canadian with a Facebook account could watch one of these events live

and participate in the discussion through commenting (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 46). Social media was the most sizeable source of engagement during this consultation phase, with 11, 569 contributions, 3.786 contributors, and a total of 719,123 social media impressions (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 47).

Following the consultations, the Department of Canadian Heritage began to put together its final policy recommendations. The final report, entitled the Creative Canada Policy Framework, was released on September 28, 2017, in a speech by Minister Mélanie Joly to the Economic Club of Canada in Ottawa (Government of Canada, 2017a). In this speech, Joly states that "Canadians need access to a system of broadcasting from Canadian sources," but with the digital shift and creative industries in transition, policy change needs to be made to account for these changes (Government of Canada, 2017b). This Creative Canada Policy Framework is the final report which lays out the decisions made throughout this consultation process and provides an idea of the government's policy direction for future policy decisions in the creative industries. The government's decisions were based on three pillars:

- Invest in Canadian Creators, Cultural Entrepreneurs and Their Stories;
- Promote Discovery and Distribution at Home and Globally; and
- Strengthen Public Broadcasting and Local News (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 6).

Using these three pillars, the Government of Canada uses this policy framework to introduce their recommendations and commitments to how the government planned to ensure that the creative industries "succeed and make the content that we love – by using all the tools we have" (Government of Canada, 2017b). A chart from the report, displaying all the decisions and commitments made in the policy framework can be found in Appendix C. Considering that this Creative Canada Policy Framework was released in October 2017, by the time this has been written

most of the actions suggested in this framework have yet to be pursued fully, and it is not possible to evaluate the success or failure of the decisions that came from these consultations.

Therefore, it is clear that, throughout the 21st century, that the Canadian government has taken time to discuss the future of broadcasting policy in many forums with varying levels of success. However, when examining the beginning and the end of this timeline, it appears that *how* broadcasting is described and discussed in policy debates has considerably shifted over time. My thesis will investigate this shift, specifically by comparing the two most substantial consultations on Canadian broadcasting policy that took place during this period. These reports are the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report by the Standing Committee of Canadian Heritage (also known as the Lincoln Report), as well as the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations which took place in 2016-2017.

This research aims to shed light on the recent debates around Canadian Content in a Digital World by comparing the Creative Canada Policy Framework and its associated consultations to the 2003 Lincoln Report and the consultations that led to it. I would like to find out if, by analyzing at this historical example of the government addressing the digital shift in broadcasting, comparisons can be drawn to the current debate when studying the focus of each consultation, the policy visions of each consultation, and ultimately how each report frames Canadian broadcasting. Further, by analyzing at the Lincoln Report and its recommendations, it can shine a light on different approaches to broadcasting policy that were potentially not considered when conducting the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. Therefore, it is essential to examine the Lincoln Report to investigate what was foreseen and recommended for the future of Canadian broadcasting in 2003, and to establish how Canadian broadcasting policy has changed over the past fifteen years when comparing it to the 2017 consultations.

In this paper, I will argue that there has been a substantial shift in the discourse around broadcasting and cultural policy over the past fifteen years. This shift will be shown by comparing these two important policy reports analyzing Canadian broadcasting in the digital age in the 21st century as well as a selection of stakeholder submissions for each consultation. These two reports will be compared by engaging with them through the lenses of argumentative policy analysis and political economy. By comparing two reports, this paper will describe the discursive shift that I will argue has occurred within broadcasting policy from 2003 to 2017. This will be shown by first showing how both reports found similar issues in Canadian broadcasting that required significant policy reform, followed by the key discursive differences between the two reports that highlight this reframing of broadcasting policy. These shifts are the shift from viewing broadcasting as distinctly Canadian to viewing broadcasting as internationally viable, the shift from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good to viewing broadcasting as an economic good, and the shift from the forming broadcasting policy in the public interest to forming broadcasting policy in the interest of Canadian creators.

OBJECTIVES
My primary research question is:

RQ1: Has the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting shifted when comparing the 2003 Lincoln Report to the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations?

To answer this broader question, this thesis will address the following component questions, through a policy document analysis of these two reports:

RQ2: If yes, how can this policy discourse shift in broadcasting policy be described?
RQ3: How does this shift impact the comparative outcomes (recommendations/actions) of each respective report?

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Through researching these questions, I hope to learn from previous Canadian policy around broadcasting in the digital age (specifically the Lincoln Report) to ascertain how the Canadian government's view of broadcasting has shifted over this over the past fifteen years when investigating how to adapt broadcasting regulation in the digital age.

This thesis will make an original contribution to the media policy field by comparing two critical consultations regarding the future of broadcasting policy in the digital age. By specifically comparing the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, it will show how these reports on broadcasting in the digital age are addressing similar issues but, through the reframing of broadcasting that has occurred over fifteen years, provide vastly different approaches in potential solutions to these problems.

This research is important because changes in broadcasting policy ultimately have the power to influence what content people can watch, and what content producers create. The broadcasting landscape is changing rapidly towards personalization and datafication and is shifting the ways people receive content and how money is invested in content. However, the digital shift in broadcasting is not new, and debate around this has been occurring since the early 2000s. By taking a historical approach to this topic, one can establish how similar issues were addressed in broadcasting policy, and then, by comparing these changes to what is happening today, one can investigate, based on historical precedence, how the policy solutions of before compare to the solutions of today. Also, with only fifteen years between these two reports, it is also important to identify any discourse shifts between the two because of the speed at which the discourse shifted. To entirely shift the policy frames around broadcasting policy in Canada in less than fifteen years is noteworthy and warrants further analysis into how this occurred.

However, this thesis will be focusing specifically on a comparison of these two policy reports on the future of Canadian broadcasting to aim to identify and describe any potential shifts in the policy discourse that occurred when comparing how each report views and frames broadcasting in Canada. This paper is, therefore, not focusing on why or how this shift occurred and. Instead, the objective of this paper is the identification and description of the shifts that have occurred between these reports. Also, this thesis specifically speaks to the shift between these two policy reports from 2003 to 2017 and therefore does not address other potentially similar or dissimilar shifts in Canadian broadcasting policy in the 20th century.

THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis will consist of a total of three chapters, including this introduction as the first chapter. Next, I will introduce the existing literature, the theoretical framework, and the methodology. In the literature review, this paper will explore what existing literature there is around broadcasting policy in Canada, shifts in broadcasting, and shifts in cultural policy. The theory that will be used as the theoretical basis of the paper will be a combination of political economy as well as argumentative policy analysis within policy theory. The methodology that will be used for this paper will be a policy document analysis of these two policy reports alongside the related stakeholder submissions and bolstered by secondary literature.

The second chapter is where the policy document analysis will take place. This chapter will examine and engage with these two reports and compare them. When analyzing these reports, this thesis will show that each policy report found similar issues in Canadian broadcasting and believed that significant policy reform was required to fix these issues. Then, the analysis will identify three fundamental differences in how each report looks at and frames broadcasting. Specifically, these three differences are the shift from viewing broadcasting as distinctly Canadian to international

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viable, from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good to an economic good, from viewing, and from making broadcasting decisions in the public interest to creators' interest. Also, the policy discourses from these consultations will be compared to the stakeholder commissions to these consultations, to investigate how they are similar or how and where they differ. Following this analysis, chapter seven will be a conclusion to this paper, where the importance of this research and potential implications will be highlighted, while also identifying areas for future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

RELATIONSHIP TO EXISTING LITERATURE OR PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Literature on the history of Canadian broadcasting policy

There are a few significant books which describe the history of Canadian broadcasting policy, as well as the technological changes and cultural shifts occurring throughout Canadian broadcasting. These sources will be able to contextualize the historical policy documents that I will be analyzing. The first book is *Missed opportunities: The story of Canadian broadcasting policy* by Marc Raboy (1990). This book provides a comprehensive history of broadcasting policy in Canada until 1990 when it was published, which is valuable to understand the historical context (Raboy, 1990). In this book, Raboy (1990) also highlights the cyclicity of broadcasting policy, where similar policy problems arise with the emergence of new technologies. However, since it was published in 1990, this book is unable to discuss broadcasting policy in the 21st century and the impact on digital and online technologies. Further, it does not cover the consultations that will be examined in this thesis. A book that can fill some of these gaps is Robert Armstrong's (2016) *Broadcasting policy in Canada*. This book was published in 2016 and therefore provides both the earlier history of broadcasting policy as well as more recent history from 1991 to 2016, which is important because it covers broadcasting policy after increasing use of the internet, which is not included in the Raboy book (Armstrong, 2016). Both Raboy and Armstrong provide detailed

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overviews of broadcasting policy in Canada, but Liora Salter's (2008) book *The CRTC and broadcasting regulation in Canada* can provide a different perspective. Specifically, Salter examines broadcasting policy in Canada through the lens of CRTC decisions. These books will help to provide crucial historical context around the primary policy documents that I will be analyzing. However, this thesis will be focussing on Canadian broadcasting policy in the 21st century, specifically focussing on the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, going into more detail with a narrow focus, compared to these books which provide a broader historical overview. An in-depth analysis and comparison of these two reports in this thesis will be able to expand on this previous literature on the history of broadcasting policy in Canada.

Literature about current shifts in broadcasting

There are also many academic pieces that cover the current shifts in broadcasting with the emergence of digital broadcasting technologies like over-the-top (OTT) streaming services, which will provide further detail to me about these shifts and new technologies. With this research focusing on comparing two broadcasting policy reports, one from 2003 and the other from 2017, it is important to be aware of the shifts that have occurred in broadcasting during this period. Specifically, this section will examine the shifts in broadcasting technologies, as well as its impacts on the television audience and the broadcasting industry more broadly.

To begin, there have been considerable shifts in broadcasting in the 21st century due to the emergence of many new broadcasting technologies. In the book *When media are new: Understanding the dynamics of new media adoption and use*, John Carey and Martin C.J. Elton (2010) examine the adoption of new media technologies and the trends that lead to people adopting these technologies. More specific to this research, in this book, there's a specific case study

exploring how new media impacts television viewing. Here, Carey and Elton (2010) investigate how new technologies have changed broadcasting over time, from the introduction of cable television to the remote control to the videocassette recorder (VCR) to digital versatile disks (DVDs) (pp. 163, 166, 169). With the 21st century came new broadcasting technologies, which Carey and Elton put into two categories: "digital television and broadband-delivered Web television" (p. 170). Digital television technologies include high definition television (HDTV), video-on-demand (VOD), and digital video recorders (DVRs) (Carey & Elton, 2010, p. 170). On the other hand, broadband-delivered Web television technologies include video streaming and video downloading services which both require a broadband internet connection (Carey & Elton, 2010, p. 170).

These video streaming services have become increasingly popular over the past ten years with Netflix, the global leader in streaming, having an estimated 6.7 million monthly users of Netflix in Canada in 2018 (Jackson, 2018). The book *The Netflix effect: Technology and entertainment in the 21st century* provides multiple perspectives on how online streaming services like Netflix have impacted broadcasting (McDonald & Smith-Rowsey, 2016). For example, Neta Alexander (2016) has a chapter in this book about the algorithmisation and "mathematization of taste" with Netflix, examining how Netflix uses algorithms and data mining to cater to cultural preferences and tastes, and both the dangers and opportunities of these technologies in film and television broadcasting (p. 81). Sarah Arnold (2016), in her chapter, challenges the myth of choice and human agency when choosing what to watch on online services. (p. 50). She argues that, while the datafication used with services like Netflix "might allude to the liberation of the individual from the mass, it equally masks more profound forms of individual manipulation and governance

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manufactured through data algorithms used by online television platforms such as Netflix" (Arnold, 2016, p. 50).

However, Carey & Elton (2010) also note that the changes in broadcasting are not only technological but also social, where there is an "expectation that media and content should be available on demand almost anywhere" (Carey & Elton, p. 170). Because of this television is "no longer a single medium but includes many different media with the common element of video" (Carey & Elton, 2010, p. 170). Carey & Elton have found that these new technologies have changed consumers' experience viewing television and that they have "provided more control over viewing, created more active viewers, reduced dependence on schedules, and increased the time people spend with video programming" (p. 178). Therefore, it is clear that many new broadcasting technologies have emerged in the 21st century, which have had impacts not only on how people view content but also how people interact with content.

This intersection of the technological and social impacts of new media on broadcasting can be best displayed when analyzing new media's impact on the television audience. Between 2003 and 2016, audiences of broadcasting content have continued to evolve. In his book, *Audience Evolution: New technologies and the transformation of media audiences*, Philip Napoli (2011) states that, when researching media audiences, the two key phenomena that technological changes have produced are increases in audience fragmentation and audience autonomy (p. 5). First, Napoli (2011) argues that, as the number of distribution platforms and the capacity for providing more choices on these platforms increase simultaneously, this leads to the "continued disintegration of traditional "mass" audiences (p.5). Instead, what increases are what he calls "long tail" scenarios, which Napoli (2011) describes as where

attention is clustered around a few content options, followed by a long tail, in which

the remaining multitude of content options each attract very small audiences that in

the aggregate can exceed the audience for the "hits"" (p. 5).

Second, audience autonomy is described as

how contemporary characteristics of the media environment, ranging from
interactivity to mobility to on-demand functionality to the increased capacity for user-
generated content, all serve to enhance the extent to which audiences have control over
the process of media consumption (Napoli, 2011, p. 7).

For example, through new services and technologies that debuted during this time, like streaming

services and digital video recorders (DVRs), people had an increasing power to choose what

content they wanted to watch and when.

Napoli (2011) also introduces two other factors that contribute to this "audience evolution":

the "rise of new audience information systems" and the "blurring of the content provider-audience

divide" (pp. 9, 11). Specifically, Napoli (2011) notes how the interactive capacities of these

broadcasting technologies can create new data streams beyond simple ratings and audience

measurement. Also, other factors like enjoyment, anticipation, and others can be measured through

these increased analytical capabilities (p. 9-10). Also, with both the increasing popularity of

platforms like YouTube and the increasing access to quality camera technologies – even in

wireless phones, people traditionally considered as the "audience" of content can increasingly

produce and create their content (Napoli, 2011, p. 12). Also, through social media and increased

analytics, people can have an increased impact on traditional content (Napoli, 2011, p. 12).

Therefore, as broadcasting technologies have evolved over the past century, audience

fragmentation and audience autonomy have increased. As shown by Napoli however, in the 21st

century, this evolution in broadcasting audiences has continued over this period and, through the

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introduction of new technologies and services during this time, broadcasting in Canada looked substantially different in 2016 than it did in 2003.

Finally, these changes in broadcasting have not only impacted the television viewer/consumer, but also the broadcasting industry. Gillian Doyle (2013), a media economics scholar, examines specifically how traditional broadcasters have adapted to new media realities by adopting "360-degree" or multi-platform approaches. This means that "new ideas for content are considered in the context of a wide range of distribution possibilities and not just linear TV" (Doyle, 2013, p. 112). This greatly impacts how a broadcaster organizes their scheduling and "audience flow," as expectations are rapidly changing when it comes to how audiences, especially younger audiences, consume content (Doyle, 2013, pp. 113, 115). Also, audiences are increasingly expecting a multi-platform experience when consuming television content, so broadcasters must keep up with consumer demand (Doyle, 2013, p. 115).

In his book *Post-TV: Piracy, cord-cutting and the future of television*, Michael Strangelove (2015) argues that trends of cord-cutting and new production and distribution methods are "opening up the possibility of a freer, more democratic, media environment" (p. i). Cord-cutting is when people cancel their traditional cable television subscriptions and instead shift to online-only over-the-top (OTT) services like Netflix and YouTube and free over-the-air (OTA) television (Strangelove, 2015, p. 94). According to the CRTC's Communications Monitoring Reports, subscriptions for broadcasting distribution undertakings have increased from (#) in 2003 to (#) in 2016, yet they have decreased slowly since 2012 which is displayed in the graph below. Many attribute this decrease to an increase in "cord-cutting."

**Figure 1.1 - Broadcasting distribution undertakings subscriber (thousands) numbers –
Basic and non-basic services**

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Series1	11,156	11,397	11,529	11,517	11,405	11,247	11,122

(CRTC, 2014a; 2015b; 2016; 2017)

As can be seen in the graph, although the decrease in subscriptions might look steep, based on these numbers, although subscriptions are decreasing consistently, they are only decreasing by small percentage points every year. For example, from 2015 to 2016, subscriptions decreased by 1.1 % and by 1.4% from 2014 to 2015 (CRTC, 2016, p. 188; CRTC, 2017, p. 194). Therefore, cord-cutting appears to be a trend in Canada but at a slower rate than is often depicted in the media as being a massive disruptor to broadcasting. Another trend that is more difficult to measure is what is a group of people called "cord-nevers" which are people who have never had a traditional cable subscription and do not plan to do so (Strangelove, 2015, p. 103). Michael Strangelove (2015) defines cord-nevers as "young Internet users who are growing up accustomed to pirating much of their entertainment needs from the Internet and who may never be converted to paying for television in any format" (p. 104). These are both trends that have, more or less, emerged during the period in between these two reports.

Through examining these sources, much has changed regarding broadcasting technologies and broadcasting audiences in the 21st century. Many authors have investigated these changes, noting how audiences are more fragmented and autonomous, while emerging technologies both provide this increased autonomy to users, while also allowing broadcasters to collect increasing amounts of data on their consumers to guide what content users will like and what content should be produced. This is essential background knowledge to know for this research as it is important when comparing these two reports to understand the underlying context of what has changed in broadcasting outside of the policy space. Although both policy reports address issues in broadcasting policy in light of new broadcasting technologies, this information is essential to remember the ever-evolving broadcasting landscape which changed substantially between 2003 and 2017.

Literature on shifts in Canadian cultural policy

Some scholars have begun to identify and address changes that they find are occurring in Canadian cultural policy, like what I aim to do for this thesis. For example, Patricia Goff and Barbara Jenkins (2006) begin to investigate shifts in Canadian cultural policy in their piece "The 'New World' of Culture: Reexamining Canadian Cultural Policy." They saw new "buzzwords" emerging in cultural policy like "creative city, cultural participation, and public diplomacy" and saw cultural policy expanding into new areas like "tourism, community building, urban regeneration, and foreign policy" (Goff & Jenkins, 2006, p. 181). They observe the beginnings of this shift away from "traditional cultural policy" and outline multiple elements of this shift in Canadian cultural policy, including a shift from cultural goals to economic goals (Goff & Jenkins, 2006, pp. 182, 189–190).

Multiple articles attribute the rise of neoliberalism to shifts in cultural policy. For example, a recent article by Patricia W. Elliott (2017), entitled "National Dreams and Neoliberal Nightmares: The Dismantling of Canadian Heritage's Periodical Assistance Programs, 1989-2015", examines how federal assistance for magazines and newspapers had been almost eliminated during this period (p. 805). When analyzing these periodical programs, Elliott (2017) found that, even in 1998, Canadian Heritage documents "borrowed from the language of economics to describe Canadian culture as a component of a "new knowledge-based economy" and sees the cuts and changes in periodical funding to the growth of neoliberalism (p. 810). She further states, regarding the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations that, although they were "presented as a fresh re-setting of the table, the language, and chosen focus appears in many ways to be a continuation of past neoliberal framing" (Elliott, 2017, p. 824). Further, in a series of articles for the Canadian Journal of Communication, authors explored the "neoliberal turn", specifically researching provincial cultural policy and how they argue that neoliberalism has impacted it, with case studies of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Gattinger & Saint-Pierre, 2010; Jeannotte, 2010; Marontate & Murray, 2010).

Through these pieces, it shows that multiple authors have identified that shifts have been occurring in cultural policy in Canada, although there are different ideas of how to describe these shifts and who or what they can be attributed to. However, this study will look specifically at broadcasting policy in Canada rather than cultural policy more broadly.

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

Although multiple scholarly works have explored the history of Canadian broadcasting policy and current shifts in broadcasting, finding the connections between these two fields appears to be underexplored. Many scholars have addressed the shifts that have occurred in broadcasting

technologies and broadcasting audiences throughout the 21st century. However, a gap appears to exist when it comes to scholars addressing policy shifts that occur in broadcasting. Goff and Jenkins (2006), Elliott (2017) and others have explored shifts in Canadian cultural policy, yet little has been written about the shift in the policy discourse specifically around Canadian broadcasting. Also, by focusing on broadcasting policy rather than cultural policy, this addresses a gap, where scholars have yet to compare the two policy reports that will be investigated for this thesis. Further, it appears that few scholars have used argumentative policy analysis to specifically research shifts in broadcasting policy. Therefore, in this thesis I hope to, by comparing the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, define and explore this shift in the policy discourse that has occurred over the past fifteen years to observe how issues regarding broadcasting in the digital age have been reframed over this period.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For this thesis, the theoretical framework will be drawing upon two different fields of study: political economy and argumentative policy analysis. After providing an overview of each field, I will show how these fields are complementary and will provide a comprehensive theoretical background to approach this research.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

My research will be done using a political economy approach, specifically drawing on the works of Vincent Mosco, Dwayne Winseck, and Marc Raboy, to create the theoretical assumptions that will underlie this thesis. In this section, I will first provide an overview of the political economy of communication as described by Vincent Mosco. This will be followed by examining the works of these other prominent political economy scholars to assess how their theoretical assumptions will be incorporated into this thesis, specifically focusing on the importance of historical research in this field.

To begin, in his book *The political economy of communication*, Vincent Mosco (2009) provides an in-depth overview of the field of political economy, and specifically at the political economy of communications. Mosco (2009) defines political economy as "the study of social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (p. 2). He also defines political economy as "the study of control and survival in social life" (Mosco, 2009, p. 25). Through these definitions, the field of political economy research focuses on both political and economic processes and can, arguably, encompass all facets of life (Mosco, 2009, p. 3). When reviewing political economy, Mosco (2009) outlines four central ideas in the field: "social change and history, the social totality, moral philosophy and praxis" (p. 3). First, political economy looks to focus on social change and history, examining how structures and processes have changed over time and why. As stated by political economist Wallace Clement, "it is fundamentally historical and dynamic in the sense of seeking understanding of the social transformations, including the agents and forces of change" (Mosco, 2009, p. 28). The second central idea is of social totality, which means that "political economy spans the range of problems that today tend to be situated in the compartments of several academic disciplines" (Mosco, 2009, p. 28). This means that there are many "fundamentally different" approaches to studying political economy, including conservative, Marxist, and institutionalist approaches (Mosco, 2009, p. 28-29). By committing to social totality, it means that, for political economists, one must understand how the political and the economic connect (Mosco, 2009, p. 29). The third idea is moral philosophy, which looks at the social values of appropriate social practices, and "clarifying the moral positions of economic and political perspectives," as moral positions can often be unclear (Mosco, 2009, p. 32). The final idea central to political economy is praxis, which is "human activity and specifically to the free

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and creative activity by which people produce and change the world, including changing themselves" (Mosco, 2009, p. 34).

When specifically examining the political economy of communication, Mosco (2009) defines communication as "a social process of exchange, whose product is the mark or embodiment of a social relationship" (p. 67). Political economy scholarship began in communications with early scholars such as Dallas Smythe and Herbert Schiller in the 1950s who began this field of study in North America (Mosco, 2008, p. 46). Research on the political economy of communication then spread to Europe and Mosco (2008) notes that this field has become international (p. 46).

For this thesis, I will be using a political economy of communication approach to analyzing two policy reports: the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report and the 2017 Canadian Culture in the Digital Age consultations. Examining them through a political economy lens, I will be focusing on the power relations visible through these reports. For example, although the government had extensive consultations for these reports, the government got to write the policy and therefore ultimately got to make the decisions around broadcasting policy which influences Canadian creators, workers in the broadcasting field, and Canadian citizens. Through this analysis, I will be analyzing these two reports to investigate how broadcasting policy has changed over time. Further, this will look at Canadian broadcasting policy and specifically investigate how the political and economic aspects interact and collide.

Historical Research in the Political Economy of Communication

Specifically, within the political economy of communication, I will be focussing on the emphasis that political economy scholars put on historical research. This is where I will bring in

scholarship from Vincent Mosco, Dwayne Winseck, and Marc Raboy, whom all state the importance of historical research in political economy analysis.

As stated in the previous sections, one of the key ideas in political economy research, according to Vincent Mosco (2009), is social change and history (p. 26). In his 2009 book, he states that political economy research has "traditionally given priority to understanding social change and historical transformation," and notes the "long tradition of support for historical analysis in the field" (Mosco, 2009, pp. 26–27). He also states that the political economy of communication has "expanded its commitment to communication history" (Mosco, 2009, p. 9). In another journal article, Mosco (2008) discusses the emerging trend of taking a political economy approach to the history of communication. Specifically, he says that "current political economy research demonstrates that media systems in place today are the result of a deeply contested history" and that political economy can address the historical trajectories of media (Mosco, 2008, pp. 49–50). Mosco highlights one of the focuses of my research: to learn how to address current and future broadcasting policy questions in Canada; it is crucial to research and understand the history of these policy debates.

Second, I will be using some of the work of Dwayne Winseck as a part of my theoretical framework. Winseck, along with Dal Yong Jin (2012), wrote the book *The political economies of media: The transformation of the global media industries*, in which they compile multiple chapters navigating issues and topics in the political economy of the media. Further, in the introduction, Winseck provides an overview of the four different schools of thought in this field: conservative and liberal neoclassical economics; radical media political economy; Schumpeterian institutional political economy; and the cultural industries school (Winseck & Jin, 2012, p. 3). In his book with Robert Pike, titled *Communication and empire: Media, markets, and globalization, 1860-1930*, an

in-depth investigation of the rise of the global media during this time is provided. Specifically, they aim to "contribute to an expanding body of literature which argues that globalization and the information revolution not be new but have their closest parallels in the period we cover," while also including contemporary debates about empire and globalization (Winseck & Pike, 2007, p. 2). This idea of the cyclicity of policy issues and debates is crucial to my theoretical approach to this research. I would ultimately like to understand if the current policy debates around online television are new or if they have close parallels to policy debates of the past.

Further, in Marc Raboy's (1991) book, *Missed opportunities: The story of Canadian broadcasting policy*, provides an in-depth analysis of government policy documents and provides the context and importance of the policy. This will not only be an important book for the contextualization of the history of Canadian broadcasting policy but also provides the framework through which I will analyze past, present and future broadcasting policy in Canada. In this book, he provides a comprehensive history of broadcasting policy in Canada, outlining every piece of legislation and committee. He finds common themes throughout history and then, in his conclusion, shows what one can learn from this history and looks forward to the future of broadcasting policy. This is similar to the approach that I would like to take for this thesis.

ARGUMENTATIVE POLICY ANALYSIS

The second field that I will be bringing into my theoretical framework is policy theory. Specifically, I will be focusing on Frank Fischer's work on the "argumentative turn" in policy analysis, which "challenges the belief that policy analysis can be a value-free, technical project" (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012, p. 2). When analyzing policy, many scholars focus on empiricism and rationalism (Pal, 2014, p. 19). With this perspective, policy is created and implemented by rational actors, who use the numbers and information available to them to make the best policy decisions

(Pal, 2014, p. 19). When making policy decisions through the rational decision-making model, it follows the following process:

1. Choose objectives
2. Consider alternatives
3. Outline impacts
4. Determine criteria
5. Apply models/scenarios
6. Implement preferred option
7. Evaluate consequences (Pal, 2014, p. 20).

As described by Deborah Stone (1997), this perspective "purports to offer a correct vantage point from which we can judge the goodness of the real world" (p. 7). However, Stone (1997) argues that this is "an impossible dream" (p. 7). This is because scholars of the argumentative policy approach like Stone and others argue that "facts are always constructed through values and perceptions, or more accurately, through deep theories that structure our cognition of reality" (Pal, 2014, p. 23). As Frank Fischer (2003) states, "as value issues and social meanings are among the essential driving forces of politics and policymaking, it is difficult to understand these processes detached from their normative realities" (p. vii). Similarly, Leslie Pal (2014) says, "policy is inseparable from communication" (p. 347). Fischer and John Forester (1993) also state that policy analysis is not simply based on the rational actors, but that "policy analysis and planning are practical processes of argumentation" (p. 2).

Fischer and Forester (1993) coined the phrase "the argumentative turn," to describe this shift in policy analysis which "challenges the belief that policy analysis can be a value-free, technical project" (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012, p. 2). This area of argumentative policy analysis will be a part of the theoretical underpinnings of this project. When examining policy this way, one can analyze the different ways in which policymakers can frame and formulate both policy problems and solutions. This view of policy analysis analyzes language to analyze the rationale behind policy more thoroughly, with Fischer and Forester (1993) stating,

"we ask not only what an analysis claims but when it does, to whom, in what language and style, invoking what loyalties, and appealing to what threat and dangers" (p. 6). The "argumentative turn" includes many modes of policy analysis, such as "practical argumentation, policy judgment, frame analysis, narrative storytelling, and rhetorical analysis, among others" (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012, p. 1). However, this approach does not ignore empirical elements of policy analysis, but instead "seeks to understand the relationship between the empirical and the normative as they are configured in the processes of policy argumentation" (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012, p. 2).

Argumentative policy analysis allows policy analyzts to delve deeper into the language used in the policy process, which can ultimately shape and determine what citizens understand as reality (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012, p. 8). The argumentative turn in policy analysis also includes discourse analysis which, according to Fisher and Gottweis (2012) "starts from the assumption that all actions, objects, and practices are socially meaningful and that these meanings are shaped by the social and political struggles in specific historical periods" (p. 11). By researching policy in this way, it means that all discourse, beyond the numbers and facts, is important when analyzing policy. Therefore, in this view, in the words of Fischer and Gottweis (2012), "ideas, discourse, and argumentation matter" (p. 14).

One part of argumentative policy analysis is frame analysis, and policy frames are another critical aspect of this research. Martin Rein and Donald Schön (1993) define framing in their piece "Reframing Policy Discourse":

> In our use of the term, framing is a way of selecting, organizing, interpreting, and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing analyzing, persuading, and acting. A frame is a perspective from which an amorphous, ill-defined, problematic situation can be made sense of and acted upon. (p. 146)

Policy frames show the many complex ways that people construct and understand policy issues (Hawkesworth, 2012, p. 117). Different frames of the same issue can lead people to see the issue differently and interpret facts around it differently, which can lead to a variety of views on what policy action to take (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 147). Policy framing also "socially constructs the situation, defines what is problematic about it, and suggests what courses of action are appropriate to it" (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 153). Through policy framing, not only are policy perceptions created through what language is included in the policy discussion but also it is important to acknowledge what language is excluded and thus neglected in the policy discourse (Rein & Schön, 1993, pp. 151, 153). Further, the existence of multiple frames can lead to what Rein & Schön (1993) call "policy controversies" which are when there are disputes over conflicting frames and struggles over policy meanings (p. 148).

However, policy frames are not fixed and can often shift over time (Hawkesworth, 2012, p. 118; Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 150). As policy continually adapts to new situations, it may be reframed and change the way that people think and act on a policy issue (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 152). As explained by Rein and Schön (1993), when one finds that a successful policy formula no longer works:

> the perceived shift of context may set the climate within which adversarial networks try to reframe a policy issue by renaming the policy terrain, reconstructing interpretations of how things got to be as they are, and proposing what can be done about them. (p. 154)

Therefore, because of the power of language and discourse in constructing the perceptions of policy, policy analysts and policymakers are critical in setting the parameters of the policy landscape and creating the discourse and representation around policy issues (Hawkesworth, 2012, p. 119; Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 158). With their ability to craft the words around policies and

consultations, it can influence the policy frames around an issue and how it is ultimately perceived. Thus, by investigating these two reports through this argumentative policy analysis lens, one can look beyond the surface of the text itself and see what can be learned from the policy language and the policy frames.

A COMPREHENSIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Together, these two separate theoretical perspectives will merge to create the theoretical foundation of this thesis. By analyzing these policy documents through the lenses of argumentative policy analysis and policy frames, this also sheds light on power relations and who has the power to develop these policy documents, and therefore the power to create these frames and narratives, which brings in political economy theory. Also, by researching the history and cyclicity of policy shown by some political economy scholars, one can observe the importance of policy frames and policy discourse, for if the problems addressed are similar over time, it is essential to analyze the discourse, how these problems are portrayed, and how or if they have changed. Therefore, by using both of these theories together, it creates a comprehensive theoretical framework which can help inform my analysis to a greater extent than either theory alone.

METHOD AND SOURCES

METHOD

The primary method I will use in this thesis is primary policy document analysis of the Lincoln Report, the Creative Canada Policy Framework, policy documents associated with each consultation, as well as a selection of submissions to each consultation. To expand on this method, I will focus on the two main facets of this method: qualitative policy research and document analysis. Qualitative policy research allows me to research the content of Canadian policy decisions, and document analysis provides me with the ability to review and evaluate these policy documents to gain understanding. In this policy document analysis, this corpus of policy

documents will be analyzed through thematic analysis, searching for common themes, similarities, and differences. Thematic analysis will be explored further in this section, as well as recognizing the value of analyzing stakeholder submissions in addition to the government policy documents.

First, Jeremy Shtern (2012) states that the benefits of conducting qualitative policy research, saying that it "puts the researchers in a front-row seat for the political theatre that shapes cultural industries" (p. 167). According to Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer (2002), qualitative policy research often entails large datasets of texts and that, therefore, one of the aims of qualitative policy research is to "provide some coherence and structure to [the] cumbersome data set while retaining a hold of the original accounts and observations from which it is derived" (p. 309). Ritchie and Spencer (2002) also list the five stages of qualitative policy analysis as familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation (pp. 11-12). These five stages appear to be an excellent framework to follow as I conduct the document analysis of these primary policy documents.

The second facet of my method is document analysis. Shtern (2012) states that "an intellectual, normative, and methodological centre of research into the policies that shape cultural industries is the analysis of policy documents: pieces of legislation, regulatory documents, negotiated treaties and agreements, court cases, government reports, and others" (p. 171). Glenn Bowen (2009) describes document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents… [that] requires that data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (p. 27). In my research, I will analyze the final report for both the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations as well as the related documents released through the consultation. I will be examining supporting documents, specifically the submissions to the committee. The full corpus will be outlined in the

source material section. After an initial read-through of this corpus, I will determine the common themes within each one, to compare how each report approaches broadcasting policy. For my research specifically, analyzing these primary policy documents will be the most valuable way to gain insights on my topic rather than solely depending on secondary literature around the policy documents. Also, I will use primary policy document analysis to learn whether there has been consistency in the way policymakers address or adapt to technological change.

As Bowen (2009) notes, one of the negatives of conducting document analysis is having insufficient detail to answer a research question (p. 31). Therefore, as a secondary method, I will be using the secondary literature to provide context to these policy documents. These sources, outlined in the literature review, will be used to provide more context around the cultural and technological shifts in broadcasting which impact the policy discussions and policy debates. Also, to further contextualize these policy documents, I will be using secondary literature and government sources to provide context specific to the political and cultural environment present for the creation of each report.

A key part of this policy document analysis will be conducting a thematic analysis to find common themes among the corpus of policy documents. Thematic analysis is a method "for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). Specifically, Braun & Clarke (2006) state that "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (p. 10). Thematic analysis is different from other similar methods – like narrative, discourse, and conversation analysis – because it is not linked to a specific theoretical framework and, therefore, can be matched with any theoretical framework, including

the political economy and argumentative policy analysis theories used in this paper. In their article, Braun & Clarke (2006) outline the six steps of conducting a thematic analysis, summarized below:

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 16-24)

The thematic analysis for this thesis will be following these above steps, by searching for codes within the corpus, merging these codes into themes, and then defining and naming them to conduct the thematic analysis of this corpus of policy documents.

For this thesis' thematic analysis, an inductive approach will be taken, meaning that "the themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 12). This means that the themes were formed through an in-depth analysis of the corpus of policy documents, rather than being driven first by pre-existing literature and theoretical approaches. Further, the themes will be identified at a latent level rather than a semantic level. This means that the themes not only look at explicitly what is in the text, but these themes "examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13). This approach to thematic analysis is often connected to the constructionist approach, which "seeks to theorise the socio-cultural contexts, and structural conditions" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 14). Thus, through conducting this thematic analysis of the policy documents, I will be able to thoroughly analyze this corpus of policy documents to find common themes, similarities, and differences throughout this corpus of policy documents.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, for this policy document analysis, I will be examining both the final reports and related documents, as well as a selection of submissions

to each consultation. This is because, not only is there value to understanding the government's discourse around broadcasting at the time, but more can be gained from also understanding what was being discussed by stakeholders participating in these consultations. This can be seen in Mike Gasher's (1998) piece "Invoking Public Support for Public Broadcasting: The Aird Commission Revisited." In this piece, Gasher (1998) compares the final recommendations of the Royal Commission on Canadian Broadcasting (also known as the Aird Commission) testing these recommendations "made on behalf of "the public" against the original submissions" from stakeholders. He does this to investigate "*how* public intervention informs the policy process" (Gasher, 1998). He found that, although most of the recommendations made aligned with public sentiment, the most radical claim – to nationalize Canadian radio – was not widely supported by the submissions, with "little evidence of broad public support for this option" (Gasher, 1998). Gasher found that, instead,

> Of the 176 written and oral submissions on file with the National Archives of Canada, only 34 people said they favoured government ownership and control of radio. More interveners – 53 – favoured the private-enterprise option. Another 80 people either declared their neutrality on this issue or did not address it (Gasher, 1998).

Gasher (1998) ultimately states that, by using a public consultation process, the commissioners were able to "legitimize their central recommendations by making selective reference to public opinion in their final report." Further, he "endorses the case-specific view of the relationship between public input and policy formation, and points to the need for constant critical assessment of the role of "the public" in public policy development" (Gasher, 1998). As can be observed through this study, this relationship between public input and policy formation can bring valuable insights, especially when examining at how the discourse of the government agreed with or conflicted with the discourse of the stakeholders. Therefore, I will be using a similar approach to

Gasher by also analyzing stakeholder submissions to each consultation to investigate whether most stakeholders agreed with the recommendations of the final reports.

To conclude, for this thesis I will be conducting a primary policy document analysis of the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. This means that I will thematically analyze both reports, relevant supporting documents, and submissions to search for common themes, similarities, and differences between the report to gain a further understanding of the policy discourse shifts that occurred between these reports but also what stayed the same. This primary method will be supported by the secondary literature and government sources to contextualize these reports and to explain better the environment surrounding each report as well as what occurred between these reports.

SOURCE MATERIAL

My primary source material for this research project will be the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report (also known as the Lincoln Report) as well as the Creative Canada Policy Framework. I currently have access to both reports, with the Lincoln Report being accessible through the Ryerson Library and with the Creative Canada Policy Framework being accessible online. The sources that I will be analyzing can be divided into two categories: core sources and supporting sources. First, the core sources are sources that are directly associated with the consultation process. With the Lincoln Report, that includes the full version of the Lincoln Report as well as the Terms of Reference released during the consultations. For the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, this includes the final Creative Canada Policy Framework, as well as the pre-consultation paper, consultation paper, and speech launching the policy framework. The full list of these sources can be found in Appendix D.

I also have access to supporting documents for each report, which are the submissions that key stakeholders have submitted to each consultation. It is important to analyze both the government reports as well as the stakeholder submissions to get the fullest view of these consultations. From analyzing stakeholder submissions, one can observe a full range of perspectives leading up to the final report. Which submitted ideas did the government agree with? Which ideas were ignored? Further, to have the most holistic view of any potential shifts in policy discourse, it is important to examine multiple perspectives to begin to determine if the shift was solely at the government/policy level, or if these changes in thinking were pervasive throughout the broadcasting industry. Through Ryerson's Global Communications Governance Lab, I have access to many submissions to the Standing Committee for Canadian Heritage for the Lincoln Report. For the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, all the submissions to the Department of Canadian Heritage are accessible online. The full list of all the submissions that were examined can also be found in Appendix E.

For this thesis, not all submissions were examined. The submissions that were examined were chosen through non-random sampling. For the Canadian Content in the Digital World, I had access to all the submissions made to the Department of Canadian Heritage. To select which submissions I would examine, I carefully chose a broad cross-section of the Canadian media industry, choosing large telecommunications and broadcasting companies, organizations representing creators, public interest groups, and academics. For the Lincoln Report submissions, I used a similar process to select the submissions to examine. However, I had further constraints with this selection, for I could only examine the submissions that I had access to through the Global Communications Governance Lab.

This chapter will show the policy document analysis of the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report and the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World Consultations. Through conducting an in-depth analysis of these two consultations on the future of broadcasting in the digital age, these reports will be compared to explore where they are similar as well as how they differ, investigating to see if any shifts in the policy discourse around broadcasting have occurred over this fifteen-year period. Not only will the core consultation documents be examined, but a selection of stakeholder submissions to each consultation will be analyzed as well (the full list can be found in Appendix D). In this chapter, I will argue that, when comparing these two reports, both reports addressed similar issues in Canadian broadcasting and agreed that significant policy change was required to remedy these issues. However, the differences stem from a shift in the policy discourse from 2003 to 2017, which impacts how each report frames these problems and ultimately what policy solutions each report recommends. In this section, I will examine the fundamental shifts that can be found when comparing these two reports. Specifically, I will focus on three fundamental differences in the policy discourse: the shift from focusing on broadcasting as distinctly Canadian to internationally viable, the shift from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good to an economic good, and finally, the shift from viewing Canadian broadcasting in the public interest to the creators' interest. Additionally, analyzing the stakeholders' submissions will provide further context and nuance to the debates around broadcasting that were happening at the time and will show where there were concurring and dissenting opinions from stakeholders in comparison with the final reports.

A NEED FOR CHANGE?

This analysis will begin with one key similarity between the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations: the idea that there had been rapid technological

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changes in broadcasting and that substantial changes in the Canadian broadcasting policy system needed to occur. Both reports found many of the same problems in the Canadian broadcasting system that they believed needed to be remedied. For instance, both reports emphasized the rapid rate of technological change and the need to adapt to these new realities. The Lincoln Report states that "broadcasting is entering a new frontier" and that "structures and formulas that worked in the past… are being challenged by the brutal and unrelenting force of technological change" (Canada, 2003c, p. 15). The Committee also found that Canadian broadcasting institutions were "struggling to meet the challenges of new technology, globalization, corporate convergence, and the high expectations of Canadians" (Canada, 2003c, p. 4). In the pre-consultation paper for Canadian Content in a Digital World, it states that "there is work to be done to ensure that Canada – and Canadian *content* – is poised to succeed in the face of increasing global competition and alongside the rapid evolution of new technologies that are changing the ways content is watched, read, experienced and discovered" (Government of Canada, 2016h). Joly reiterated this in her speech announcing the Creative Canada Policy Framework, stating that Canada finds itself in a new digital shift and that the government will "make sure our creative industries succeed and make the content we love – by using all the tools we have" (Government of Canada, 2017b).

Through these technological advances, both consultations found similar problems with the Canadian broadcasting system. For example, both reports found that, in many instances, Canadian broadcasting policy was not sufficiently in line with current realities and advancing technologies. Therefore, both consultations ended with recommending updates to funding mechanisms and legislation like the *Broadcasting Act* to better reflect the state of Canadian broadcasting at that time (Canada, 2003c, pp. 4-5; Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 5). They also both addressed issues in public broadcasting and local/community news. With public broadcasting, the reports agreed that

the role of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was unclear and recommended that its mandate be updated in the legislation (Canada, 2003c, p. 220; Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 32). When looking at community and local programming, both reports found that there was decreasing amounts of this content on Canadian broadcasting networks. Therefore, both emphasized the importance of the survival of community/local programming through recommendations to strengthen it, with the Creative Canada Policy Framework stating that "community news and periodicals play an important role in contributing to cultural expression, news and information, civic engagement and community building" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 33). In the Lincoln Report, the Committee states that, with local and community news "the status quo is unsatisfactory and that the government must take action" (Canada, 2003c, p. 360). Finally, both reports have a strong emphasis on Canadian content, with recommendations to create more opportunities for Canadian creators and increase both cultural diversity and diversity of ideas. The Lincoln Report states that "the goal must be to create more opportunities and more spaces, to strive for programs that are not only made-in-Canada but also made-for Canada." The Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations described themselves as "a conversation about how to strengthen the creation, discovery, and export of Canadian content in a digital world" (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 2).

However, what is interesting about this is that, although both government reports seem to agree about the necessity of policy reform in Canadian broadcasting when one analyzes the submissions to each consultation, some stakeholders disagreed. Specifically, multiple stakeholders, in their submissions to the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, believed that the Canadian broadcasting system was fine as is, and there was no need to update or revise policy. For example, in Astral Media's [Astral] (2001) submission to the Committee, they state that:

Canada's *Broadcasting Act* has proven to be a remarkably sophisticated and flexible tool in meeting the evolving taste and preferences of viewers and listeners, as well as coping with the technological and economic challenges facing the Canadian broadcasting system (p. 2).

Multiple other stakeholders agreed, with the Writers Guild of Canada [WGC] (2001) stating that the Act "remains effective and justified" and that the objectives set out in the Act remain "crucial to maintaining our sovereignty as a nation" (pp. 1, 3). Many broadcasters – such as Astral (2001), and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters [CAB] (2001) – found that the Act was "flexible and adaptable" and that, therefore, was able to address both traditional television as well as face new challenges, like new broadcasting technologies and increasing globalization (p. 3; p. 2). CHUM Limited [CHUM] (2001), another Canadian broadcaster, claimed that the successful development of Canadian broadcasting was in thanks to this regulatory system and that this system could "provide vital support for the continued strength, viability and presence for Canadian broadcasters in the years to come" (p. 8). The Canadian Association of Internet Providers [CAIP] (2001) argued that the *Broadcasting Act* was sufficient as it because it "accommodates the limited direct impact that the Internet has had, and will have for the foreseeable future, on Canada's broadcasting policy and its broadcasting system" (p. 3). They further stated that "The Internet has not killed television. Nor will it" (CAIP, 2001, p. 9). This sentiment that the Internet was not, and would not be a direct threat to traditional broadcasting was occasionally used by stakeholders – including the WGC (2001) and Astral (2001) – as a reason for why the *Broadcasting Act* did not need reform (p. 4; p. 17). However, not all agreed that the status quo was sufficient at that time. For instance, AOL Time Warner [AOL] (2001) – an "Internet-powered media and communications company" with 375,000 Canadian members at the time – concurred that the internet was not a threat to traditional television at that time (p. i). However, they disagreed with the idea that

broadcasting policy was able to address the policy issues of the day, making their suggestions to improve the system, liking lifting ownership restrictions (AOL, 2001, pp. i-iv). The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC] (2001) also felt that the *Broadcasting Act* needed to be updated, for they believed that the 1991 Act, along with other broadcasting decisions, had "hindered the CBC's ability to serve Canadians" (p. ii).

The submissions to the Canadian Culture in a Digital World consultations were notably different in tone, simply because almost all that were analyzed saw a pressing and critical need to update the Canadian broadcasting system and its policies. The *Broadcasting Act*, which in 2001 was seen by many as adaptable to new technologies, was now described as "outdated legislation" by BCE Inc. [Bell] (2016) as well as the CBC (2016), which expands, saying "we operate under a business model and cultural policy framework that is profoundly broken" (p. 5; pp. 2, 28). Similarly, the Canadian Media Producers Association [CMPA] (2016) warned that "Canada's policy "toolkit" risks becoming disconnected from the digital environment in which consumers often access content today" (p. 3). Therefore, many stakeholders were demanding the government implement considerable changes to cultural policy like Bell (2016) and the CBC (2016), saying that a "radically different approach was required" (p. 3; p. 2). However, a smaller number of stakeholders, primarily creator groups, believed the system only needed minor reworkings, with the WGC (2016) stating that the "current system is absolutely not 'broken'" and the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists [ACTRA] (2016) stating that "our policy tools have worked effectively in the analogue world and they should remain largely unchanged during the transition period" (p. 20; p. 2).

Where some of the Lincoln Report submissions were not concerned about the Internet being a threat to traditional television, submissions to the Canadian Content in a Digital World

were overwhelmingly concerned with the impacts of online broadcasting on traditional broadcasting as well as Canadian broadcasting policy. What is brought up most is that online broadcasters, especially foreign-based services like Netflix and YouTube, have a considerable advantage over traditional Canadian broadcasters, especially since these foreign-based online broadcasters do not have to follow the regulations set out in the *Broadcasting Act* (ACTRA, 2016, p. 11). Because of this, the WGC (2016) argued that a "regulatory asymmetry" exists that needs to be remedied by the government. Similarly, the government repeatedly heard from stakeholders about services like Netflix, with demands from Bell (2016), the Canadian Media Guild [CMG] (2016), the CMPA (2016), Shaw Communications Inc. [Shaw] (2016), and law professor Michael Geist (2016) that the government must "level the playing field" between multinational online broadcasters and traditional Canadian broadcasters (p. 9; p. 3; p. 5; p. 1; p. 3).

Therefore, when analyzing both policy reports, they each found similar problems when examining broadcasting in the digital age, and this substantial reform and updates were needed to improve the Canadian broadcasting system best. However, when analyzing the submissions for each consultation, it shows that there were differing views from stakeholders on the necessity of reform. Specifically, many submissions to the Lincoln Report found that the *Broadcasting Act* was effective and adaptable, did not need reform and that the Internet was not a threat to broadcasting. On the other hand, multiple submissions to the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations argued that the Internet had a considerable advantage compared to traditional broadcasters and that, therefore, substantial reform had to occur to ensure a "level playing field."

FROM DISTINCTLY CANADIAN TO INTERNATIONALLY VIABLE
However, as discussed earlier, differing policy frames can construct different realities about policy issues. For example, Martin Rein and Donald Schön (1993) state that "if people see

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the world as different and act on their different views, then the world itself becomes different" (p. 147). Thus, although both reports found similar policy issues in Canadian broadcasting when analyzing the language in each policy report, I will argue that the discourse has shifted considerably around broadcasting policy over the past fifteen years, reframing the issue altogether. Because of each reports' different framing of Canadian broadcasting policy, each report offers notably different views and on how to define the problems and ultimately how to solve them. This section will examine one of these shifts in frame policy discussion around broadcasting: the shift from viewing Canadian content as distinctly Canadian to viewing Canadian content as internationally viable.

CANADIAN CONTENT IN A DIGITAL WORLD

To begin, the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations had a much greater emphasis on the international export and success of Canadian content. Throughout the consultation process, the government emphasized the importance of positioning Canada as a global leader and a global competitor when it comes to producing content in an increasingly globalized world (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 2; Government of Canada, 2016h). For example, in the government's consultation report, it was found that most participants in the consultation agreed that "the industry and the government do not do enough to promote and facilitate [Canadian content's] export" (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 35). Also, in her speech introducing the new policy framework, Joly emphasized the need to support content creators so that they can best compete in international markets (Government of Canada, 2017b).

This shift towards international viability and global success of content can be observed throughout the Creative Canada Policy Framework, which states immediately in the introduction that their approach is about

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positioning Canada as a world leader in putting its creative industries at the centre of

its future economy… To be competitive in the world, we must invest now to create the

conditions for success, to develop and keep our talent in both French and English here

at home, and to make sure we have a robust domestic market for content on which our

international success will depend. (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 5)

Further, one of the pillars of this framework is "Promote discovery and distribution at home and

globally," showing this emphasis on the international distribution of Canadian content (Canadian

Heritage, 2017, p. 25). One of their main policy actions to support international export was a \$125

million investment into a new Creative Export Strategy to "help Canadian creators achieve their

international business objectives" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 28-29). Further, the framework

also stated that the government would begin negotiations with other countries to develop more

coproduction agreements, which can support new production in television and film with

international partners (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 30). Therefore, throughout the consultations

for Canadian Culture in the Digital Age, one of the primary objectives of this policy is to have not

only domestic success in Canadian culture in broadcasting, but also international success.

The Creative Canada Policy Framework also has an emphasis on not only promoting

Canadian content and exporting Canadian content but also creating partnerships with global

internet companies to achieve their goals for Canada's creative industries. In this framework, it

states that the government will "seek commitments from, and pursue agreements with, global

Internet companies that provide services to Canadians" like Facebook, Netflix, and Google

(Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 26). For example, although it is not mentioned explicitly in the

Creative Canada Policy Framework, Joly announced in her speech that the government made a

\$500 million, five-year deal with Netflix, where Netflix would commit that money specifically to

original, Canadian productions (Government of Canada, 2017). Although Netflix is becoming increasingly popular as a broadcasting streaming service in Canada, it is an interesting policy decision to make such a deal with an American-based media company to create Canadian content. Further, the government's commitment to partnerships with "new players and new partners" can be seen through partnerships formed with both Facebook and Google (Canadian Heritage, 2017). Specifically, the framework announced a partnership between Facebook and Ryerson University to create a digital news incubator, and the launch of "Canada NewsWorks" by Google Canada, which is a "program that will develop resources for national, regional and local news publishers (Canadian Heritage, 2017). Thus, these consultations resulted in the establishment of new partnerships with large global media companies to accomplish the government's aims of the consultation.

Similar views were expressed from stakeholders about the importance of international success and international export of Canadian content in their submissions to the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. The Public Interest Advocacy Centre [PIAC] (2016) found that Canadians wanted Canadian content to succeed internationally, with 73% of survey respondents saying that "Canada should create content for the rest of the world (p. 14). Many stakeholders also strongly believed that Canada should be a "global leader" in content creation and be a competitor in the "global marketplace" (Corus Entertainment Inc. [Corus], 2016, pp. 2, 8). For the most part, from the submissions that were analyzed, stakeholders argued that Canadian content should be created that is appealing to both domestic *and* international markets. For example, ACTRA (2016), argued that it is paramount that the cultural policymaking is "ensuring that audiences in Canada and abroad have access to these works" (p. 2). Bell (2016), also stated that the *Broadcasting Act* should be revised to "focus on producing great Canadian content for domestic and international

audiences" (p. 5). The CMPA (2016) provided a recommendation in how to bring in global audiences, suggesting that the government launch a "Brand Canada" discoverability strategy to "increase domestic and global awareness of, and demand for, made-in-Canada screen content" (p. 4). Other organizations like Rogers Communications Inc. [Rogers] (2016), Shaw (2016), and EntertainmentOne (2016) echoed these sentiments, emphasizing that broadcasting policy must be situated to best support Canadian content that resonates with both domestic and international audiences (p. 2; p. 1; p. 1). Even the CBC (2016), Canada's public broadcaster, stated that one of its priority areas was "promoting Canada to the world" (p. 3).

With this emphasis on the international viability of content, many stakeholders also asked the government to make the international export of content a priority in its new policy. For example, ACTRA (2016) stated that the government needed to "encourage more exports of digital media works by building new partnerships between the industry and government" (p. 13). EntertainmentOne (2016) said that content and exporters "play a vital role in our industry" and argued that media companies need to have increased capabilities to export Canadian content internationally (pp. 1-2). Shaw (2016) argued that, to have a "self-sustaining television production sector," policy needs to focus more on export growth for Canadian programming (p. 13). Rogers (2016) and Bell (2016) both agreed, both suggesting that a new framework for Canadian content should be focused on helping creators "export Canadian content beyond our borders" (p. 2; p. 6). The CMPA (2016) went further, and recommended that Canada develop a "concerted national export strategy," stating that this is "necessary for Canada's media content industries to be globally competitive" (p. 5). As has been mentioned, this recommendation was found in the final Creative Canada Policy Framework, with the government announcing its $125 million investment in the creation of a Creative Export Strategy (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 28).

However, not all stakeholders agreed that Canadian content should be aimed at both domestic and international success. For example, the Directors Guild of Canada [DGC] (2016) argued that "efforts and government priorities should also be focused on creating unique, innovative and distinctive Canadian content for Canadian and world audience" (p. 2). This emphasis on content being "distinctively Canadian" was almost never found in the Canadian Content in a Digital World submissions, and the DGC (2016) argued that, by telling unique, Canadian stories that project Canadian values, Canadian content could then succeed on the world stage (p. 2). Similarly, when defining Canadian content, the Making Media Public and Communications Policy Working Group [Working Group] (2016), consisting of academics from York University, stated that Canadian content "is the way we come to know and understand both ourselves and one another, and our country's place in the world" (p. 4). Therefore, the Working Group (2016), similarly to the Directors Guild of Canada, found that Canadian content has a vital role in Canada of telling Canadian stories and reflecting Canadian experiences.

On the other hand, Google Canada (2016) argued that there is no need to focus on domestic markets at all. They state that this rapid technological shift provides "tremendous new opportunities for Canadian creators, who now have access to global platforms that enable them to build global audiences" (p. 4). With creators' access to these platforms, they can "build and interact directly with global audiences" and thus, Google Canada (2016) argues that a new model should be "focussed on global markets, not domestic" for creative businesses to be self-sustaining (pp. 6, 16). They elaborate on this stating that "any new model must support the creation of content that focusses on the **audience** rather than attempting to force consumers to experience a certain type of content (e.g. CanCon)" (Google Canada, 2016, p. 6). This is a radically different approach to broadcasting policy in Canada, ultimately arguing that a new broadcasting policy model should

not have protections of Canadian content, so not to "force" consumers to experience it. This is especially interesting considering that numerous stakeholders still see the economic or social value to having government involvement in Canadian culture. Therefore, in the Canadian Content in a Digital Age consultations, there is a considerable focus on Canadian creators creating content for both domestic and international audiences but, when analyzing the submissions, there are some organizations that have differing ideas on how the balance between international and domestic should look.

LINCOLN REPORT

When comparing these two reports, the full title of the Lincoln Report is indicative of this shift: "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting." This title shows the focus of this report being specifically on cultural sovereignty and thus a focus on the "Canadian-ness" of the broadcasting system as a whole. Specifically, there is an emphasis on Canadian content being "distinctly Canadian," a phrase introduced right at the beginning of the consultation in their Terms of Reference, which set up the aims of this consultation process. In this document, the Committee introduced a list of questions they wanted participants to consider when contributing to the consultation, and two of the questions were:

- How effective is the current Canadian content quota system in promoting distinctively Canadian programming in an era of digital channels and Internet-based programming?
- What measures are required to maintain a distinctively Canadian broadcasting system? (Canada, 2001g)

A full list of the themes, topics, and questions addressed in this Terms of Reference document can be found in Appendix E. However, from these two questions, it is clear that, from the beginning

of the government's consultation, a critical consideration when discussing Canadian content was that it should be "distinctly Canadian."

In this report, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage focuses on Canadian broadcasting by looking at its cultural value and creating cultural goods that are "by Canadians, for Canadians" (Canada, 2003c, p. 164). Further, when introducing this report, the Committee specifically stressed the importance of broadcasting to Canadians, stating that, for many Canadians, broadcasting is "important to their quality of life" and that "for most it is a window on the world and a way of knowing about and participating in their communities" (Canada, 2003c, p. 3). When describing the importance of Canadian broadcasting, the Lincoln Report primarily does so in qualitative terms, describing more of an emotional, cultural attachment and need. This focus on Canadian-ness and Canadians can be found throughout the recommendations of the report. For example, the Lincoln Report does recommend changes to the "points" system for Canadian content to move away from simply rewarding content that meets the point requirements, but instead wants the points system to better reflect a "focus on the achievement of cultural objectives" and that ensures that Canadian content reaches Canadians (Canada, 2003c, p. 165). Also, when discussing ownership of Canadian broadcasting, the Committee argued that foreign ownership restrictions needed to be kept as is, for the restrictions are "sufficiently high to promote an influx of foreign capital without relinquishing Canadian control" of broadcasting in Canada (Canada, 2003c, p. 420).

The language used in this report is also indicative of this reframing of Canadian broadcasting policy where, in the Lincoln Report, the emphasis is on Canada and Canadians. Not that the 2017 consultations do not emphasize these but, when surveying sections of the Lincoln Report, it consistently shows how the committee is justifying their decisions through the lens of

Canadians and how their recommendations are essential to Canada and Canadians. For example, here is an excerpt from the conclusion of the Lincoln Report:

> The television programs that Canadians can take pride in and want to watch are created and produced by talented individuals working in teams. The most fundamental task, therefore, is to organize government support, regulations and funding so that they will support the resourcefulness and talents of the individuals who will create the programs Canadians will want to hear or watch. (Canada, 2003c, p. 614).

The emphasis here is not on the success of the content or of its creators but instead is on content that Canadians would take pride in and want to watch. Further, when discussing Canadian content, the reports states that:

> Although the future will be difficult, the Committee sees no reason why Canadian producers and broadcasters cannot build on existing success and continue to produce television programs Canadians will take pride in and want to watch (Canada, 2003c, p. 173).

When discussing community and local broadcasting, the Committee focuses on "citizen access," stating that it should "remain a fundamental objective of the Canadian broadcasting system as it is only through access that a diversity of voices, views and representations can be ensured" (Canada, 2003, p. 360). This quote shows that the Committee values both diversity and Canadians' access to different perspectives, including through local programming.

This focus on "distinctly Canadian" content can be found in many submissions to the consultation as well. For example, some were concerned about a decrease in "distinctly Canadian" content, with the WGC arguing that the existing framework was leading to "the premature demise of distinctly Canadian series" (p. 7). Also, the CMG (2001) argued that, so far, the private sector had yet to deliver on "the hoped-for distinctiveness in Canadian programming" (p. 4). However,

the CBC (2002) ensured that they would continue to meet these needs, proclaiming that "distinctive high-quality programming is the essence of the CBC" (p. 17). Also, there were many mentions about the importance that Canadians hear their stories through Canadian content, hence emphasizing that Canadian content should be recognizably Canadian. For example, the WGC (2001) states that "if Canada is to exist as a nation, its people must continue to tell each other stories that reflect their experience" (p. 1). This idea of reflecting unique Canadian experiences is often reiterated by the WGC (2016), as well as CAB (pp. 2-3). Further, many broadcasters and organizations discuss the importance of having programming that shows a variety of Canadian perspectives and reflects Canadian opinions, ideas, and values across regions and cultures (Astral, 2001, pp. 3, 5, 12; CAB, 2001, p. 1; CBC, 2002, pp. ii, 18; CMG, 2001, p. 15; Rogers, 2001, pp. 2, 4). Therefore, with many stakeholders finding that Canadian content should reflect Canadians' "shared experiences" and values, it appears that the prevailing view at the time was that Canadian content should be distinctly Canadian (CHUM, 2001, p. 9).

Some stakeholders at this time were looking towards the possibilities and opportunities of global markets. For example, in AOL's (2001) submission, they stated that:

New communications technologies have highlighted the opportunities which global markets present for Canadian cultural products by providing ever-expanding means for the effective delivery of cultural products to the world at large, in turn increasing interest in and demand for these products. Indeed, only with liberalized access to export markets can the full potential of the new communications technologies be realized for the Canadian cultural community (pp. ii-iii).

AOL (2001) was noting the potential for export of Canadian content and further argued that globalization would increasingly "provide an important means of financial support for the Canadian cultural community" (p. iii). Also, Corus, the Canadian media company, noted that their

mission was to "develop, promote and exhibit Canadian content to the world" and that Canadian content needed to be of a "world class calibre" and appeal to international audiences to compete (pp. 2-4). Finally, CanWest Global Communications Corp. (2001), asked the committee to consider how broadcasters would be able to achieve the scale needed to be competitive in the increasingly global marketplace (pp. 12-13)

Although it was mentioned in some Lincoln Report submissions, the international focus that was so evident in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations was almost wholly ignored in the final Lincoln Report. Where, in the launch of the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, it says they are seeking input on "how to strengthen the creation, discovery and export of Canadian content," in the Lincoln Report the word "export" is rarely found, with it never appearing in the recommendations. On the contrary, in the chapter where the Lincoln report discusses globalization and cultural diversity, the Committee proposes the creation of "an international instrument to protect cultural sovereignty," which appears to be a support of distinctly Canadian content for Canadian audiences (Canada, 2003c, p. 525). Other words that are rarely found in the recommendations of the Lincoln Report are "global" and "international." Instead, when discussing Canadian content, the Lincoln Report recommends that a Canadian content policy include "a strong emphasis on measures to ensure that Canadian programming is viewed by Canadian audiences" (Canada, 2003c, p. 159). Therefore, when researching these two policy reports, it shows the shift in the reports from a focus on distinctly Canadian content for Canadian audiences in the Lincoln Report to a focus on the international viability and success of Canadian content in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations.

FROM CULTURAL GOOD TO ECONOMIC GOOD

LINCOLN REPORT

The second shift that can be observed when comparing these policy reports is a shift from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good in the Lincoln Report to viewing broadcasting as more of an economic good in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. This view of broadcasting as a cultural good can be found throughout the Lincoln Report. From the beginning of this consultation, when it was first announced, one of the questions the Committee wanted to answer was:

> One of the goals of the *Broadcasting Act*, according to section 3 (d)(i), is to "safeguard, enrich, and strengthen the cultural … fabric of Canada." From your standpoint, what exactly is "the cultural fabric of Canada" and is it possible to draft content requirements that will, in fact, safeguard, enrich, and strengthen it? (Canada, 2001g).

Also, when introducing the final Lincoln Report, the Standing Committee laid out some of its fundamental values, emphasizing that "broadcasting is an essential preserve of the Canadian culture and imagination" (Canada, 2003a).

Examples of this emphasis on broadcasting as a cultural good can be found throughout the Lincoln Report. Most explicitly, when discussing globalization and cultural diversity, the report states that "it is important to remember that Canada's broadcasting policy is in fact a cultural policy" and that, therefore, cultural products need to continue to be exempt from trade policy (Canada, 2003c, p. 525). There continue to be cultural exemptions in trade agreements to this day, including the cultural exemption that exists in the current North American Free Trade Agreement (Lemieux & Jackson, 1999). However, the above quotation makes the point that the committee believes that broadcasting policy is cultural policy and therefore should be viewed in cultural terms, as opposed to economic. This leads to another way the policy frames are different for each

report: the way in which each report frames success in broadcasting policy. In the Lincoln Report, success would be the creation of a Canadian broadcasting system that is Canadian, meets cultural objectives, and in the best interest of Canadians, stating that:

> In the end, we need a healthy and financially viable broadcasting system that reflects and enhances our daily experience, that promotes education and dialogue, and that stirs our hearts and imaginations. Most of all we need a broadcasting system that allows us to see, hear and be ourselves. (Canada, 2003c, p. 19).

Through this quote, one can establish that, for the Standing Committee for Canadian Heritage, they viewed success in the Canadian broadcasting system as a system that reflects Canadians and their perspectives and values.

This view of broadcasting as a cultural good can also be found in the submissions, where the value of Canadian cultural sovereignty is often discussed along with broadcasting acting as a tool to protect and promote Canadian culture. First, multiple stakeholders focused on the ability of broadcasting to maintain national sovereignty and the importance of doing so. For example, the WGC (2001) argued that the objectives of existing broadcasting policy were "crucial to maintaining our sovereignty as a nation" and that getting rid of regulation would be a "disaster" for protecting this sovereignty" (pp. 3-4). Also, Astral (2001) states that Canadian ownership must be maintained in Canadian broadcasting to build and maintain national sovereignty (pp. 3, 12). Also, with many stakeholders, there is an emphasis on protecting and promoting Canada's culture, cultural identity and cultural heritage, with the WGC (2001), stating that "cultural objectives must not be undermined by purely economic or technological objectives" (pp. 5, 12; Astral, 2001, p. 4; Corus, 2001, p. 3; Rogers, 2001, p. 2). CBC (2002) expanded on this, stating that these cultural objectives needed to be better defined with mentions of the CBC's importance to achieving these cultural objectives (p. 38). Few stakeholders showed a more economic view of broadcasting

similar to what was observed in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. For instance, AOL Time Warner (2001), which noted how new technologies "have highlighted the opportunities which global markets present for Canadian cultural products by providing ever-expanding means for the effective delivery of cultural products," and acknowledged "the importance of cultural business in Canada to economic growth and employment opportunities for Canadians," therefore focussing on the more economic benefits of Canadian content and culture (pp. i-ii).

On the other hand, culture is viewed differently in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. Culture and broadcasting in these documents are often promoted in dollars and cents, as well as their contribution to the Canadian economy. This can be found throughout the early consultation documents. When the consultations were launched, they were justified in economic terms, saying that the consultation will help the cultural sector navigate this rapid technological change and will "contribute to Canada's economic growth and innovation" (Government of Canada, 2016g). Further, in the consultation paper, the government said that one of the goals of this process was to recognize "that creativity is at the heart of innovation and key to a strong middle class and Canada's success in the 21st century" (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 3). Also, in their consultation report, Ipsos Public Affairs recommended some areas to explore further, including to "reposition the cultural sector as an engine of economic growth and innovation in Canada" and to "encourage risk and multisector collaboration to spur innovation" (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 11). This emphasis on culture's contribution to the middle class was also reiterated in this consultation report (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 33).

This economic view of Canadian culture is also emphasized in the Creative Canada Policy Framework. For example, when the Department of Canadian Heritage explains how Canadian culture is thriving, it describes it regarding its economic successes. It states that "culture has a significant economic impact: it provides 630,000 jobs for Canadians and contributes $54.6 billion per year in economic activity" and how this contribution to Canada's GDP is "double the agriculture, fisheries, and forestry sectors combined" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 7; Government of Canada, 2016h). These exact statistics can be found numerous times throughout the consultations documents (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 10; 2016h; 2017). Likewise, the Department of Canadian Heritage (2017) provides facts and figures about different sectors within the creative industries, focusing on their financial value and their "contribution", like how there is $7 billion worth of film and TV production in Canada, which creates $3 billion in export value and $1 billion in post-production revenues (p. 8). When discussing the policy framework's plan to increase funding for the Canada Media Fund, it is justified by Mélanie Joly because, the previous year, the CMF "supported more than 28,000 industry jobs" through the shows that it funded and that the new funding will continue to "support good jobs" (Government of Canada, 2017b; Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 15).

Also, when examining the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, the report uses a different type of language focusing again on business and the economy. What some have called "Silicon Valley jargon", the consultation documents for Canadian Content in a Digital World are full of terms like innovation, risk-taking, creative economy/industries, global marketplace/competition, and investments, collaboration, promotion and development (Canadian Heritage, 2017; Government of Canada, 2016a; Wells, 2017). For example, here is an excerpt from the introduction of the Creative Canada Policy Framework:

Our approach is about building on success. It's about positioning Canada as a world leader in putting its creative industries at the centre of its future economy. We know that the economies of the future will rely on creativity and innovation to create jobs and foster growth. To be competitive in the world, we must invest now to create the conditions for success, to develop and keep our talent in both French and English here at home, and to make sure we have a domestic market for content on which our international success will depend (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 5).

Further, the consultation paper states that the goals of these consultations were around "valuing the social and economic contributions of our creators and cultural entrepreneurs, recognizing that creativity is at the heart of innovation and key to a strong middle class and Canada's success in the 21st century" (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 3). Even in the framework's commitments, this economic emphasis can be seen, with the government committing $1.9 billion to invest in "innovation, creativity and growth" in the Canadian cultural industries over the next five years (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 13). Also, the government commits to modernizing the Canadian Periodical Fund and to, through this fund, "give consideration to ways to better support innovation, business development, start-ups and export" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 33). This type of language is relatively common in business today, but this is a relatively new and different discursive approach to looking at broadcasting and culture in Canada. Although words like innovation and competition appear in the Lincoln Report, these themes are central to the approach of the Creative Canada Policy Framework which shows this shift in the language around Canadian broadcasting policy. Another term commonly used in these consultations in referring to the cultural sector as the "creative industries," which is done consistently and numerous times throughout the consultation process. This term not only implies a business focus on creative production but also, by calling them the creative industries, instead of the cultural industries, as they are often called in the Lincoln Report, it shows a shift away from a cultural focus.

This emphasis on the economic value of broadcasting is also evident throughout the stakeholder submissions. For example, Bell (2016), states that the *Broadcasting Act* must be updated with a focus on driving "economic success and employment for Canadians" (p. 5). This shift can be observed most clearly through the prominence of this "Silicon Valley" jargon as well as its emphasis on economic objectives. One example of this is that creators, when not addressed as content creators, are often called "creative entrepreneurs", "content entrepreneurs" or "cultural entrepreneurs," rather than artists (CMPA, 2016, p. 5; Google, 2016, p. 5; Rogers, 2016, p. 2). The CMPA (2016), Google (2016), and Rogers (2016) all use these terms and argue that policy change is necessary so that these entrepreneurs are supported (p. 5; p. 5; p. 2). This term shows the emphasis on creators not just as artistic creators, but also businesspeople.

An emphasis on risk-taking and experimentation is also pervasive throughout the consultations. However, there appear to be two separate interpretations of risk-taking: creative risk-taking and financial risk-taking. For example, the DGC (2016) emphasizes that there need to be incentives for creative risk-taking (p. 4). Specifically, they state that policy should encourage this kind of risk-taking "instead of working within the logic of capital accumulation as the end goal" (DGC, 2016, p. 15). Similarly, the Working Group (2016) states talent development is crucial and that "tomorrow's leaders must be given a chance to experiment, fail, and then succeed" (p. 9). On the other hand, there are recommendations from corporations for the government to allow for more financial risk-taking and flexibility. For instance, EntertainmentOne (2016) states that "cultural policy should better support risk-takers", and corporations Bell (2016), Corus (2016) and the CBC (2016) all argue that greater flexibility in broadcasting policy is required for them, as broadcasting organizations, to compete and create (p. 2; p. 6; p. 2; p. 4).

Additionally, there is a focus on investment, and specifically on investing in culture and investing in creators. In the CBC's (2016) submission, they state that their preferred model for broadcasting policy would have "the flexibility to allow CBC/Radio-Canada to invest in Canadian creators and promote Canada globally, including more opportunities for investment in content and distribution" (p. 4). Google similar argues that funding models for broadcasting should be shifted so that they are viewed as "strategic investment in creative entrepreneurs" (p. 16). Finally, one of the most consistent themes throughout the submissions was a discussion of innovation and innovating in Canadian culture and broadcasting. The word innovation is used multiple times in most of the submissions that were read, with Corus (2016) stating that "quality, innovation and risk-taking are the key ingredients of success" (p. 2). The primary argument is that government regulation of Canadian broadcasting cannot get in the way of corporations and creators' ability to innovate in these creative spaces (Bell, 2016, p. 6; CMPA, 2016, p. 5). Many argue that a greater ability to innovate will lead to positive outcomes for Canadian broadcasting. For example, Corus (2016) argues that "innovation will lead to a stronger cultural system" rather than "the current system of progressive fees, tariffs, analog-based rules and conditions" (p. 10). Netflix Inc. (2016) also argues that "unrestricted competition and innovation have led to greater investment, higher quality production and broader distribution" (p. 10).

While the Lincoln Report frames success around cultural objectives, with the Creative Industries Policy Framework, success is primarily based on the financial success of Canadian creators and the creative industries. The Creative Canada Policy Framework states that the government "can achieve social and cultural objectives as well as economic ones" yet also states that their vision is for Canada to be a "global leader in culture and creativity" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, pp. 35-36). Unlike the vision of the Lincoln Report which emphasizes the need for Canadians

to "see, hear, and express themselves," the emphasis of the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations is that the content created by Canadians be seen and heard internationally (Canada, 2003c, p. 18). Furthermore, the first pillar of the Creative Canada Policy Framework focuses heavily on investing in creators, with investments in funding structures, skills and development, and creative spaces for creators (Canadian Heritage, 2017, pp. 13-14, 16). Therefore, when it comes to defining success in the Creative Canada Policy Framework, it appears that it views success as creating the best possible environment for creators to succeed financially.

Thus, although the Lincoln Report does take time to laud the successes of the Canadian broadcasting industry and its successes, when one compares the two reports, one can see that the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations are much more focused on viewing broadcasting and culture in terms of their economic successes and ability to contribute to the Canadian economy and the middle class. On the other hand, in the Lincoln Report, broadcasting is viewed as a cultural policy and therefore it is perceived as a cultural good which can be used as a tool to maintain Canadian sovereignty and identity.

FROM PUBLIC INTEREST TO CREATORS' INTEREST

By investigating these last two shifts in the discourse around broadcasting policy in Canada, one can begin to establish one of the defining differences between these two reports: *who* is the focus of each. On the second page of the Lincoln Report, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage states that "the guiding principle that has motivated the Committee members is that the broadcasting system must above all serve the interests of the Canadian people" (Canada, 2003c, p. 4). As Rein and Schön state in their work on policy frames, "frames exert a powerful influence on what we see and neglect, and how we interpret what we see" (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 151). From reading the documents around the Canadian Content and the Digital Age

consultations, the public interest was one of the things that was practically excluded from the discourse. Instead, the Creative Canada Policy Framework reframed this policy issue from making it centred around the public interest to being centred around the creators' interest, stating that "creators, broadly defined, must be at the centre of our new approach for the creative industries" (Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 11).

LINCOLN REPORT

As was just stated, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage stated at the beginning of the Lincoln Report that their work was guided by centring their policy decisions around the public interest. Before beginning this section, it is important to note that the concept of the public interest can be conceptualized in many ways but, since this research is an analysis of policy documents, for this research, it is important to view the public interest specifically as it is portrayed in the documents. Therefore, when conceptualizing the public interest, this research will focus on how the public interest is portrayed in the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Broadcasting" report. In this report, the public interest is best portrayed in creating a broadcasting policy that is in the best interest of Canadians. This view of the public interest focuses much more on Canadians as citizens rather than Canadians as consumers. As is indicated in the title of this report, this is seen more through a lens of protecting Canadian sovereignty of content and maintaining a "Canadian-ness" to the Canadian broadcasting system, rather than focusing on economic objectives and a more consumer-friendly agenda.

When examining the recommendations of the Lincoln Report, the government does want broadcasting to succeed as an industry by recommending tax credits and other incentives. This focus on the public interest can be observed throughout the report, with its emphasis on cultural sovereignty, meeting cultural objectives, increasing the diversity of voices, and increasing

transparency and accountability in the broadcasting system, which appears to be more centred around the best interest of Canadians. For example, this report makes a recommendation for "increased funding for efforts to enhance diversity in Canadian broadcasting" so that a wider range of voices are heard (Canada, 2003c, p. 543). Also, the report recommends that broadcasting institutions like the CRTC, CBC, and the Canadian Television Fund update their policies and mandates so that their roles are better clarified and so they "reflect the need to enhance diversity" (Canada, 2003c, pp. 543, 587, 592).

In the Lincoln Report, there is also a heavy emphasis on the improvement of overall governance of the Canadian broadcasting system. In the conclusion of the report, it states that the Committee

> sees governance as an essential element of the Canadian broadcasting system and notes that the one thread that unites all previous studies of the *Broadcasting Act* is the notion that government involvement is central to ensuring that Canadians have a wide choice of Canadian programming (Canada, 2003c, p. 609).

This focus on improving governance for Canadians proves the Lincoln Report's emphasis on serving the public interest. This can be seen through its commitment to "greater responsibility, transparency and accountability, for a broadcasting system that reflects what is distinctive about Canada, its racial and cultural diversity, its multitude of expressions and values" (Canada, 2003c, p. 4). This emphasis on the public interest is evident in the Lincoln Report through its consistent commitment to accountability and governance of the broadcasting system. This is a substantial focus in this report, ensuring that the broadcasting system is not only successful, but also efficient, effective, and accountable. This can be observed throughout the recommendations, which suggests measures to make sure that changes were made were "most appropriate to make the system more responsive and more accountable to Canadians at large" (Canada, 2003c, p. 617). The Committee

argued that there was a problem with accountability in the Canadian broadcasting system, where performance could not be easily measured or evaluated. To remedy this, one of the recommendations made was "that a renewed broadcasting policy include clear, measurable goals and objectives as well as a process for evaluation and accountability" (Canada, 2003c, p. 638). This ideal can be found in many recommendations of this report, specifically where it is recommended that "responsible departments and stakeholders put in place a mechanism to collect relevant, timely, and comparable performance measures on the Canadian broadcasting system" (Canada, 2003c, p. 604). Likewise, the Report recommended establishing targets for all Canadian content policies to measure performance and to present annual reports and conduct bi-annual reviews of the programs put in place to ensure these targets were met and that these programs were transparent (Canada, (Canada, 2003, pp. 170-171, 219). Also, regarding transparency, the Committee makes many recommendations to improve the appointments systems for agencies like the CBC and CRTC and to try to minimize conflicts of interest (Canada, 2003c, p. 635-636).

The Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage also recommended the establishment of new departments, agencies, and legislation to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the Canadian broadcasting system. For example, the Committee recommends the recreation of the Department of Communications that would house all government issues in broadcasting, telecommunications, and media (Hillmer, 2006). This department was created through the Department of Communications Act in 1969 but was eliminated in 1993, with these areas being split between the Departments of Canadian Heritage and Industry (Hillmer, 2006). They also make specific recommendations on how to update the *Broadcasting Act*, like changing the wording when addressing accessible and Indigenous broadcasting so that it is a priority and not merely done when resources are available (Canada, 2003c, pp. 629, 633). They also recommended the creation of a

Canadian Broadcasting Monitor to "report annually on how well the objectives of the *Broadcasting Act* are being met" (Canada, 2003c, p. 639). Finally, in considering the need for a "comprehensive policy statement for Canada's broadcasting system," the Committee recommended that the government consider merging the *Broadcasting Act*, *Telecommunications Act*, and the *Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Act* into a single, comprehensive Communications Act (Canada, 2003c, p. 585).

What is interesting is that, with many of the Lincoln Report's recommendations being around governance and accountability, this is not seen in the submissions to the Committee. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, a sizeable number of the submissions analyzed argued that the current broadcasting governance system worked well and was adaptable enough to new realities that it did not need to be changed. Of those who believed policy reform was necessary, most argued for policy reform within the pre-existing system, like the CBC (2002), which recommends "a re-balancing of policy and regulatory instruments," and other organizations like the CMG (2001) and Corus (2001), which recommend reviews and revisions of funding mechanisms, regulations and policies, but not overhauls of the system and legislation (p. 2; pp. 30-31; p. 3). Also, the accountability and transparency aspect that was prevalent in the Lincoln Report was not considered in the submissions analyzed, as was found in the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. However, it is interesting to note, that some of the Lincoln Report's most interesting governance recommendations were addressed in submissions from Telesat (2001) and AOL Time Warner (2001). First, Telesat (2001), a Canadian satellite company, noted that it had to navigate both broadcasting policy and telecommunications policy in Canada, and that "previous distinctions between the two sectors [were] diminishing as convergence of digital technologies and the Internet [established] a new platform for these industries" (p. 14). Because of this, Telesat

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(2001) recommended streamlined regulation "which is applied consistently to companies operating either in broadcasting or in telecommunications," and in the Lincoln Report, it was recommended that the *Broadcasting Act* and *Telecommunications Act* be combined (p. 14; Canada, 2003a, p. 636). AOL Time Warner (2001) recommended the recreation of the Department of Communications to best address this increasing convergence in communications, which was also recommended in the Lincoln Report. These organizations, both identified earlier as ones who addressed increasing convergence, provided these interesting recommendations to overhaul the system, both recommendations that were ultimately included in the final Lincoln Report's recommendations (p. iv; Canada, 2003c, p. 636).

CANADIAN CONTENT IN A DIGITAL WORLD

When analyzing the Creative Canada Policy Framework, never are any of the decisions made explicitly justified by their impact on Canadians, outside of how these policies would benefit Canada's middle class and the Canadian economy. Instead, because of their creator-centric approach, these documents focus on how creators will benefit from this policy. This is interesting to note because, although in both cases there were extensive consultations, the Lincoln Report primarily consulted with industry and organizations, while the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations were open to thousands of Canadians to contribute. However, when the final policy reports were released, the Lincoln Report was centred on the public interest, while the Creative Canada Policy Framework was focused on creators and the creative industries. Therefore, although both reports address similar problems in Canadian broadcasting, their different focuses and goals create vastly different policy discourses.

From the beginning of these consultations, there is a clear focus on creators. In the consultation paper they state that, regarding what the government is trying to achieve, "above all,

it means valuing the social and economic contributions of our creators and cultural entrepreneurs" (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 3). Following these consultations, some of the themes deemed essential in this consultation were "reasserting the role of Canadian creators in the digital age" and "defining Canadian cultural content and cultural creators" (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, p. 8). Furthermore, when discussing the "Focusing on Citizens and Creators" pillar, this same consultation report focuses heavily on creators, instead of citizens, with subheadings like "Supporting our creators," "Investing in our creators," "Developing our creators," "Protecting our creators," and then "Respecting citizen choice" (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017, pp. 14-25). Also, in her speech announcing the Creative Canada Policy Framework, Joly states that "we must find a new way – a Canadian way – to support our content creators, to ensure they can compete, and to create a space for them in markets and platforms at home and around the world" (Government of Canada, 2017). Even before the final policy framework was released, it seemed apparent that it would be focussed on creators of Canadian content.

Like the Lincoln Report, discussions around the diversity of voices also take place in the Creative Canada Policy Framework, specifically focusing on creating opportunities for indigenous creators, official-language minority communities, and increasing gender parity in the creative industries (Canadian Heritage, 2017, pp. 18-22). However, the framework is primarily focused on ensuring the success of Canadian creators as a whole and on the success of Canadian content in the global marketplace. For example, in this policy framework, they have committed $550 million to new funding models through the Canada Council for the Arts, new funding for the Canada Media Fund, $300 million for the new Canada Cultural Spaces Fund to create hubs to "nurture and incubate the next generation of creative entrepreneurs," and $125 million for the creation of a Creative Export Strategy (Canadian Heritage, 2017, pp. 14–16, 28). It appears that there are far

more measures in place in the Creative Canada Policy Framework to provide funding and support for creators than there are to ensure diversity of voices in the creative industries.

There is much less of a focus on updating or changing the Canadian broadcasting governance system in the Creative Canada Policy Framework. They do commit to reviewing the *Broadcasting Act*, the *Telecommunications Act*, and the *Copyright Act* in the future. However, they did not provide specifics on what they planned to update or what their visions for these pieces of legislation were. They also commit to modernizing various programs and funds like the Canada Media, Music, Periodical, and Book Funds. However, what is not included in any of the recommendations of the Creative Canada Policy Framework is the accountability/evaluation factor that is so prevalent in the Lincoln Report. One of the most challenging aspects to determine when reading through the Creative Canada Policy Framework is how the government will know if they have been successful in their goals, and this is likely because this document does not detail how the government will measure performance and how they will evaluate this policy.

It is important, however, to note that the Creative Canada Policy Framework does, at times, go around traditional policy mechanisms and governance systems to make new commitments to broadcasting and culture. For example, as was mentioned earlier, one of the headline commitments of this policy framework was a $500 million deal that the government struck with over-the-top television broadcaster Netflix. This deal was not done through the traditional Canadian broadcasting governance system and instead was a deal approved through Investment Canada to create Netflix Canada, "a new home for Netflix original productions in Canada" (Netflix Media Center, 2017). The Creative Canada Policy Framework's other deals with media companies like Facebook and Google show more unique ways of achieving policy objectives outside of the traditional Canadian broadcasting governance system. These decisions appear to be more in line

with the idea that these decisions will benefit Canadian creators by making the content they create more discoverable on these major platforms.

Many who contributed to the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations agree with the idea of cultural policy being centred around creators. Not surprisingly, this was the opinion of many groups that represent artists and creators. For example, ACTRA (2016), which represents Canadian actors, states that the government must "put the creator at the heart of the policy" and that decisions have to be about "ensuring our storytellers have the capacity and opportunity to bring high-quality works to the market" (pp. 2, 8). They further state that government must "ensure artists are valued and appropriately supported to unleash their creativity" (ACTRA, 2016, p. 8). The CMPA (2016), which represents media producers, states that government must "maximize the use of Canadian creative talent" and that policy must be "tailored to the unique needs of media content entrepreneurs" (pp. 4-5). The Directors Guild of Canada (2016) states that "orienting public intervention more directly in support of artists will energize key creative risk-taking among key players across the system" (p. 4). Finally, the Writers Guild of Canada (2016), argued that "Canadian creators – and in particular, Canadian screenwriters – must be a core component of how we define domestic Canadian content" (pp. 1-2). Outside of creator groups like these, other stakeholders argued that the government should place a greater emphasis on talent development in the creative industries (EntertainmentOne, 2016, p. 2; Working Group, 2016, p. 9). Also, Rogers (2016) stated that the government's funding mechanisms must "ensure that Canada's creators and cultural entrepreneurs continue to produce compelling and engaging content for Canadian and international audiences" (p. 2). However, some submissions discuss the public interest, with the Forum for Research and Policy in Communications [FRPC] (2016) requesting that "Parliament must explicitly require that the CRTC exercise its duties in the public interest" (p. 15). Also, the

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting [FCB] (2016) stated their concern that the current regulatory environment "places consumer choice ahead of citizens' access to quality Canadian content" which negatively impacts Canadians' access to this quality Canadian content (p. 1).

There is also a focus on embracing Canadian diversity in the Canadian broadcasting system in these submissions. Specifically, ACTRA (2016), the DGC (2016), and the Working Group (2016) all state argue that diversity is Canada's competitive advantage, and therefore should be promoted within the Canadian broadcasting system (p. 12; p. 6; p. 10). The Working Group (2016) expands on this, stating that "the business case for diversity cannot be ignored" (p. 10). Finally, in their submission, PIAC (2016), keeps the diversity of voices in mind when recommending that "policy and funding support should also pay particular attention to the needs of minority groups and local communities" (p. 22). This is interesting because from analyzing the Creative Canada Policy Framework, the idea of viewing diversity through a business lens as these organizations do appears to fit well with the values of this framework. However, this view does not appear in this policy framework, instead focusing on specific diversity objectives targeting indigenous creators, gender parity, and official-language minority communities.

As was mentioned earlier in this section, most stakeholder submissions that were analyzed argued that the Canadian cultural policy system is "broken" and in need of substantial reform. Therefore, there were many calls in these submissions for the government to improve the governance structure around Canadian broadcasting. However, like the Creative Canada Policy Framework, few stakeholders addressed accountability and transparency like how it was emphasized in the Lincoln Report. The only instance in which this was discussed was in the FRPC's (2016) submission, where the Forum discussed specific measures to improve the accountability and governance of Canadian broadcasting. For example, they recommended that

the government "state clearly which policy objectives must be achieved, and which are left to the CRTC's discretion" (FRPC, 2016, abstract). The FRPC also recommends the government review the appeal process for CRTC decisions and to "require the CRTC to report on the degree to which Parliament's policies and objectives for Canada's electronic communications system are being achieved" (p. 15). Outside of this submission, from those analyzed, there were no other submissions which made recommendations about the governance structure, transparency, and accountability of the Canadian broadcasting system. For example, no submissions analyzed made recommendations around government structural inefficiencies or accountability deficiencies that were addressed in the Lincoln Report and, for the most part, have never been remedied.

Instead, most of the recommendations around governance in these submissions are at the policy level rather than the structural level. Some, like Bell (2016), argued that the *Broadcasting Act* needed substantial reform, but many made policy recommendations that could potentially be made without revising the *Act*. Many recommended updating the funding mechanisms that are currently in place to fund Canadian content. Specifically, ACTRA (2016) recommended finding new sources of funding, the CMG (2016), recommended there be increased funding supports, EntertainmentOne (2016) recommended the funding process be streamlined, and Rogers (2016) recommended all funding to be exclusively tax credits (p. 11; p. 11-12; p. 3; p. 2). For the most part, stakeholders' recommendations were centred around the idea that the government needed to create a more "level playing field" in Canadian broadcasting. A controversial idea to generate new funding for Canadian content were to impose a tax on internet service providers (ISPs) to contribute to Canadian content funds as they provide the means for people to watch online broadcasting. This idea was supported by ACTRA (2016), the WGC (2016), and the CMPA (2016), which are all groups representing Canadian creators (p. 11; p. 26; p. 4). Meanwhile, many

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stakeholders, including ISPs Bell (2016), Rogers (2016), and Shaw (2016); as well as PIAC (2016) and academic Michael Geist (2016) strongly opposed this proposal (p. Also, some stakeholders recommended that a portion of money acquired from spectrum auctions specifically for Canadian content (ACTRA, 2016, pp. 11-12; CMG, 2016, p. 11; PIAC, 2016, p. 25; WGC, 2016, p. 30; Geist, 2016, p. 3). Another suggestion that was more popular among stakeholders was what Michael Geist (2016) called the "general revenue approach" which is that foreign digital services, like Netflix and Google/YouTube, "with a sizable Canadian consumer base should pay digital sales taxes such as GST or HST" (pp. 2-3). However, none of these specific funding suggestions were found in the final Creative Canada Policy Framework. Therefore, in the Canadian Content in the Digital Age consultations, there was a focus on policy to be created in the interest of Canadian creators, rather than in the public interest, with more of a focus on the financial success of creators, and less of a focus on transparency, accountability, and improved governance of the Canadian broadcasting system.

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THESE REPORTS

Before concluding this analysis, it is important first to clarify structural differences between these two reports, mainly the difference in who published each one and the scope of each consultation process. First, the Lincoln Report was presented to the House of Commons by the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage. A House of Commons Standing Committee consists of Members of Parliament from all parties that meet to discuss issues and conduct studies on a given subject area (House of Commons, 2018). They must "report conclusions of those examinations, and recommendations, to the House" (House of Commons, 2018). Therefore, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage can conduct in-depth studies and publish reports on issues about Canadian Heritage, but it cannot unilaterally change policy. Instead, these reports provide recommendations to Parliament, where the government of the day can decide whether or

not to follow through with the recommendations of the Committee. On the other hand, the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations was conducted by the Department of Canadian Heritage. This means that, in the final Creative Canada Policy Framework, the report was able to make commitments instead of recommendations as a government department conducted this consultation and report which means it has the support of government and, in a sense, had already chosen which recommendations they would move forward with and commit to. This can help to explain the difference in the number of recommendations/actions between the two reports where the Lincoln Report provides 96 recommendations, while the Creative Canada Policy Framework only provides approximately 25 different commitments. Therefore, although both reports were released during governments controlled by the Liberal Party of Canada, it is important to note that the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations were conducted on behalf of the government, while the Lincoln Report was created through a Committee in the House of Commons, simply providing recommendations to the government of the time.

The other primary difference is the scope of each report. For the Lincoln Report, the report was particular to Canadian broadcasting and the Canadian broadcasting system. Therefore, the Committee, with a narrower focus, was able to go further in-depth to study the Canadian broadcasting system. On the other hand, the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations was focused on Canadian content and the creative industries as a whole. Because of that, this consultation process was more broad, and covered topics outside of just broadcasting, like Canadian news content and Canadian content in music, books, and the creative industries as a whole. Therefore, although many of the actions taken in the Creative Canada Policy Framework apply to the Canadian broadcasting system, it is not as in-depth of a look as in the Lincoln Report. Perhaps it is intended that a more thorough exploration of the Canadian broadcasting system will

occur as the government takes on reform of the *Broadcasting Act*, which the Creative Canada Policy Framework committed to reform.

A COMPARATIVE SHIFT IN FOCUS

　　As has been displayed throughout this chapter, by analyzing the different policy frames around broadcasting for both the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, there has been an apparent shift in the policy discourse around broadcasting and culture in Canada. Although the reports both found similar issues in the Canadian broadcasting system and both found that substantial reform was required, because of shifting policy frames, the two reports provide considerably different policy views and policy solutions. The three key shifts identified are displayed in the chart below:

Table 2.1: Description of policy discourse shifts found through the analysis of these two reports

From (Lincoln Report)	To (Canadian Content in a Digital World)
A focus on Canadian broadcasting content being "distinctly Canadian."	A focus on Canadian broadcasting content being internationally viable and successful
A view of Canadian broadcasting being a cultural good and cultural policy	A view of Canadian broadcasting being an economic good and economic policy
A view of Canadian broadcasting policy being created in the interest of Canadians	A view of broadcasting policy being created in the interest of Canadian creators

These shifts in views around broadcasting policy do not mean though that policies must focus on one or the other. As a matter of fact, one can see, through the analyzed stakeholder submissions, that there were organizations that described broadcasting differently than the dominant frame, like AOL Time Warner (2001), whose submission seemed to fit in more with the values of the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultation than the Lincoln Report. Thus, these shifts in the policy discourse can be described as shifts in comparative focus. As has been shown in this chapter, each report examines both sides of these issues, but it is how the focus has shifted to prioritize one over the other. For example, the Lincoln Report does look at the economic success

of the Canadian broadcasting industry but focuses more on viewing Canadian broadcasting as a cultural good and as a cultural policy used to uphold and maintain cultural sovereignty in Canadian broadcasting.

To conclude, when one examines these two reports, one can establish that both reports address similar issues in Canadian broadcasting. Both reports acknowledge the successes of Canadian broadcasting, both look to update the funding mechanisms in broadcasting, both emphasize the importance of local and community programming, and overall, both reports acknowledge the rapid pace of technological change in broadcasting technologies and look to find policy solutions to observe how broadcasting policy can best be changed in the age of the Internet. Although both reports address many of the same issues, through the different ways that each report frames broadcasting and frames these issues, the reports show substantially different ways in which they view broadcasting, which creates vastly different recommendations in each report. These differences can be best displayed through the three policy discourse shifts explained above: the shift from distinctly Canadian to internationally viable, the shift from cultural good to economic good, and the shift from the public interest to creators' interest.

CHAPTER 3: CONCLUSION

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

First, based on the analysis conducted, I will answer my research questions.

RQ1: Has the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting shifted when comparing the 2003 Lincoln Report to the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations?

Based on the analysis conducted in this thesis, I believe that, yes, there has been a shift in the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting when comparing these two reports.

RQ2: If yes, how can this policy discourse shift in broadcasting policy be described?

This shift in the policy discourse can be described as three specific shifts in the policy discourse: the shift from viewing Canadian broadcasting as distinctly Canadian to internationally viable, the shift from viewing Canadian broadcasting as a cultural good to an economic good, and finally the shift from crafting Canadian broadcasting policy in the public interest to the creators' interest.

RQ3: How does this shift impact the comparative outcomes (recommendations/actions) of each respective report?

Although both the Lincoln Report and the Canadian Culture in the Digital Age consultations address broadcasting in the digital age, through the shifts identified in the analysis section, each report provides differing recommendations on how to remedy or update the Canadian broadcasting system. Specifically, the Lincoln Report primarily focuses on Canadian broadcasting as distinctly Canadian, a cultural good, and creating policy in the public interest. Because of this, there is a considerable focus on governance, transparency, and accountability in the recommendations. Also, there is more of a focus on protecting the Canadian nature of Canadian

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broadcasting. On the other hand, the Canadian Culture in the Digital Age consultations had more of a focus on Canadian content being internationally viable, the economic value of broadcasting, and creating policy in the interest of creators. Because of this, the Creative Canada Policy Framework makes commitments that are more focused on the economic success of creators as well as the international distribution and export of Canadian content.

IMPORTANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

Therefore, as can be seen with this thesis, there has been a shift in the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting over the past fifteen years that can be observed when comparing the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report and the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations.

First, identifying and describing this shift in the policy discourse is important because of the time in which this shift took place. Considering that both reports were released under governments controlled by the Liberal Party of Canada, it is noteworthy that these reports would be so considerably different after only fifteen years. Also, since the political party/ideology was the same with both reports, it is interesting that the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations did not borrow more from the Lincoln Report, considering that the prior Liberal governments appeared to try to implement those recommendations, yet were unsuccessful in doing so before Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Conservative government took office. Further, as was mentioned in the literature, this research is relevant because it is essential to understand the history of broadcasting policy to understand new policy decisions and the significance of them. Although this thesis only conducts analysis explicitly at one moment in history rather than the full history of Canadian broadcasting policy, this comparison of the Lincoln Report to the recent Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations illuminates a critical shift in the policy discourse around

Canadian cultural policy which could not be readily identified had one not been familiar with previous reports on broadcasting policy. Vincent Mosco (2008) highlights the increasing use of historical research in the political economy field, showing that "media systems in place today are the result of a deeply contested history" (p. 49). Therefore, it is crucial not merely to accept policy decisions at a surface level but to better understand a policy decision through investigating its history and its predecessors to ultimately understand where these policies came from and their trajectories.

Furthermore, when historically analyzing the Lincoln Report in comparison to the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, it is important to use this knowledge to also look forward to the future of broadcasting policy. Specifically, through understanding the history of the Lincoln Report, it can provide a warning to those implementing the Creative Canada Policy Framework as to the implications of inaction. Unfortunately for the Committee who wrote the Lincoln Report, due to changes in political leaders and political parties, the 96 recommendations made to improve the Canadian broadcasting system were never implemented and never revisited. Moreover, as was mentioned in the introduction, no reviews of a similar scale were conducted again to address the issues and recommendations addressed in this report until the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. Therefore, the Canadian broadcasting system did not get the updates that it arguably needed to serve the public interest best and to begin to adapt to and examine how Canadian broadcasting would look in the digital age. Although broadcasting policy has addressed broadcasting in the digital age through other means, like through CRTC regulation, the *Broadcasting Act* has barely been revised since it was introduced in 1991 and has not been analyzed in debated thoroughly since the Lincoln Report. Therefore, it is also vital that today's Liberal government works to move forward with the commitments that they have made and begin

the legislative reviews that they promised in the Creative Canada Policy Framework for, with an election set for October 2019, it would be unfortunate to let another thorough review of cultural policy in Canada not to be used due to a shift in Canadian political leadership.

However, it is also important to note that, while there was a shift in the focus of each report, that there were common issues addressed between the two. Although the two reports were released almost fifteen years apart and considering the policy discussions and technological advances that occurred between the reports, it is interesting to note how much the two reports do have in common. As was mentioned earlier on, this builds upon a notion brought forward by many political economists about the cyclicity of policy issues. For example, in Winseck & Pike's (2007) book, although they are discussing telecommunications and not broadcasting, they find the value in researching the growth of the global telecommunications infrastructure from 1860 to 1930, to reflect on telecommunications in the 21st century. They reflect on this in their conclusion, stating "So what, if anything, has changed? A better question might be, what has not changed? Several points of continuity stand out for us" (Winseck & Pike, 2007, p. 344). This idea of cyclicity of policy is an idea that occurs as well in Raboy's (1990) book, in which he provides a thorough history of Canadian broadcasting policy, but also highlights the continued "missed opportunities" throughout this history and the recurring themes that emerge as broadcasting was discussed in the 20th century. Therefore, when examining the analysis of this two reports, although it is important to discuss the shift in policy discourse and policy frames between the two, it is also important to note that, when it comes to the core issues that each report addresses, it often appears that "the more things change, the more they stay the same."

Through this policy document analysis, this thesis displays not only the importance of analyzing policy reports but the importance and significance of analyzing the corpus of supporting

documents. Although there were considerable insights gained from analyzing the core government reports alone, by analyzing the stakeholder submissions to each consultation, further context and nuance were gained. With these supporting submissions, one could begin to try to understand where these policy frames around policy came from. Did everyone agree with the government's interpretation? Who disagreed and why is that interesting? For example, in many cases, from analyzing the submissions, it was found that the stakeholders used similar language and similar frames in comparison to the final reports. This begs the question, did the stakeholders follow the lead of the government in using this language or, when the government developed these consultations, did they base it off what they heard in the Canadian media industries? This would be an interesting topic to research further. Also, by comparing the stakeholders' submissions, one can observe which stakeholders did not fit in with the prevailing themes. For example, for the Lincoln Report, as could be seen throughout the analysis, AOL Time Warner's (2001) submission at times seemed like it was meant for the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultation in the way that they framed broadcasting. By emphasizing international export, economic success and employment, and preparing for increased convergence and globalization; this submission, along with Telesat's, at times felt almost out of place among the other submissions because of how ahead of its time these submissions seemed. On the other hand, some submissions to the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, like the one from the Directors Guild of Canada (2016), had a focus on Canadian content as being distinctly Canadian, which was more in line with the values of the Lincoln Report and those submissions (p. 2). This shows that, although there may be a shift in policy frames around broadcasting, these frames are not perceived in the same way by everyone. In their work, Rein & Schön (1993) discuss this idea of "policy controversies," which is where there are these conflicting frames and struggles over policy meanings (p. 148). By

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analyzing the policy reports alone, one would not be able to see any opposing frames to the mainstream view in the final report. However, by analyzing the submissions as well, this provides a further understanding about not only what each stakeholder had to say but how these submissions interplay with each other and the core sources, and what policy controversies this potentially creates.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis was focused on describing the shift in the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting that occurred between these two reports. Considering that, for future research, it would be interesting to continue this research further to explain why this shift occurred. As was addressed earlier in the literature, multiple scholars have researched shifts in cultural policy and have attributed these shifts to the rise in neoliberalism (Elliott, 2017; Gattinger & Saint-Pierre, 2010; Jeannotte, 2010; Marontate & Murray, 2010). For instance, Patricia Elliott (2017), when examining the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, describes them as "a continuation of past neoliberal framing" (p. 824). This appears to be a common theme among scholars when researching shifts in cultural policy and therefore if I were to continue research on this topic, I would look further into the reasoning behind this shift and do more research into the impacts of neoliberalism on policy and cultural policy specifically. Also, as has been noted, when comparing the final reports of these consultations to the stakeholder submissions, it was found that many stakeholders had similar opinions and used a similar type of language to what was used in the final policy reports. Thus, it would be interesting to conduct further research to try to find whether the dominant language used in the policy documents came from the government, which was replicated by the stakeholders, or if the policy documents were written based on the language already being used by the stakeholders. This "chicken or egg" debate would be interesting to investigate further.

Also, for future research, I would be interested in expanding the scale of this analysis by including earlier reports like the 1986 Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force on Broadcasting Policy or potentially earlier reports like the 1957 Fowler Commission. For example, in Marc Raboy's (1990) book, he notes that, in the 1980s, "the evolution of Canadian policy clearly placed economic considerations in priority over cultural questions," which indicates that shifts toward economic policy also occurred during this time (p. 14). Therefore, it would be interesting to place this thesis within the broader timeline of Canadian broadcasting policy and see where the shifts have occurred in broadcasting on the continuum between economic and cultural policy and how other shifts in Canadian cultural policy have looked in comparison to the one found with these two reports.

REVIEW

To conclude, this paper has shown that there has been a discourse shift in Canadian broadcasting policy between 2003 and 2017. This has been proved through a comparison of two Canadian broadcasting reports/consultations: the 2003 "Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" report by the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage (also known as the Lincoln Report), and the 2016-2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations leading to the Creative Canada Policy Framework. This policy discourse shift can be best described through three specific shifts: from a focus on Canadian broadcasting content being "distinctly Canadian" to being internationally viable and successful; from a view of Canadian broadcasting being a cultural good and cultural policy to an economic good and economic policy; and finally, a view of Canadian broadcasting policy being created in the interest of Canadians to the interest of Canadian creators.

After investigating at how Canadian broadcasting policy has evolved in the 21st century, one can identify two of the most extensive consultations about Canadian content and Canadian

policy in this period: the 2003 Lincoln Report and the 2016-2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations. These two reports were analyzed and compared through the lenses of argumentative policy analysis and political economy research. By examining this through argumentative policy analysis, these reports were analyzed by focusing on the communication, language, and discourse around the policy in addition to its empirical dimensions. Further, by looking at policy frames, one can analyze these reports by specifically researching the ways that people can interpret and construct views around policy issues. Using political economy theory, this analysis examined the power relations in the creation and writing of these policy reports and reinforced the importance of historical research in the political economy of communications. Therefore, by engaging with these two policy consultations through these lenses, one can analyze these policy reports by investigating the discourse around broadcasting policy in Canada as well as the politics and power relations around these reports.

These two policy consultations were analyzed and compared by conducting a policy document analysis, examining both the core government policy documents as well as a selection of stakeholder submissions to each consultation. By analyzing these two reports through these theoretical lenses and using the policy document analysis method, I argued that there has been a distinct shift in the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting policy. The two reports found similar issues in broadcasting, like adapting to new technological developments, the need to update funding mechanisms and policies, clarifying the role of public broadcasting, increasing support to local and community programming, and increasing both cultural diversity as well as the diversity of ideas. Thus, both policy reports argued there was a pressing need to update broadcasting policy to remedy these policy problems. However, although these reports found similar issues, there has been a shift in the policy frame around broadcasting policy which can be observed when analyzing

the texts of each consultation. First, a shift that was visible in this analysis was the shift from viewing Canadian content as "distinctly Canadian" to internationally viable and successful. This can be found in the Lincoln Report, which focuses on the value of Canadian content to Canadians and justifies its recommendations through their benefits to Canadians. In the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations, a substantial focus is on international export of Canadian content and Canada being a global leader in the creative industries. Second, this thesis shows a shift from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good and cultural policy to an economic good and economic policy. Specifically, the Lincoln Report explicitly states that broadcasting policy is cultural policy and emphasizes the cultural value of Canadian content, while the Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations focus on the economic value of broadcasting, focusing on the amount it contributes to the Canadian economy, the jobs it creates, and its contribution to the Canadian middle class. Finally, there is a shift from shaping broadcasting policy in the public interest to the interest of creators. For the Lincoln Report, it states that the Committee's recommendations are made in the public interest, and therefore in this report, there is a greater emphasis on transparency and accountability. On the other hand, the Creative Canada Policy Framework is described as being centred around creators, and therefore its recommendations are more focused on the continued success of Canadian creators.

The Creative Canada Policy Framework was just released in September 2017 and, so far, the government is just beginning to act on their recommendations. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to measure the success of this shift in approach and whether this shift in policy frame towards a more economic view of Canadian broadcasting will have positive effects on Canadian broadcasting and if it will meet the cultural objectives set out in the *Broadcasting Act*. However, it is still important to acknowledge this shift in the policy discourse around Canadian broadcasting

to show how the landscape has changed and how this policy issue has been reframed over time. Also, looking forward, this shift should be considered when measuring the success of this policy consultations. As was mentioned, these two policy reports differ when it comes to how each report views success in Canadian broadcasting. Therefore, while measuring the success in economic terms, like the 2017 consultation, it is also important to consider the other frame of broadcasting policy and consider cultural success as well.

In conclusion, throughout the history of Canadian broadcasting, there have been multiple government reviews of the Canadian broadcasting which have provided recommendations on how to improve the Canadian broadcasting system. By analyzing these two broadcasting policy reviews of the 21st century – the 2003 Lincoln Report and the 2017 Canadian Content in a Digital World consultations – one can ascertain that there has a been a clear discursive shift over a relatively short period. This shift from viewing broadcasting as a cultural good to broadcasting as an economic good is not only noteworthy but could also potentially lead to substantial changes in the Canadian broadcasting system in the future.

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 5 – CANADIAN PROGRAMMING

RECOMMENDATION 5.1:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate department develop a comprehensive and integrated Canadian programming policy and strategy that:
 a) establishes clear goals for the programs that support the creation, production, distribution and viewing of Canadian television programming;
 b) includes a clear statement of the cultural objectives, realistic estimates of the cost of meeting these objectives and a comprehensive set of performance measures;
 c) simplifies the process to obtain funding so that broadcasters and producers can focus on creation; and
 d) includes a strong emphasis on measures to ensure that Canadian programming is viewed by Canadian audiences and that it includes appropriate support incentives and performance measures.

RECOMMENDATION 5.2:
The Committee recommends that the existing point system for the certification, funding and production of Canadian television programming be redesigned to:
 a) recognize important differences among genres (e.g., drama, documentaries and animation);
 b) recognize the nationality of the authors, directors, performers and technicians;
 c) focus on the achievement of cultural objectives;
 d) ensure that Canadian content reaches its audiences.

RECOMMENDATION 5.3:
To achieve consistency and coherence, the Committee recommends that decisions about Canadian content be made by a centralized body mandated to administer Canadian content certification.

RECOMMENDATION 5.4:
The Committee recommends that a distinctive identifier be assigned to each Canadian program to facilitate tracking of investment, promotion, and eventual measurements of effectiveness (e.g., audience levels).

RECOMMENDATION 5.5:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate department evaluate the existing federal tax credit system that supports Canadian television programming to find means to improve the way support is managed and delivered to Canadian independent producers.

RECOMMENDATION 5.6:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate department investigate the feasibility of developing a more flexible tax credit system for Canadian television production (e.g., levels of support that increase with more involvement by Canadian creators).

RECOMMENDATION 5.7:
The Committee recommends that the mandates of the Canadian Television Fund (CTF) and Telefilm Canada be reviewed and refocused to ensure a clear separation of responsibilities and, where necessary, greater synergies in areas where responsibilities must be shared. This review should include suggestions for the governance of the CTF.

RECOMMENDATION 5.8:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage investigate ways to create greater efficiencies in the administration of the CTF and Telefilm Canada, including the adoption of mechanisms that would allow for a centralized and harmonized application process and a reduced paper burden.

RECOMMENDATION 5.9:
The Committee recommends that the Equity Investment Program (EIP) used for television programming be evaluated to determine the costs and benefits of the current approach.

RECOMMENDATION 5.10:
The Committee recommends that the Canadian Television Fund be recognized by the government as an essential component of the Canadian broadcasting system. This recognition must include increased and stable long-term funding. The CRTC should be directed to oblige licensees, with the exception of small cable operators, to contribute to the CTF.

RECOMMENDATION 5.11:
The Committee recommends that the government consider establishing specific targets for all of its Canadian content policies and programs and that the appropriate agencies and departments report annually to Parliament on these targets.

RECOMMENDATION 5.12:
The Committee recommends that all changes to existing Canadian content policies and programs be evaluated at two-year intervals.

RECOMMENDATION 5.13:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC be directed by order in council to review its 1999 television policy for the exhibition of priority programming in prime time.

CHAPTER 6 – THE NATIONAL PUBLIC BROADCASTER

RECOMMENDATION 6.1:
The Committee recommends that Parliament provide the CBC with increased and stable multi-year funding (3 to 5 years) so that it may adequately fulfill its mandate as expressed in the Broadcasting Act.

RECOMMENDATION 6.2:
The Committee recommends that for greater clarity the Broadcasting Act be amended to recognize the value of new media services as a complementary element of the CBC's overall programming strategy.

RECOMMENDATION 6.3:
The Committee recommends that the CBC deliver a strategic plan, with estimated resource requirements, to Parliament within one year of the tabling of this report on how it would fulfill its public service mandate to:
   a) deliver local and regional programming.
   b) meet its Canadian programming objectives.
   c) deliver new media programming initiatives.

RECOMMENDATION 6.4:
The Committee recommends that the impacts and outcomes of the CBC's strategic plans (for the delivery of local and regional programming; Canadian programming; and, cross-platform, new media initiatives) be reported on annually and evaluated every two years. These evaluations should meet Government of Canada program evaluation standards.

RECOMMENDATION 6.5:
The Committee recommends that the CBC submit a plan to Parliament detailing its needs for the digital transition and that it receive one-time funding to meet these needs.

RECOMMENDATION 6.6:
The Committee reaffirms the importance of public broadcasting as an essential instrument for promoting, preserving and sustaining Canadian culture and recommends that the government direct the CRTC to interpret the Broadcasting Act accordingly.

CHAPTER 7 – NOT-FOR-PROFIT BROADCASTING

RECOMMENDATION 7.1:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage take immediate and appropriate action on the recommendations of the McGregor Report on the needs of Northern and Aboriginal broadcasters.

RECOMMENDATION 7.2:
The Committee recommends that the rules governing the Canadian Television Fund and Telefilm Canada be amended, in consultation with APTN and other Northern and Aboriginal stakeholders, to more effectively address the special needs and conditions of Aboriginal television production and broadcasting.

RECOMMENDATION 7.3:
The Committee recommends that the government develop a support strategy to ensure that Aboriginal programming intended for national audiences on APTN can be versioned in English or French, as required.

RECOMMENDATION 7.4:
The Committee recommends that the Governor in Council by order direct the CRTC to make it mandatory for all broadcasting distribution undertakings (BDUs), without exception, to distribute to all their subscribers the video and audio signals of the debates of Parliament via CPAC in both official languages.

RECOMMENDATION 7.5:
The Committee recommends that the CPAC signal distributed as part of the basic cable service be protected from displacement by closed circuit video programming, and that the Broadcasting Distribution Regulations be amended in this regard if necessary.

RECOMMENDATION 7.6:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate department review the mandate of Radio Canada International, with a view to identifying the necessary resources required to strengthen its services.

RECOMMENDATION 7.7:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC permit the national distribution of all English and French provincial educational broadcasters.

RECOMMENDATION 7.8:
The Committee recommends that the Broadcasting Act be amended to recognize not-for-profit public broadcasters as an integral part of the Canadian broadcasting system.

RECOMMENDATION 7.9:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC be directed to ensure that audiences have fair access to not-for-profit public broadcasters on broadcasting distribution undertakings.

CHAPTER 8 – THE PRIVATE SECTOR

RECOMMENDATION 8.1:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage create a committee composed of radio industry stakeholders to review and determine the level of success of the MAPL system. This study should include a review of definitions of Canadian content and the ways in which the system can foster the development of new artists.

RECOMMENDATION 8.2:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage, in collaboration with the CRTC and radio industry stakeholders, develop a strategy to monitor and report annually on the extent to which the public policy goals for Canadian radio are being achieved.

RECOMMENDATION 8.3:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate department study the annual orbital slot licence fees charged to Canada's satellite companies to ensure that they do not place an unreasonable burden on the capacity of these companies to compete internationally.

RECOMMENDATION 8.4:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Finance and the Treasury Board, in conjunction with the Department of Canadian Heritage and the CRTC, study the rationale and fairness of Part II licence fees that are currently charged to broadcasters and distributors with a view to their elimination if found to be discriminatory. The results of this study should be reported to Parliament within one year of the tabling of this report.

RECOMMENDATION 8.5:
If it is determined that Part II licence fees should be eliminated or reduced, the Committee recommends that the CRTC, in consultation with the Department of Canadian Heritage and relevant broadcasting industry stakeholders, be encouraged to develop a plan for the reallocation of all or a portion of the former value of Part II fees back into the Canadian broadcasting system.

RECOMMENDATION 8.6:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada study the existing tax-credit system for advertisers with a view to making changes that would encourage the increased production of local, regional and national Canadian-made broadcast advertisements.

RECOMMENDATION 8.7:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC study the feasibility of imposing a requirement that Canadian broadcasters show a certain percentage of Canadian-made advertisements.

CHAPTER 9 – COMMUNITY, LOCAL AND REGIONAL BROADCASTING

RECOMMENDATION 9.1:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC require all broadcast distribution undertakings to provide community groups and volunteers with greater access to community television facilities for the production of local and community television programming.

RECOMMENDATION 9.2:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage develop a Community, Local and Regional Broadcast Policy in consultation with key broadcasting industry stakeholders, including public, private, community, educational and not-for-profit broadcasters and related interest groups.

RECOMMENDATION 9.3:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada take steps to ensure that the departments and agencies responsible for the Canadian broadcasting system continue to treat the system as a single system.

RECOMMENDATION 9.4:
The Committee recommends that the federal government by order-in-council direct the CRTC to revisit its decision to exempt direct-to-home (DTH) satellite services from the provision of community television services.

RECOMMENDATION 9.5:

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada investigate the feasibility of creating new digital channels for the distribution of the best of Canada's community, local and regional programming to Canadians.

RECOMMENDATION 9.6:

The Committee recommends that the CRTC work with broadcasting industry stakeholders to find a solution for the carriage of local signals via direct-to-home (DTH) satellite, to ensure as much local programming as is appropriate and feasible is made available to subscribers. This solution, however, should not lead to reduced contributions by DTH satellite service providers to the Canadian Television Fund.

RECOMMENDATION 9.7:

The Committee recommends that the government by order-in-council direct the CRTC to require Canada's direct-to-home (DTH) satellite service providers to carry the signals of local television stations of the CBC/SRC.

RECOMMENDATION 9.8:

The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage create a Local Broadcasting Initiative Program (LBIP) to assist in the provision of radio and television programming at the community, local and regional levels.

RECOMMENDATION 9.9:

The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage in collaboration with the CRTC be required to issue an annual report on community television. This report should include information on training, citizen access and involvement (paid and volunteer), types of support and the hours and range of programming produced.

RECOMMENDATION 9.10:

The Committee recommends that the changes to community, local and regional broadcasting that result from the implementation of the recommendations made in this report be evaluated by the appropriate department within two years of their introduction and at reasonable intervals thereafter (e.g., every five years). These reports should also be submitted to this Committee.

CHAPTER 10 – NORTHERN AND ABORIGINAL BROADCASTING

RECOMMENDATION 10.1:

The Committee recommends that section 3.(1)(o) of the Broadcasting Act be amended to read "programming that reflects the Aboriginal cultures of Canada should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system;" This amendment would remove the qualifying phrase "as resources become available for the purpose."

RECOMMENDATION 10.2:

The Committee recommends that a fund be developed by the appropriate government department to assist Northern and Aboriginal broadcasters with capital equipment replacement costs.

RECOMMENDATION 10.3:
The Committee recommends that the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program be preserved and that its funding be made stable and increased to reflect a reasonable inflationary increment.

RECOMMENDATION 10.4:
The Committee recommends that funds provided for the distribution of Northern programming (e.g., the Northern Distribution Program) adequately cover the cost of distribution.

RECOMMENDATION 10.5:
The Committee recommends that the appropriate departments, in collaboration with public and private broadcasters, develop a training program for Northern and Aboriginal broadcasters.

RECOMMENDATION 10.6:
The Committee recommends that the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, the Northern Distribution Program and related support measures be evaluated two years after renewed funding is made available.

RECOMMENDATION 10.7:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC require direct-to-home satellite services to provide CBC North programming to Canada's Northern regions.

CHAPTER 11 – OWNERSHIP

RECOMMENDATION 11.1:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC be directed to strengthen its policies on the separation of newsroom activities in cross-media ownership situations to ensure that editorial independence is upheld.

RECOMMENDATION 11.2:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC put in place a mechanism to ensure the editorial independence of broadcasting operations. A report to Parliament should be made by an appropriate authority (e.g., the Canadian broadcasting monitor) on an annual basis.

RECOMMENDATION 11.3:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada issue a clear and unequivocal policy statement concerning cross-media ownership before 30 June 2004.

RECOMMENDATION 11.4:
Until the Government of Canada declares its policy on cross-media ownership, the Committee recommends that:
   a) The CRTC be directed to postpone all decisions concerning the awarding of new broadcast licences in cases where cross-media ownership is involved.
   b) Existing licence renewals that involve cross-media ownership be automatically extended (i.e., an administrative renewal) for a minimum of two years and a maximum of three years.

RECOMMENDATION 11.5:
The Committee recommends that the existing foreign ownership limits for broadcasting and telecommunications be maintained at current levels.

CHAPTER 12 – THE DIGITAL TRANSITION

RECOMMENDATION 12.1:
The Committee recommends that the responsible federal departments and agencies develop a comprehensive plan for the digital transition in conjunction with the broadcasting industry and related public, private and not-for-profit stakeholders.

RECOMMENDATION 12.2:
The Committee recommends that the digital transition be managed in such a way that the broadcasting system provides fair and open access to distributors, broadcasters, listeners and viewers.

RECOMMENDATION 12.3:
The Committee recommends that appropriate hardware and software standards be established to protect listeners' and viewers' investments in digital technology and to prevent the use of proprietary technology and anti-competitive behaviour that may limit fair competition and access to subscribers.

RECOMMENDATION 12.4:
The Committee recommends that regulations be developed to prevent the manipulation or change in any way by distributors of signals downloaded to or by subscribers.

RECOMMENDATION 12.5:
The Committee recommends that local stations should continue to have priority carriage through the digital transition.

RECOMMENDATION 12.6:
The Committee recommends that simultaneous substitution be preserved during the digital transition.

RECOMMENDATION 12.7:
The Committee recommends that government policy allow all broadcasters and distributors to benefit fairly from the potential revenues available from a variety of new sources associated with their regulated activities.

RECOMMENDATION 12.8:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC develop regulations to ensure that the data collected by broadcasters and/or broadcasting distribution undertakings from the interactive and feedback capabilities of set-top boxes and other digital devices be in compliance with applicable privacy and consumer laws.

RECOMMENDATION 12.9:
The Committee recommends that the government work with broadcasting industry stakeholders to ensure that measurement and reporting techniques are devised to gauge the spread of Canadians' uses of digital technologies.

RECOMMENDATION 12.10:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage establish a cost-sharing strategy to ensure that the archival footage of Canada's broadcasters is not lost due to deterioration.

CHAPTER 15 – ACCESSIBILITY

RECOMMENDATION 15.1:
The Committee recommends that section 3(p) of the Broadcasting Act be amended to read "programming accessible by disabled persons should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system;" This amendment would remove the qualifying phrase "as resources become available for the purpose."

RECOMMENDATION 15.2:
The Committee recommends that a training program for closed captioning and descriptive video services be developed and funded by the federal government.

RECOMMENDATION 15.3:
The Committee recommends that the federal government develop a program to assist broadcasters in providing closed-captioning and descriptive video services.

RECOMMENDATION 15.4:
The Committee recommends that once the appropriate training and assistance programs are in place, that escalating conditions for the amount of captioning and descriptive video provided by broadcasters be phased in with a view to reaching a target of 100% for captioning and descriptive video services.

RECOMMENDATION 15.5:
The Committee recommends that the Broadcasting Act explicitly instruct the CRTC to set rigorous requirements and enforcement mechanisms to eliminate discriminatory practices by broadcasters. These instructions must explicitly include the requirement that captioning and descriptive video services be phased in for all television programming with a view to reaching a target of 100% captioning and video descriptive services.

RECOMMENDATION 15.6:
The Committee recommends that the federal government amend the Broadcasting Act to enable the CRTC to make regulations establishing criteria for the awarding of intervener expenses to those applicants who need access to the Commission so that the voice of community concerns and challenges can be heard.

RECOMMENDATION 16.1:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC permit Canadian broadcasting distribution undertakings to offer a wider range of international programming, while being respectful of Canadian content regulations.

RECOMMENDATION 17.1:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade maintain the government's position that culture not be part of any ongoing and future international trade negotiations.

RECOMMENDATION 17.2:
The Department of Canadian Heritage should participate as fully as possible in any international discussions on broadcasting regulation.

RECOMMENDATION 17.3:
The Committee expresses its support for increased funding for efforts to enhance diversity in Canadian broadcasting. The CRTC, the CBC and the Canadian Television Fund should seek ways to ensure that their policies and procedures reflect the need to enhance diversity.

RECOMMENDATION 18.1:
The Committee recommends that the Department of Canadian Heritage, in consultation with the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, develop criteria and guidelines by 30 June 2004, governing the nomination of CRTC commissioners as well as members to the Board of Directors of the CBC.

RECOMMENDATION 18.2:
The Committee recommends that the CRTC be reduced in size from 13 to 9 commissioners and that the abolition of regional commissioners be considered. Proper consideration should also be given to ensuring that there is a linguistic and regional balance and that a diversity of viewpoints and experiences is reflected in the membership.

RECOMMENDATION 18.3
The Committee recommends that to avoid an actual or potential conflict of interest or unfair advantage or the appearance of it, a person who resigns or otherwise ceases to hold office as a member or senior staff employee of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission shall not hold a paid or unpaid position within an industry regulated by the CRTC for a period of two years after their employment or membership ceases. This requirement shall be made a condition of Commission employment or membership. During this time, they should receive up to 75% of their regular salary if they are unable to find suitable employment other than in the broadcast industry.

RECOMMENDATION 19.1:
The Committee recommends the creation of a department of communications, responsible for the Government of Canada's support for broadcasting, telecommunications and cultural industries.

RECOMMENDATION 19.2:
The Committee recommends that the government consider whether a comprehensive Communications Act is required to integrate the existing Broadcasting Act, Telecommunications Act and Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Act into one piece of legislation.

RECOMMENDATION 19.3:
The Committee recommends that the responsible department develop a detailed and comprehensive policy statement for Canada's broadcasting system. This policy statement should expand on section 3 of the Broadcasting Act and include appropriate definitions of key terms.

RECOMMENDATION 19.4:
The Committee recommends that the mandates of the CBC, Telefilm, NFB and the CTF be more precisely related to the goals of the broadcasting system. In developing these requirements government officials should work with all interested parties, and pay special attention to ensuring a consistent approach to reporting results.

RECOMMENDATION 19.5:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada review the CRTC's mandate with a view to refocusing its role on cultural objectives, clarifying its role and establishing clear limits on its power to supervise, regulate, create and manage programs. This review should include consideration of how the CRTC is to relate to other agencies and organizations within the broadcasting system.

RECOMMENDATION 19.6:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada should require as part of a redefined CRTC mandate that CRTC regulations be reviewed by the appropriate department and approved by the Governor in Council.

RECOMMENDATION 19.7:
The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada should as part of its review of the mandate of the CRTC clarify the respective roles and responsibilities of the CRTC and the Competition Bureau with respect to broadcasting.

RECOMMENDATION 19.8:
The Committee suggests that the Standing Committee on Industry carry out a review of the role and resource requirements of the Competition Bureau as it relates to competition within Canada's broadcasting system.
RECOMMENDATION 19.9:

The Committee recommends that the CRTC's regulatory supervision of the CBC be limited to the approval of new licence applications.

RECOMMENDATION 19.10:
The Committee recommends that the federal government invite the CBC to come forward with a plan outlining its needs for additional radio and television licences for consideration by Parliament and the CRTC.

RECOMMENDATION 19.11:
The CRTC should have the power to impose a wider range of sanctions and more costly fines on those who fail to comply with regulations and in turn be directed to enforce these breaches of regulation.

RECOMMENDATION 19.12:
Once the mandate review of the CRTC has been completed, the Committee recommends that the Government of Canada ensure that the CRTC has the necessary resources and flexibility to carry out its redefined and clarified responsibilities.

RECOMMENDATION 19.13:
The Committee recommends that a renewed broadcasting policy include clear, measurable goals and objectives as well as a process for evaluation and accountability.

RECOMMENDATION 19.14
The Committee recommends that performance reporting requirements that match those of the Government of Canada's Treasury Board and are related to the goals of the broadcasting system be added to the mandates of the CBC, Telefilm, the National Film Board and the portion of the CTF that is supported by public funds.

RECOMMENDATION 19.15:
The Committee recommends that the responsible departments and stakeholders put in place a mechanism to collect relevant, timely and comparable performance measures on the Canadian broadcasting system. This mechanism should include measures to assess how well the Canadian broadcasting system is performing compared to the systems of other jurisdictions.

RECOMMENDATION 19.16:
The Committee recommends that representatives from the responsible departments and agencies form a broadcast reporting and measurement committee to develop a public accountability framework and measurement system.

RECOMMENDATION 19.17:
The Committee proposes the creation of a Canadian broadcasting monitor, incorporated into the Office of the Auditor General, to report annually on how well the objectives of the Broadcasting Act are being met.

(Canada, 2003c, p. 621-639)

PILLARS OF THE APPROACH

PRINCIPLE #1: FOCUSING ON CITIZENS AND CREATORS

Pillar 1.1: Enabling choice and access to content

- How can we reflect the expectations of citizens and enable Canadians to choose the content they want to see, hear and experience?

Pillar 1.2: Supporting our creators

- How can we fairly support creators in the creation and production of content that stands out?
- What partnerships will be needed to achieve this?
- How can we help creators have successful and viable careers in a digital world?

PRINCIPLE #2: REFLECTING CANADIAN IDENTITIES AND PROMOTING SOUND DEMOCRACY

Pillar 2.1: Redefine Canadian content for contemporary Canada

- With so much online content available today and given Canada's diverse and multicultural makeup, does the concept of "Canadian content" resonate with you?
- What does "Canadian" mean to you? Do we need to be more flexible in how we support the production of content by Canadians?
- In an ultra-competitive, global market, how can the private sector support the production of content made by Canadians?
- What is the role of Canada's national cultural institutions, such as CBC/Radio-Canada and the National Film Board?

Pillar 2.2: Strengthen the availability of quality information and news in local market

- What models can we build to support the creation of and access to local information and news in a global context?

PRINCIPLE #3: CATALYZING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INNOVATION

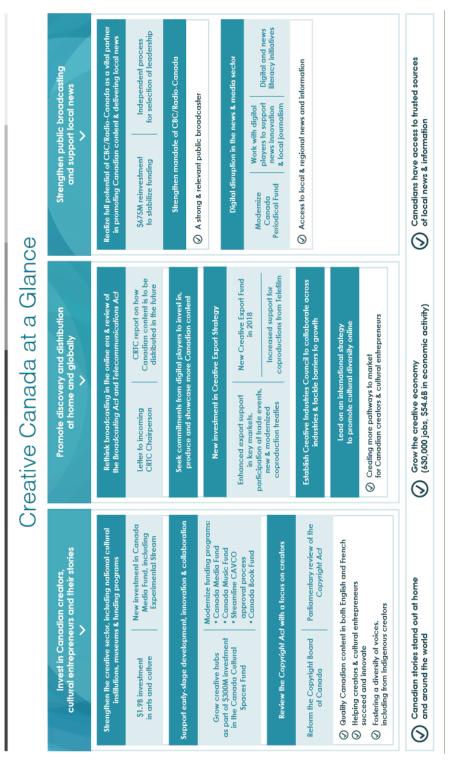**Pillar 3.1: Positioning Canada as a culture and digital content leader**

- Canadians make great content; how can we build our exceptional cultural industries and support the growth of new creative enterprises as part of Canada's innovation agenda?
- What tools do the government and the private sector already have at their disposal? What new tools could we consider?
- How do we incent more risk-taking from creators and cultural entrepreneurs?

Pillar 3.2: Leveraging Canada's national cultural institutions

- How do we ensure that our national cultural institutions, such as the CBC/Radio-Canada and the National Film Board, are a source of creativity and ingenuity for the creative sector more broadly?

Pillar 3.3: Promoting Canadian content globally
- What is needed to best equip Canadian creators and cultural industries to thrive in a global market and exploit the country's competitive advantages?
- In a global market, what conditions need to be in place to encourage foreign investment in Canada's cultural industries?
- How can we better brand Canadian content internationally?

Creative Canada at a Glance

Invest in Canadian creators, cultural entrepreneurs and their stories

Strengthen the creative sector, including national cultural institutions, museums & funding programs

$1.9B investment in arts and culture | New investment in Canada Media Fund, including Experimental Stream

Support early-stage development, innovation & collaboration

Grow creative hubs as part of $300M investment in the Canada Cultural Spaces Fund | Modernize funding programs:
• Canada Media Fund
• Canada Music Fund
• Streamline CAVCO approval process
• Canada Book Fund

Review the Copyright Act with a focus on creators

Reform the Copyright Board of Canada | Parliamentary review of the Copyright Act

⊘ Quality Canadian content in both English and French
⊘ Helping creators & cultural entrepreneurs succeed and innovate
⊘ Fostering a diversity of voices, including from Indigenous creators

⊘ Canadian stories stand out at home and around the world

Promote discovery and distribution at home and globally

Rethink broadcasting in the online era & review of the Broadcasting Act and Telecommunications Act

Letter to incoming CRTC Chairperson | CRTC report on how Canadian content is to be distributed in the future

Seek commitments from digital players to invest in, produce and showcase more Canadian content

New investment in Creative Export Strategy

Enhanced export support in key markets, participation at trade events, new & modernized coproduction treaties | New Creative Export Fund in 2018 / Increased support for coproductions from Telefilm

Establish Creative Industries Council to collaborate across industries & tackle barriers to growth

Lead on an international strategy to promote cultural diversity online

⊘ Creating more pathways to market for Canadian creators & cultural entrepreneurs

⊘ Grow the creative economy (630,000 jobs, $54.6B in economic activity)

Strengthen public broadcasting and support local news

Realize full potential of CBC/Radio-Canada as a vital partner in promoting Canadian content & delivering local news

$675M reinvestment to stabilize funding | Independent process for selection of leadership

Strengthen mandate of CBC/Radio-Canada

⊘ A strong & relevant public broadcaster

Digital disruption in the news & media sector

Modernize Canada Periodical Fund | Work with digital players to support news innovation & local journalism | Digital and news literacy initiatives

⊘ Access to local & regional news and information

⊘ Canadians have access to trusted sources of local news & information

(Canadian Heritage, 2017, p. 38)

APPENDIX D – LIST OF SOURCES USED

CORE SOURCES

LINCOLN REPORT

Title	Type	Date	Source/Citation
Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting	Final report	June 3, 2003	(Canada, 2003c)

CANADIAN CONTENT IN A DIGITAL WORLD CONSULTATIONS

Title	Type	Date	Source/Citation
Consultations on Canadian Content in a Digital World	Launch of the consultation process	April 23, 2016	(Government of Canada, 2016h)
Strengthening Canadian content creation, discovery and export in a digital world	Pre-consultation paper	April 23, 2016	(Government of Canada, 2016g)
Canadian Content in a Digital World: Focusing the Conversation	Consultation Paper	September 2016	(Government of Canada, 2016a)
What we heard across Canada: Canadian culture in a digital world	Consultation Report	February 21, 2017	(Ipsos Public Affairs, 2017)
Launch of Creative Canada – The Honourable Mélanie Joly, Minister of Canadian Heritage	Speech	September 28, 2017	(Government of Canada, 2017b)
Creative Canada Policy Framework	Final Policy Framework	September 28, 2017	(Canadian Heritage, 2017)

SUPPORTING SOURCES (SUBMISSIONS)

LINCOLN REPORT

Title	Submission	Date	Source/Citation
Submission by Corus Entertainment Inc. to the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage on the Study of the State of the Canadian Broadcasting System	Corus Entertainment Inc.	2001	(Corus Entertainment Inc., 2001)
A submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage with respect to Study on the State of the Canadian Broadcasting System	CHUM Limited	September 10, 2001	(CHUM Limited, 2001)

Public broadcasting in a private age	Canadian Media Guild and The Newspaper Guild Canada	September 2001	(Canadian Media Guild and the Newspaper Guild Canada, 2001)
Study on the state of the Canadian broadcasting system	AOL Time Warner Inc.	August 17, 2001	(AOL Time Warner, Inc., 2001)
Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage	Telesat Canada	August 15, 2001	(Telesat Canada, 2001)
Re: The state of the Canadian broadcasting system: A study undertaken by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage	Canadian Association of Internet Providers	May 10, 2001	(Canadian Association of Internet Providers, 2001)
A submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage	Canadian Association of Broadcasters	September 10, 2001	(Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 2001)
Mémoire de CanWest Global Communications Corp. au Comité permanent du patrimoine canadien de la Chambre des communes	CanWest Global Communications Corp.	September 10, 2001	(CanWest Global Communications Corp., 2001)
Comité permanent du patrimoine canadien – étude sur l'état du système canadien de radiodiffusion	Rogers Communications Inc.	September 10, 2001	(Rogers Communications Inc., 2001)
Submission of Astral Media Inc. to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage	Astral Media Inc.	September 10, 2001	(Astral Media Inc., 2001)
Re: Brief to the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage on the review of the broadcast system	Writers Guild of Canada	September 10, 2001	(Writers Guild of Canada, 2001)
Preserving a distinctive voice for Canadians	CBC/Radio-Canada	March 2002	(Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2001)

CANADIAN CONTENT IN A DIGITAL WORLD

Title	Submission	Date	Source/Citation
ACTRA Submission – Department of Canadian	Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television,	November 25, 2016	(Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television,

Heritage – Consultations on Canadian Content in a Digital World	and Radio Artists (ACTRA)		and Radio Artists, 2016)
Government of Canada, Consultations on Canadian Content in a Digital World	BCE Inc. (Bell Canada)	November 25, 2016	(BCE Inc., 2016)
A Creative Canada: Strengthening Canadian culture in a digital world	CBC/Radio-Canada	November 24, 2016	(Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2016)
Heritage Review of Canadian Media and Culture	Canadian Media Guild	November 24, 2016	(Canadian Media Guild, 2016)
Canadian Content in a Digital World	Canadian Media Producers Association	November 2016	(Canadian Media Producers Association, 2016)
Government of Canada – Canadian Content in a Digital World Consultations	Corus Entertainment Inc.	November 25, 2016	(Corus Entertainment Inc., 2016)
Re: Canadian Content in a Digital World	DHX Television	November 25, 2016	(DHX Television, 2016)
Re: Canadian Content in a Digital World: Le Contenu Canadian dans un monde numérique – Public Consultation	Directors Guild of Canada	November 25, 2016	(Directors Guild of Canada, 2016)
Preserving, strengthening and expanding Canadian Communications in the Digital Century By regulating in the public interest	Forum for Research and Policy in Communications (FRPC)	November 27, 2016	(Forum for Research and Policy in Communications, 2016)
(no title)	Friends of Canadian Broadcasting	November 23, 2016	(Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, 2016)
Google Canada #DigiCanCon Submission	Google Canada	November 2016	(Google Canada, 2016)
Re: Consultation on Canadian content in a digital world	Netflix, Inc.	November 2016	(Netflix, Inc., 2016)
Department of Canadian Heritage – Canadian Content in a Digital World Consultations	Public Interest Advocacy Centre	November 25, 2016	(Public Interest Advocacy Centre, 2016)
Canadian Content in a Digital World/Le contenu canadien dans un monde numérique – Rogers Communications Inc. Submission to Government of Canada Consultation	Rogers Communications Inc.	November 25, 2016	(Rogers Communications Inc., 2016)

Comments of Shaw Communications Inc. in Response to call for comments on Canadian Content in a Digital Age	Shaw Communications Inc.	November 25, 2016	(Shaw Communications Inc., 2016)
Re: "Canadian Content in a Digital World" Consultation	Making Media Public and the Communications Policy Working Group	November 21, 2016	(Making Media Public and the Communications Policy Working Group, 2016)
Re: WGC submission to Canadian Content in a Digital World Consultations	Writers Guild of Canada	November 25, 2016	(Writers Guild of Canada, 2016)
Submission to the Government of Canada Consultation on Canadian Content in a Digital World	Professor Catherine Middleton	November 25, 2016	(Middleton, 2016)
Canadian Content in a Digital World	Michael Geist	November 2016	(Geist, 2016)

SUGGESTED STUDY THEMES

1.	**Context**	The evolution of broadcasting technologies
		Globalization
		New media
		International perspectives
2.	**Cultural Diversity**	Canadian content
		French-language broadcasting
		English-language broadcasting
		Cultural diversity and minority broadcasting
		Regional representation
		Community television
3.	**Broadcasting Policy**	The development of Canada's broadcasting policy
		The role of the federal government
		The CRTC's role
		Potential elements for new or revised legislation
4.	**Ownership**	Patterns of ownership
		Cross-media ownership
		Vertical integration
5.	**Public/Private Sector**	The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
		Provincial broadcasting
		Cable and satellite services
6.	**Production/Distribution**	Evolving production and distribution methods
		Copyright questions
		Specialty services
		Internet

(Canada, 2003c, p. 643)

SUGGESTED STUDY QUESTIONS
A. The Present State of the Broadcasting System

1. **Canadian Content and Cultural Diversity**
   - Are present policies or programs sufficient and appropriate to deal with the relationship between cultural policies and trade policies?
   - Is the method of determining Canadian content still appropriate in relation to new media?
   - We frequently hear about the "multi-channel universe." In this multi-channel universe, consumers have access to more programs – foreign programs, in

particular – than ever before. What are the implications for the promotion of distinctively Canadian content?

- One of the goals of the *Broadcasting Act*, according to section 3(*d*)(i), is to "safeguard, enrich, and strengthen the cultural… fabric of Canada." From your standpoint, what exactly is "the cultural fabric of Canada" and is it possible to draft content requirements that will, in fact, safeguard, enrich and strengthen?
- What costs are borne by broadcasters because of Canadian content regulations?
- In light of recent trends, how can Canada maintain and promote a distinctive sense of local, regional, national and cultural identity while still reaping any possible benefits of changes to the broadcasting system?

2. **New Technologies**
   - What are the changes in technology that have most significantly changed or are changing Canadian broadcasting?
   - Has the change to new technology been more or less rapid than in other countries?
   - How can any differences be explained?
   - To what extent have recent developments in new communication technologies:
     a) Disrupted the balance among cultural, social and economic concerns in the broadcasting system?
     b) Affected the Canadian broadcasting system as a whole?
     c) Affected the public/private mix in Canadian broadcasting?

3. **Globalization**
   - To what extent has the trend towards globalization:
     a) Disrupted the balance among cultural, social and economic concerns in the broadcasting system?
     b) Affected the broadcasting system as a whole?
     c) Affected the public/private mix in Canadian broadcasting?

4. **Ownership**
   - Will technological change, especially the growing importance of the borderless Internet, undermine current ownership restrictions in broadcasting?
   - Will globalization undermine current ownership restrictions in broadcasting?
   - How has growing concentration of media affected broadcasting?
   - How has growing cross-media ownership affected broadcasting?

B. Future Directions for the Broadcasting System

1. **Canadian Content and Cultural Diversity**
   - How effective is the current Canadian content quota system in promoting distinctively Canadian programming in an era of digital channels and Internet-based programming?

- How effective is the current points system (based on the nationality of inputs – i.e., writers, producers, actors, directors, etc.) in the production of distinctively Canadian output?
- How can Canadian content requirements remain viable in the evolving broadcasting environment?
- How can the new media be used to promote Canadian creators both in Canada and beyond our borders?

2. **The Public/Private Sectors**
   - Should the current public/private mix in Canadian broadcasting be maintained or modified?
   - What should be the continuing role of the CBC and private broadcasters within such a public/private mix?
   - Should the CBC for alliances with private broadcasters if size becomes a requirement for survival in broadcasting?
   - What are the implications for competition policy if the CBC forms alliances with private broadcasters?

3. **Globalization**
   - Should foreign broadcasters and media conglomerates play a role in the evolving Canadian broadcasting system? If yes, what role should they play?
   - What are the implications of expanded trade treaties for:
       i. Canadian content requirements?
       ii. Subsidies to Canadian creators?

4. **Ownership**
   - Should Canadian firms form alliances with foreign firms if size becomes a requirement for survival in broadcasting?
   - What measures are required to maintain a distinctively Canadian broadcasting system?

5. **Broadcasting Policy**
   - Should the convergence of broadcasting and telecommunications lead to a revamped CRTC or to a new and different type of regulator?
   - Will broadcasting licensing become a thing of the past in an era of digital channels and Internet-based programming?
   - How can the Canadian broadcasting system be adapted to work in an era of increased globalization?
   - How can existing legislation be amended and updated to take into account changes in broadcasting?
   - How can the Canadian broadcasting system be adapted to ensure a balance among cultural, social and economic concerns?

- How does the split supervision of broadcasting activities by the Departments of Canadian Heritage and Industry affect cultural issues covered by the *Broadcasting Act* and other cultural policies and programs?

<div align="right">(Canada, 2003c, p. 644-647)</div>

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