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MANAGING THE MOSAIC:

DIVERSITY OF VOICES AND DELIBERATIVE POLICY MAKING IN ENGLISH
CANADIAN MEDIA

By

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Bachelor of Arts, Political Studies

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A thesis

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In the Program of

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Abstract

MANAGING THE MOSAIC:

DIVERSITY OF VOICES AND DELIBERATIVE POLICY MAKING IN ENGLISH
CANADIAN MEDIA

Sylvia Blake

Master of Arts in Communication and Culture, Ryerson University and York University, 2011

This study investigates viewpoints on policy for diversity in media subsequent to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)'s 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings and subsequent CRTC 2008-4 regulatory changes. The policy proceedings were designed to aggregate and act upon the many policy preferences and conceptions of media diversity within Canada's complex media mosaic. Research reported here uses Q methodology, complemented with conventional survey questions and open-ended qualitative questions, to identify and interpret the plurality of subjective viewpoints surrounding the diversity debate and the CRTC's deliberative policymaking processes. Research identified four principal viewpoints regarding policy for media diversity, based on concerns about minority representation, industry consolidation, Canadian cultural expression, and a comprehensive marketplace of ideas. It also considers various stakeholder viewpoints on the CRTC's 2007-5 deliberative proceedings, and the extent to which the Commission's deliberative processes meet the four deliberative democratic pillars of inclusiveness, equality, reasonableness and publicity.

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Introduction and background

Communications policymakers are in a position not only to affect the structure and functioning of an industry, but also to potentially affect the production and flow of ideas.
           Napoli, 2001, p.13

Background

On March 13th, 2007, the CRTC announced that it would hold a public hearing to review its approach to ownership consolidation and other issues related to the diversity of voices in Canadian media. The Commission accepted written comments until July, and began holding public hearings in September 2007. In total, it received 162 written comments in response to the announcement, with an additional 1800 comments filed in response to a campaign by Canadians for Democratic Media. Fifty-two parties appeared at the public hearing, and parties in attendance were invited to submit written comments until October 2007 (CRTC, 2008a).

The Commission chose not to define "diversity" in its call for comments, resulting in a wide range of submissions stemming from different conceptions of diversity and offering a range of solutions for ensuring a diverse broadcasting system. In the end, the CRTC chose to address issues related to ownership diversity in its policy determinations, stating that "[a]lthough terminology varies and various parties to the proceeding provided a range of perspectives and understanding of the term 'diversity of voices,' the common objective appears to be to ensure the provision of a diversity of viewpoints either through ownership regulations or by means of programming obligations" (CRTC, 2008a).

In determining what ownership policy should be put in place to promote diversity in the private sector, the CRTC modelled its decision after the competition thresholds established by

the Competition Bureau for Banking in Canada. The 2008 regulations that emerged from the hearings prevent post-merger combination market shares of more than 45 percent in a market and require that post-merger combined market shares between 35 and 45 percent be closely monitored, while those involving less than 35 percent advanced more quickly. They also prevent any company from holding assets in more than two of three major media outlets (newspapers, radio and television) in a single market, although this provision did not apply to free daily newspapers, or newspapers deemed to address "national" issues such as *The Globe and Mail* and *The National Post*. Chairperson of the CRTC Konrad von Finckenstein argued that the measures represent "an approach that will preserve the plurality of voices and the diversity of programming available to Canadians, both locally and nationally, while allowing for a strong and competitive industry" (CRTC, 2008b).

Canadian media watchdogs and some smaller media firms criticized the new regulations, arguing that the gesture would not prevent Canada's largest actors from growing, and would do little (if anything) to prevent further media concentration. The vice-president of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers union argued that the policy "does nothing about media empires that currently have a stranglehold on some large markets, such as Vancouver, or what happens on the national level" (The Canadian Press, 2008). Canadian Media Guild president Lise Lareau expressed similar sentiments, stating that "the CRTC is preserving the current unacceptable levels of concentration and is not even adopting meaningful measures to stop it from getting worse (The Canadian Press, 2008)." Furthermore, there was little explanation given as to why banking was used to model the ownership regulations, leading to further scepticism due to lack of transparency.

Three years after these events, this study re-examines perspectives on the CRTC's

deliberative policy making process and viewpoints on the current state of diversity of voices in English Canadian media from the perspective of self-defined stakeholders. Respondents include individuals and representatives from organizations that submitted interventions to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, as well as other interested individuals with well-considered perspectives on diversity of voices who self-define as stakeholders in English Canadian media policy.

Analytical framework and research questions

This study takes a deliberative democratic[1] approach to diversity of voices and ideal policy making processes. Deliberative democracy calls for public participation in policy making processes, and "looks forward to a world of free and congenial political interaction," while it searches for "escapes from some contemporary impasses in political arrangements, public policy, and social science" (Dryzek, 2002, p. ix). Deliberative democratic discourses span a range of issues and are interdisciplinary in their approaches to power and democracy.

In analyzing the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, including the effectiveness of the deliberative democratic process, perspectives on the 2008-4 regulatory changes and current viewpoints on diversity of voices, this study seeks to answer the following questions on media diversity and policy making in English Canada:

1. What are self-defined stakeholders' current perspectives on the participatory policy process, as employed during the 2007 Diversity of Voices hearings?

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[1]Also referred to as "participatory democracy" or "discursive democracy."

2. What are the current stakeholder viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media?

Study parameters

Due to time and resource constraints, I chose only to address diversity of voices issues as they pertain to media in English Canada. While I did read and consider the submissions to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings offered in French, I did not have the resources to translate my survey into French. I chose not to include participants who had submitted French interventions in this research in order to avoid a self-selection bias based on respondents who were primarily interested in French language issues, but who were comfortable reading and writing at a high level in English. In case there are distinct viewpoints based on French media in Canada, I did not want to jeopardize the validity of my findings by including only those who are capable of consuming media in both French and English while excluding those who rely entirely on French-language content.

This research also does not examine differences on perspective based on location in Canada. Given the limited sample size in this study, it would not have been feasible to develop a sample that adequately represents citizens from various geographic locations. While I recognize that concerns and needs do vary according to population and locale, most participants in the 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings were based in large urban centres. I have chosen not to discuss my results in relation to geographic location since my sample cannot definitively determine the plurality of viewpoints based on urban, rural, and remote needs, proximity to the American border, or regional perspectives.

Terminology

Throughout this study, I use several specific words and phrases to describe the Canadian media system, diversity of voices and deliberative policy making. Different readers will imbue several of these terms with different meanings based on individual scholarly and ideological backgrounds. For clarity's sake, I have defined my interpretation of some key terms below.

Media mosaic: I use this analogy to refer to Canada's hybrid media system, which includes public, private and community elements in English and French as well as a broad range of specialty channels, ethnic and third language content, Aboriginal content, indigenous and foreign material and, increasingly, new media. I consider each media source, like a single tile in mosaic art, to be a single piece in the greater media system. While tiles may vary in size and colour and each individual tile appears to blend into the larger system, a change in colour or texture of several tiles eventually alters the appearance and function of the overall mosaic.

Citizen: My use of this term is much broader than legal (see Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978) and historical (see Habermas, 1989) conceptions of a citizen and citizenship, and includes anyone living in Canada who has the ability to be in engaged in political behaviour and participate in discussions about media and communications.

Stakeholder: Since all citizens are potential media consumers, I expand the term "stakeholder" beyond those with financial interest in Canadian media (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008) to include all individuals and organizations who self-define as Canadian media stakeholders. This includes media organizations, trade unions and research groups who enjoy significant access to

decision makers and mainstream media, as well as interested individuals and organizations that are less often offered the opportunity to make their views widely heard by policymakers, politicians, researchers or the media.

Participant: Includes any individual or organization that participated in the CRTC's 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings, either by submitting a written intervention and/or by appearing at the public hearings.

Respondent: Refers to those who participated in this study by completing the online survey and/or participating in an interview.

Study format

I have divided this study into six chapters, which discuss existing theory in this field, describe my study's theoretical framework and methodologies, explain and analyse the results of primary research and offer recommendations for improving the CRTC's deliberative policy making processes. Chapter two provides a review of theory and literature on deliberative policy making and diversity of voices, including a brief description of the CRTC's role in hosting deliberative processes and offering final policy determinations based on participant responses. Chapter three describes my methodologies and study construction, including a description of Q methodology and my survey and interview techniques as well as a reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen methodologies. Chapters four and five describe and analyze the study's results, including an interpretation of results in relation to theory on deliberative democracy and diversity of voices, a discussion of viewpoints on diversity and the CRTC 2008-4 regulations,

and a list of recommendations to improve the CRTC's deliberative processes. Chapter six concludes with a brief summary of the study's results and recommendations, and offers suggestions for future scholarly research on diversity of voices and deliberative democracy.

Theoretical perspectives on deliberative policy making and diversity of voices

Introduction

Industry Canada monitors and regulates dozens of distinct industrial sectors, ranging from aerospace to textiles, tourism, museums and communications, to help promote a "growing, competitive, knowledge-based Canadian economy" (Industry Canada, 2010). Regulation in Canadian broadcast and telecommunications, however, is also shared by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which operates at arm's length from the government in developing and enforcing significant portions of media and communications policy. Broadcast and telecommunications regulations in Canada also differ from other industries in the CRTC's attempts to draw non-industry stakeholders into the regulatory process through deliberative democratic processes involving public consultation.

Policymakers experience unique challenges in managing media industries because regulations governing ownership and content must consider the industry's economic needs as well as a plurality of social concerns and the public good (Entman & Wildman, 1992; Kahn, 1988; Raboy, 1996; Reagan, 1987; Napoli, 1997; Napoli, 2001). Unlike many other industrial sectors, media organizations need to be understood as businesses that rely on market economics *and* as social actors that "are able – and even expected – to influence public opinion, government policy, and citizen voting behaviour" (Napoli, 1997, p. 207). While media organizations are responsible for engaging the Canadian public through news, public service content and

entertainment, they must also be understood as *industries* that exist within and are subject to a capitalist system. These industries strive to inform and entertain, but also seek investment, innovate, and respond to the ebb and flow of the marketplace. Weighing industrial economic needs with the public good is a constant balancing act for media policymakers.

One of the ways in which the CRTC attempts to balance the public good with economic viability is by ensuring that parties representing different social and economic interests have the opportunity to hear and respond to each other before the Commission makes its final determinations on key media issues. For example, during the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, the Commission considered written interventions from 162 interested organizations and individuals, and heard presentations from 52 parties that participated in the public hearings. All of these public interventions are available online for any interested party to read and consider. This deliberative democratic process encourages stakeholders to consider and respond to a range of ideas about what diversity in media is and should be, while leaving the CRTC with the immense task of aggregating and weighing the range of arguments in its final determinations.

This chapter provides a survey of literature on the CRTC's deliberative policy making process as well as conceptions of media diversity in English Canada. Section I, *The CRTC, public participation and deliberative democracy*, provides a theoretical justification for deliberative democratic processes, examines the CRTC's mandate and powers, and considers how the CRTC has attempted to incorporate public participation to help bridge economic and social policy interests. Section II, *Understanding diversity*, considers the challenges in negotiating economic and social definitions of media diversity and describes different definitions of "diversity" based on consumer choice, economic stability, Canadian shelf space, community access/localism, inclusion of marginalized voices and net neutrality.

I: The CRTC, public participation and deliberative democracy

Given the powerful impact of communications on economic and social wellbeing in Canada, as well as the broad range of ideas for how to best manage and regulate Canadian airwaves, the CRTC has had to develop mechanisms for listening and responding to all individuals and parties who consider themselves stakeholders in communications regulation. It is important to consider how the CRTC's elaborate deliberative policy making process differs from consultation with selected stakeholders. Salter & Odartey-Wellington (2008) explain the difference by noting that consultation with stakeholders generally involves those with direct financial and legal interests in the outcome, and typically does not involve members of the public who are unafiliated with regulated companies. Public participation, in contrast, is a form of deliberative democracy that includes those who do not have financial stake in the CRTC's ruling. The CRTC's deliberative processes can include a variety of companies, individuals and advocacy groups through written interventions and in-person presentations. The following section examines deliberative democratic theory, the CRTC's mandate and powers and the Commission's use of deliberative processes such as in the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings.

What is deliberative democracy?

Deliberative democracy, also referred to as 'discursive democracy' or 'participatory democracy,' draws from Kant's claim that legitimate laws must reflect the "general united will of the people" (1991, p. 63), and maintains that it is possible to determine the public will through a democratic public deliberation process. Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in its claim that legitimacy in law and policy stems from *deliberation* rather

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than voting; that is, decisions are based on what proposals participants agree are supported by the best reasons rather than by numerical support. For a policy to be legitimate, those who will be subject to it must first have the opportunity to provide reasons for why it should or should not bind them, achieving a consensus (or near consensus) about what policies will be legitimately binding for all. The deliberative process therefore requires participants to explain and justify their own positions while also considering opposing views (Woolley, 2008). The term "deliberative democracy" was coined by J. M. Bessette (1980), and the concept has been developed and debated by scholars including Jürgen Habermas (1996; 1997), John Rawls (1971; 1997; 1999), Joshua Cohen (1983; 1989; 1989a; 1997; 1997a), David Held (1995; 2006), Iris Young (1990; 1997; 2000; 2006), David Miller (1993), and John Dryzek (1990; 2002).

For deliberative processes to be effective, Young (2000) identifies four normative ideals governing the dispositions of and relationships among deliberating parties: inclusion, equality, reasonableness, and publicity. The principle of inclusion suggests that decisions arrived at through deliberative processes can only be considered legitimate if all those bound by it are included in the discussion and decision-making process. Political equality implies that participants should be included on equal terms, and should have equal opportunity to express concerns and intersts. Reasonableness assumes that participants enter discussion with the aim of reaching agreement, and are willing to listen to the proposals and criticisms put forward by other participants (Cohen, 1989). Finally, when the conditions of inclusion, equality and reasonableness are met, interactions among participants in a deliberative democratic process form a public in which individuals are held accountable to each other. Those who participate in deliberate processes are aware that they are answerable to a plurality of others who then have access to their point of view, and participants must therefore be clear and reasonable in

expressing their views. As Young (2000) notes, "deliberate exchange thus entails expressions of puzzlement or disagreement, the posing of questions, and answering them" (p. 25).

While in practice these normative ideals rarely exist in perfect form, they nonetheless function as useful guiding principles, acting as a "compass" in the development of true deliberative policy making (Woolley, 2008). Together, these four elements offer an alternative to what Fishkin (1991) describes as "plebiscite democracy," wherein decisions are based on the sum of votes cast and participants are "atomized," privately reacting and responding to the topics of the moment. In cases where decisions are made by a judge or tribunal rather than by vote, incorporating deliberative processes can also help policymakers move beyond attempts at "objective" analysis which often fail to consider the anecdotal evidence presented by individuals who are familiar with the issue but do not enjoy access to policymakers (Renn, Webler, & Wiedemann, 1995). Deliberative policy making's ability to consider a wider variety of evidence presented by the full spectrum of stakeholders can present an invaluable opportunity to consider the full concourse[2] of needs and interests.

Since they include a broad range of viewpoints in policy making, deliberative processes can be particularly useful in addressing policy areas that include both economic and social issues by encouraging participants to consider and respond to both types of arguments. In media and communications policy making, the CRTC attempts to bridge the gap between social and economic interests in part by incorporating deliberative democratic processes in the form of public consultations for key policy discussions. In order to consider the reasons for and effectiveness of the Commission's deliberative policy making processes, we must first examine the CRTC's mandate and powers in regulating Canada's communications industries, as well as

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[2] In Q methodology, a concourse represents the full universe of possible thoughts and feelings about the topic under consideration. We will revisit this concept in chapter three in considering this study's methodology and procedures.

the format and guidelines governing its public consultation processes.

The CRTC's mandate and powers

The CRTC's primary objectives are described in section 5 of the Broadcasting Act, including the responsibility to "regulate and supervise all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting system, with a view to implementing the broadcasting policy set out in subjection 3(1)."[3] Section 5(6) of the Act also allows the CRTC to occasionally "issue guidelines and statements with respect to any matter within its jurisdiction," but notes that these policies need not be binding on the Commission's later activities (Government of Canada, 1991).

Section 5(2) of the Act outlines the CRTC's regulatory policy:

> The Canadian broadcasting system should be regulated and supervised in a flexible manner that
> a) is readily adaptable to the different characteristics of English and French language broadcasting and to the different conditions under which broadcasting undertakings that provide English or French language programming operate;
> b) takes into account regional needs and concerns;
> c) is readily adaptable to scientific and technological change;
> d) facilitates the provision of broadcasting to Canadians;
> e) facilitates the provision of Canadian programs to Canadians;
> f) does not inhibit the development of information technologies and their application or the delivery of resultant services to Canadians; and
> g) is sensitive to the administrative burden that, as a consequence of such regulation and supervision, may be imposed on persons carrying on broadcasting undertakings.

Given the diversity and complexity of each of these seven elements, it is not surprising that these objectives at times appear to overlap, while at the same time remaining difficult to balance. For example, some broadcasters object to the CRTC's attempt to "facilitate the provision of Canadian programs to Canadians" by enforcing Canadian content requirements, arguing that the cost of producing or purchasing expensive Canadian programming unnecessarily inhibits their ability to innovate and develop new services. Alternately, some regional/community

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[3] For a complete copy of the Broadcasting Act's section 3(1), "Broadcasting Policy for Canada," see appendix A.

broadcasters share concerns about the adoption of new technologies (such as the upcoming transition from analog to digital television) due to the immense financial burden such changes place on small stations that may already be struggling to operate on a miniscule budget. When the seven provisions outlined in section 5(2) conflict with the Broadcasting Policy for Canada (section 3[1]), the Commission is required to prioritize the Broadcasting Policy.

Sections 9 through 17 of the Broadcasting Act establish the CRTC's powers, including (but not limited to) establishing licence categories and issuing or revoking licences, introducing regulations related to advertising and Canadian content, initiating or promoting research relevant to its goals and mandate, and holding hearings or making reports on any matter within its jurisdiction.[4] While the Broadcasting Act does set out a framework for broadcasting policy, this framework is intentionally very general, and CRTC regulatory changes need not be submitted to the House of Commons as part of a full legislative process. This grants the regulatory agency some autonomy in interpreting the Act and establishing and enforcing regulations.

However, it is not surprising that in such a large and multi-faceted policy area as communications, the CRTC shares certain regulatory responsibilities with other organizations and government departments. For example, Industry Canada is responsible for most technical issues, including spectrum allocation; Heritage Canada shapes Canadian broadcasting through its cultural policies, funding programs and legislative proposals; various broadcasting standards organizations complement the CRTC's role in regulating and monitoring program content; and, the Canadian court system addresses individual issues related to slander and libel in broadcast content. Parliament also maintains the right to amend broadcasting frameworks such as the Broadcasting Act and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Act, as well as the

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[4] The public hearings mentioned here are the CRTC's principle method for deliberative policy making, and are the primary focus for this study.

right to nominate members of the CRTC, issue general policy directions to the Commission, review individual CRTC decisions, and influence broadcast content through funding structures such as subsidies and tax credits (Armstrong, 2010; Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008).

Despite its ability to develop and enforce binding regulations on industry stakeholders, the Commission views its role as *facilitating* Canadian broadcast and communication industries, and attempts to draw members of the public into its policy making process to balance various (often conflicting) business needs and public policy concerns. If we accept that regulation in media and communication has both economic and social objectives, and that media influence public opinion, citizen behaviour and government policy, then every member of the Canadian public is a potential stakeholder in debates about regulation in media and communications. One of the ways in which the CRTC strives to hear and consider these diverse needs and interests is through its public consultation processes, through which all self-defined stakeholders are invited to comment on the issue under discussion.

The CRTC and deliberative policy-making

Overall, the CRTC enjoys considerable discretion in supervising and regulating the entire media and communications industrial sector. As I have noted, media are unique in their role as both an economic and social forces in Canada, and in their ability to affect public and government opinion and behaviour. Given that everybody living in Canada is a potential stakeholder in media and communications, a regulatory body that wishes to enjoy legitimacy and public acceptance must develop mechanisms for listening and responding to all interested stakeholders, including those organizations and individuals who would not ordinarily enjoy access to government and policymakers. To these ends, the CRTC has developed an elaborate public consultation process to enable economic and social stakeholders in Canadian media to

publicly express their interests and needs in regard to media policy. The framework governing these public proceedings is laid out in the *Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission Rules of Practice and Procedure* (SOR/2010-277).[5]

The CRTC may order a public consultation to seek feedback when updating its policies, or for help in evaluating broadcast licence applications, renewals, or changes; applications from telephone companies; applications from the public regarding telephone services; or the performance of broadcast and telecom companies that are federally regulated (CRTC, 2011b). When the CRTC raises an issue on its own initiative, it must give public notice and invite comments by posting a notice of consultation on its website detailing the nature of the proceeding and deadlines for intervening and filing replies, as well as the date and time of any public hearings. The CRTC may also require that applicants or other licencees and telecom companies publicize notice of public proceedings on their websites or through their broadcast and telecom services.

All interested individuals and organizations are free to submit their comments, ideas and opinions to the CRTC in writing through an intervention, and the specific guidelines for submitting a written intervention are outlined in section 26(1) of the CRTC *Rules of Practice and Procedure.* Interventions must clearly state the file the intervention addresses including, if applicable, the applicant or licencee's name; whether the intervenor supports or opposes the application or simply wishes the CRTC to consider his/her comments; any relevent evidence to support the position taken; and whether or not the intervenor wishes to appear at a public

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[5] The updated CRTC Rules of Practice and Procedure came into effect on April 1st, 2011. This new set of guidelines merges the former rules for broadcast proceedings (*CRTC Rules of Procedure C. R. C., c. 375*) and telecom proceedings (*CRTC Telecommunications Rules of Procedure SOR/79/544*). The CRTC merged the two sets of rules in response to convergence in telecom and broadcasting industries, and the new rules are designed to "reflect these changes in the industry, bring the rules up to date and streamline the Commission's processes" (CRTC, 2011). For more information, see: CRTC (2011). "General questions and answers about the new converged *Rules of Procedure*." Accessed 01 June, 2011, from: http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/info_sht/g101.htm

hearing. Interventions are due at 17h00 Vancouver time on or before the deadline announced in the CRTC's consultation notice, and can be submitted online, by mail or by fax. If the intervenor wishes to appear at a public hearing, s/he must also indicate why an appearance at the hearings is necessary beyond the written intervention. Sections 36 through 41 of the CRTC *Rules of Practice and Procedure* set out further rules for public proceedings, including notice of appearance, prepratory conference, *in camera* discussions, order of appearance, evidence, oaths, and subpoenas.

Although the CRTC is to be commended for its attempts to include a pluarlity of viewpoints through public consultations, several scholars have noted that not all individuals and groups enjoy equal opportunity or ability to participate in these policy discussions. While any individual or group is welcome to submit written interventions for the CRTC's consideration, few individuals attend the (more important) oral hearings, which tend to be dominated by well-funded media and industry associations. Travel and time costs can be a burden for smaller organizations and interest groups, and these groups may also lack the high level of specialized knowledge required to participate in certain discussions (Abramson & Raboy, 1999; Armstrong, 2010; Raboy, 1995; Raboy & Shtern, 2010; Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008). While the challenges associated with resource inequality and travel expenses have been brought before the Canadian government at least twice,[6] the government has explicitly stated that it will not consider funding support for participants in CRTC hearings (Canada, 2003b).

While at times in the past there was significant public participation in CRTC processes,

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[6] In 2001, Senator Sheila Finestone put forth a private member's bill (Bill S-7) that would amend the Broadcasting Act to enable the CRTC to award and tax costs between the parties appearing at hearings (Canada, 2001).
In 2003, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage's released a review of the broadcasting system and processes covered by the Broadcasting Act, entitled *Our Cultural Sovereignty: the second century of Canadian broadcasting*. The documentnotes that the costs associated with appearing at a CRTC hearing are often more substantial for smaller companies than for large conglomerates (Canada, 2003a). In its response to this document (Canada, 2003b), the government stated explicitly that it would not consider funding support for participants in broadcast hearings, but would instead allocate funding for Canadian content production.

the Commission currently handles most cases without much public participation (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008). Raboy (1995) expresses concern that certain interest groups may enjoy inequitable access to policymakers outside of the formal deliberative processes, and Raboy and Shtern (2010) fear that public involvement in communication policy may be becoming "a cynical form of window dressing" for decisions that have already been made (p. 89-90). The CRTC has attempted to mitigate some barriers to participation in deliberative processes through the introduction of teleconferencing for public hearings; however, apperance via teleconference is not a perfect substitute for in-person presentations.

II: Understanding diversity

Negotiating Economic and Social Concerns

As noted in chapter one, the CRTC chose not to define 'diversity' prior to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings on diversity of voices, leading to a wide range of responses stemming from different ideologies, premises, and semantic understandings of the term from a range of licensees, interest groups and civil society actors. While the decision not to define the discussion's parameters on diversity prior to the hearings allowed for a range of viewpoints that might not otherwise have been included in the proceedings, the discussion's spectrum became too broad for a single proceeding and the CRTC was thus obliged to focus on a small number of specific issues in its final determinations.

Often, the same can be said of research on diversity in media, where perspectives on ideal media policy are divided based on economic or social leanings, as well as by focus on specific diversity issues (Entman & Wildman, 1992; Kahn, 1998; Raboy, 1996; Reagan, 1987; Napoli, 1997; Napoli, 2001). Entman and Wildman (1992) note that while economic and social

understandings of diversity do meet on the shared belief that diversity should be a primary goal of communications policy, they often differ in their understandings of what diversity is, can be, and should be. Confusion about the meaning of "diversity" confuses policy discussions, making it difficult to ascertain reliable criteria for statistical research and even causing ill will among conflicting parties (Acheson & Maule, 2004; Benhamou, 2004; Entman & Wildman, 1992).

Economic perspectives tend to view the current state of media diversity more optimistically, arguing that diversity can be achieved through market competition promoting product diversity. In contrast, social perspectives put less faith in market-based solutions, and are often more concerned with democracy and the public good than with economic growth (Entman & Wildman, 1992; Horowitz, 1989). While some scholars have attempted to develop frameworks for understanding diversity that include both economic and social criteria (for example, see: Wildman & Owen, 1985; Napoli, 1999), policymakers are often left to wade through seemingly unreconcilable viewpoints on diversity stemming from radically different perceptions of what an ideally diverse media system would look like. The following section examines viewpoints on diversity based in economic and social frameworks.

Economic perspectives on diversity

Consumer choice and *economic stability* arguments posit that diversity is determined by the number of available sources and product quality is ensured by competition within the market. Proponents of these approaches to media diversity generally disagree with broadcast regulation in the form of Canadian ownership restrictions and Canadian content regulations, arguing that broadcasters should be viewed as marketplace participants rather than community trustees, and communications policy should allow companies total freedom to respond to consumer demand (Fowler & Brenner, 1982).

Consumer choice advocates argue that broadcasters are better equipped than regulators to determine audience needs and desires by responding to normal mechanisms of the marketplace, and in this way, "[t]he public's interest, then, defines the public interest" (Fowler & Brenner, 1982, p. 209). Diversity is best served by promoting competition, removing barriers to entry, allowing competitive pricing and preventing monopolistic practises. Product diversity emerges naturally as companies serve niche markets, product quality is best determined by its popularity and market competition ensures that services remain accessible and affordable for consumers. Canadian content regulations are considered burdensome, designed to subsidize an occupation and provide competitive advantage rather than contribute to program diversity (Acheson & Maule, 1990; Audley, 1994; Raboy et. Al., 1994; Raboy, 2002; Sands, 2001; Stanbury, 1998).

The related *economic strength* argument posits that Canadian ownership and content requirements are quickly becoming obsolete in a globalized world, and Canadian companies are disadvantaged by competition from Internet-based services and downloading, which undermine Canadian regulations. Proponents of this approach argue that failure to relax Canadian ownership and content regulations could mean slow death for Canadian communications companies, while allowing foreign investment would make services more efficient by adding competitive pressures to the market; bringing increased technological, human and financial assets into Canada; and providing an incentive for Canadian-controlled companies to reduce inefficiencies in order to thrive in a highly competitive market (Canada, 2003a; Canada, 2006). They also argue that ownership conglomeration among communications companies has helped create a strong communications industry in Canada, while the existence of both public and privately owned media companies, a variety of different media types and the availability of American media all ensure strong product and information diversity while allowing Canadian companies to remain

strong (Buckley, 2003).

Critics link economic models of diversity with concerns about the effect of media concentration on editorial autonomy, diversity of voices and viewpoints and the free flow of information and ideas (Bracci, 2003; Chomsky & Herman, 1988; McChesney, 2003; Napoli, 2001; Murdock, 1990; Skinner & Gasher, 2005; Vipond, 2000). McChesney (2003) argues that the media conglomeration favoured by the economic model can curtail diversity by preventing new, less wealthy media from entering a highly competitive market, resulting in media created not by individual initiatives or smaller indigenous firms, but by giant corporations. Murdock (1990) also points out that the rising costs of production drive out smaller sources, stating that "in a cultural system built around synergy, more [media outlets] does not mean different" (p. 148). He further argues that patterns in media ownership can also affect content when owners directly or indirectly intervene in day-to-day media operations, or appoint managerial and editorial staff to implement general (corporate) goals.

As we can see from the critiques of these frameworks, consumer choice and economic stability arguments do not always fit with social perspectives on diversity, which tend to be less sensitive to big business demands and instead view the media's various democratic functions as more important than profitability. Having considered major economic arguments pertaining to media diversity, I now consider the counterparts to these perspectives offered by various social viewpoints.

Social viewpoints on diversity

While generally united on the premise that a national communications system has a broader social mandate that cannot be met through market forces alone, those who support a social framework for communications are divided on what the main priorities of such a system

should be. This section examines some social goals of a diverse communications system, including shelf space for Canadian content, community access / localism, inclusion of marginalized voices, and net neutrality. Some stakeholders support several of these goals in tandem, others may support some more strongly than others, and some may support one or two goals but feel ambivalent or hostile towards certain other social viewpoints.

Canadian shelf space

Those who support broadcast regulation as a mechanism to maintain a distinct Canadian voice argue that Canadian content does enjoy a unique flavour, but one that is easily lost amid enormous amounts of non-Canadian (mostly American) programming. Often associated with "anti-market, pro-cultural" policies, the subtext of this argument is that media are endowed with nation-building powers (Babe, 1996), and state intervention in communications is therefore essential to prevent Canada from being entirely culturally assimilated into the United States (Azzi & Feick, 2003; Copps, 1999).

Proponents argue that there are simply not enough Canadian products to create a strong market presence for most Canadian programs, even if they are successful (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008). Smaller Canadian companies cannot invest the same resources into highly polished productions as their American counterparts, and Canadian producers do not enjoy equal opportunity to sell their products to a huge and well financed American market. Canadian producers wishing to sell their products have to choose to "sell to the American mass market by completely de-Canadianizing the work, or try to speak to a Canadian reality – and go broke in the process" (Ritchie, 1997, p. 21).

Stakeholders interested in assured shelf space for Canadian products argue that without

measures to protect Canadian content, Canadian media would increasingly resemble the American system and Canadian material would become sparse (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008). These individuals and groups also consider any discussion of liberalization in Canadian ownership restrictions to be "a slippery slope and a blatant danger" (Canada, 2003a), fearing that market liberalization would be only the first step in nullifying Canadian content regulations.

Critics of Canadian shelf space viewpoints argue that fears of cultural assimilation are overblown, and that a more realistic narrative would recognize that Canadian cultural industries actually do perform profitably (Sands, 2001). Rather than falling victim to American cultural imperialism, Canada has developed alongside its southern neighbour and the two countries therefore share many cultural norms and tastes (Buckley, 2003). Critics also argue that Canadian cultural protectionism violates various international trade agreements, and that government assertion of national goals is simply an attempt to maintain economic control in the face of the pressures of internationalization (Breuilly, 1985). These critics argue that Canada's attempts to regulate ownership and content in media and telecommunications amounts to "unfair protectionism," while allowing a free flow of cultural content and ownership across the Canada-United States border would, in fact, ensure a richer media system by allowing citizens to choose from a wider range of cultural content (Sands, 2001). Some of Canada's largest conglomerates have echoed these criticisms, including Rogers Communications and CanWest Global[7] (Canada, 2003a; Canada, 2006).

Community access / Localism

Developing partly as a response to large quantities of foreign content on Canadian

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[7]CanWest Global filed for bankruptcy in late 2009. Its assets are currently held by Postmedia Network and Shaw Media.

airwaves, community-based television and radio strive to create a venue for individuals to hear distinctly local information that is typically neglected on more widespread outlets (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008). The CRTC's *Campus and Community Radio Policy* (CRTC 2010-499) and *Community Television Policy* (CRTC 2010-622) were last updated in 2010, and outline the role, definition and mandate of these licensees, their unique programming requirements, access, funding, and other information unique to these broadcasters. Proponents of community-based media generally consider "diversity" as including opportunities for individuals to access and participate in the media, providing a forum for deliberative dialogue that does not exist in mainstream media (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrade, 2002). Community-based media are therefore largely produced by non-professionals (often volunteers), and do not strive to reach mass audiences beyond their target communities. They often see their role as filling in gaps in public affairs coverage left by for-profit media, and believe in community empowerment through civic journalism and public access to airwaves (Paranjape, 2007).

Community media vary widely in the size and expertise of their staffs, the type and reliability of funding, and their ability to attract audiences (Kurpius, Metzgar, & Rowley, 2009). Many stations are concerned about the loss of local programming due to financial constraints, particularly due to the transition to high definition digital media and the high capital investments it entails. Additionally, advocates for community television are concerned that community-access cable is shrinking since cable companies are no longer required to provide a community channel.

Some proponents for local and regional media are also concerned about perceived CBC infringement on their niche markets, particularly since the introduction of the CBC's Radio 3 stations[8] in 2005 (Ward, 2007). The National Campus and Community Radio Association

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[8] CBC Radio 3 consists of a radio station available on the Internet and through Sirius Satellite Radio, and several weekly podcasts available on the CBC Radio 3 website. The network plays a range of indie music, including pop,

(NCRA) argues that this online service cannot replace the role of entirely community-based stations that seek to investigate and report on local issues, nor can it entirely separate itself from its position as a government-affiliated and corporately-structured broadcaster (Ward, 2007). The emergence of the CBC Radio 3 network nonetheless imposes difficulties in justifying the demand for resources for stations that employ similar formats to the new, better-funded alternative.

Critics of community and local media point to their low ratings, arguing that they are doomed to the fringes of Canadian media and that they are less relevant today since all Canadians can produce and critique content on the Internet. Community media advocates generally reject the notion that opportunities for self-expression on the Internet compensate for media concentration, citing the importance of distinctly local flavour that reflects the makeup of individual communities, as well as community media's ability to respond to the unique cultural and linguistic needs of its citizens (Ward, 2007).

Marginalized voices

Discourses addressing the needs of marginalized voices in Canadian broadcasting generally refer to ethnic and linguistic minority voices, but may also include women, Aboriginal peoples, people with disabilities, or other groups underrepresented in the media. Research shows that in Canada, visible minorities are underrepresented as journalists and in media management positions, and are misrepresented as newsmakers (Cukier et. al., 2010; Fleras, 2009; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Miller , 2006). In news stories, visible minorities are generally "overrepresented in areas that don't count ('crime' or 'entertainment'), underrepresented in areas that do ('political or

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alternative, hip hop, rock, folk, electronic and country music. These indie genres are also the specialty of many campus and community radio stations. For more information, see: http://radio3.cbc.ca/

economic success'), and misrepresented along all points in between because of pro-white (Eurocentric) bias" (Fleras, 2009). While most literature accepts the necessity of addressing these issues, there is some debate about how to best include marginalized voices in Canadian media, with some theorists calling for greater inclusion of marginalized groups within mainstream media (Thomas, 1992), while others encourage visible and cultural minorities to "tell their own stories" through their own media created by and for their communities (Fleras, 2009; Valaskakis, 1998).

Thomas (1992) rejects broadcasting targeting specific cultural markets as creating "alternative broadcasting for alternative Canadians," proposing instead that a mandatory affirmative action program be included in the Broadcasting Act to ensure ethnic minorities are represented not only on screen and on the airways, but also throughout broadcast management and within the CRTC. Arguments that support greater inclusion for marginalized voices in mainstream media but reject alternative cultural media often support greater Canadian multicultural nation-building narratives, wherein multiple cultures contribute to a cohesive national identity (Mackey, 1999). Those who support improved inclusion of marginalized voices in mainstream media while rejecting alternative media serving these communities may view alternative third-language media as manipulative "special interest groups" that disrupt immigrant integration into the greater Canadian social fabric (Fleras, 2009).

Other commentators argue that simply including marginalized faces in mainstream media risks tokenizing these groups, who benefit more from alternative media that focus on their unique needs and interests. Murray et. al (2007) argue that mainstream media often brand multiculturalism "as song and dance and celebration" (p. 8), while Brass (1991) points out that ethnic identity is "a contingent and changeable status that, like class, may or may not be

articulated in particular contexts and at particular times" (p. 19). Media that are designed for specific cultural groups are more likely to cover news and issues that affect their communities (Murray et. al., p. 8), using languages and storytelling techniques that may differ from the "European methods" that dominate mainstream media (Valaskakis, 1998). By offering marginalized groups an opportunity to express themselves, these media can help these communities promote their interests through alternative discourses (DeSouza & Williamson, 2006) while also offering crossover points for intercultural awareness and exchange (Fleras, 2009).

The CRTC's mandate recognizes the importance of cultural diversity, including Aboriginal broadcasting, ethnic and third-language broadcasting, and media access for persons with disabilities. The Commission has asserted its devotion to ensuring cultural diversity on-air and also in the behind-the-scenes processes that affect programming (CRTC 2005-24). Ethnic broadcasting and Aboriginal broadcasting are safeguarded through the *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* (CRTC 1999-117) and the *Native Broadcasting Policy* (CRTC 1990-89); however, comparable policies do not exist to promote inclusion of other marginalized voices, such as women and people with disabilities.

Net Neutrality

An emerging issue in media diversity in Canada and across the developed world is the debate surrounding Internet regulation and network neutrality. The term "net neutrality" was first coined by Wu in 2003, who described a neutral Internet as "an Internet that does not favour one application (say, the World Wide Web), over others (say, email)" (Wu, 2003, p. 145). Inherently, the Internet does not have any central controlling mechanisms, and those who provide service do

not control content. However, Internet service providers (ISPs) can control how easily users can *access* content by offering priority to certain applications, data flows, or users (known as *quality of service*), and by limiting or blocking certain types of Internet traffic (known as *bandwidth throttling*) (Reisman, 2007). Service providers have also begun monitoring the contents of data flowing through their network, a practise known as *deep packet inspection* (DPI) (Abelson, Ledeen, & Lewis, 2009; Stevenson & Clement, 2010).

Proponents of net neutrality express concern over inequitable use of quality of service, bandwidth throttling and deep packet inspection, and argue that service providers should offer equal interconnectivity among those who use the Internet and content producers. Legislated net neutrality could prevent ISPs from discriminating against certain websites or unfairly censoring websites based on content. Several scholars and activist groups express concern over the effects that quality of service, bandwidth throttling and deep packet inspection could have on the deliberative and democratic nature of the Internet, and argue that inequitable access could stifle creativity and innovation (Benkler, 2000; Cherry, 2006; OpenMedia.ca, 2011; Quail & Larabie, 2010). The outcome of this debate could have implications for independent media and content producers who use the Internet, as well as policies and practises surrounding freedom of speech, information flows, political participation and the participatory nature of the Internet. Given the wide ranging implications of net neutrality, some communications theorists argue that net neutrality "may well be *the* telecommunication policy issue of the 21st Century" [original emphasis] (Blevins & Shade, 2010, p. 1).

Opponents of net neutrality argue that existing policies already address the issues raised by the net neutrality debate, and that additional government intervention would hinder competition and innovation, which goes against the spirit of the Internet (Quail & Larabie,

2010). These arguments are also often market-oriented, positing that "mandating net neutrality would be inconsistent with sound economic management of the Internet" (Hahn & Wallsten, 2006, p. 2). Those who support mandating net neutrality, however, point out that through their ability to regulate traffic flows key corporations have already been offered *de facto* regulatory abilities in determining service and competition models (Bodnar, 2004). In this way, failure to mandate net neutrality is actually a form of "re-regulation" rather than "deregulation," since the regulatory burden shifts from policymakers to "market forces," allowing large, private corporate to make the rules (Bodnar, 2004; Mosco, 1990).

The CRTC chose not to comment on net neutrality following the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings, but did release a review of Internet traffic management practises for ISPs in 2009 (CRTC 2009-657). The Commission developed what it described as "a principled approach that appropriately balances the freedom of Canadians to use the Internet" with "the legitimate interests of ISPs to manage the traffic thus generated on their networks." The policy requires ISPs to be transparent in their use of Internet traffic management practices (ITMPs); encourages investment in infrastructure and forbids ITMPs beyond what is required; forbids discriminatory or preferential ITMPs; and forbids the disclosure of personal information collected for ITMP. So far, there has not been any challenge to the CRTC's authority over Internet traffic management practices, although Canada has been less proactive in regulating Internet activities than certain other countries, such as Japan (Stevenson & Clement, 2010).

Looking Forward

I have identified a range of theoretical perspectives on what "diversity of voices" in media can and should mean, including a variety of social and economic views on diversity and

what the role of the regulator should be. Most of these perspectives also exist in some form within various submissions to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, although participant comments vary greatly in length and style, with some participants addressing several issues at once and others offering only two or three sentences explaining their perspectives and recommendations for policy action.

While we may be reasonably assured that the perspectives expressed in recent scholarly work on diversity exist within a sample of self-defined stakeholders in English Canadian media, descriptions of each of those perspectives viewed in isolation cannot tell us how stakeholders consider the various perspectives on diversity *in relation to each other*. For example, while research indicates that there is a perspective on diversity that focuses on marginalized voices, we cannot tell if those who are primarily interested in marginalized voices also tend to have strong feelings about Canadian cultural expression, consumer choice or localism. If the CRTC is to accurately aggregate viewpoints on diversity of voices in order to develop new diversity policies, it is important to understand not just what the various viewpoints on diversity are, but also how the viewpoints interact with each other and how stakeholders expressing certain perspectives might be expected to react to regulations addressing different needs and interests.

I have also discussed Young's (2000) four pillars of ideal deliberative democratic processes (inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity) in relation to the CRTC's deliberative policy making processes. However, provided that the CRTC's deliberative process is designed to offer self-defined stakeholders an opportunity to make their voices heard on key media policy issues, it is also important to understand how these stakeholders *perceive* deliberative processes, including their own views on the benefits and challenges of participating in a CRTC proceeding.

The remainder of this study attempts to aggregate stakeholder viewpoints on diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative process as expressed during the 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings. By aggregating viewpoints on diversity using Q methodology, I am able to offer a comprehensive examination of how various viewpoints relate to and interact with each other, while also considering how the various stakeholders perceive the CRTC's deliberative processes and the common challenges that participants face when taking part in these processes.

This study complements research on diversity of voices in English Canadian media and the CRTC's deliberative policy making processes through original and rigorous analysis designed to aggregate and articulate the viewpoints of major and minor stakeholders in Canadian media. My deliberative democratic approach, as drawn from Young (2000), is unique in its attempt to garner information on self-defined *stakeholder* perceptions of the media diversity and deliberative policy making, including not only those with financial stake in Canadian media industries (Salter & Odartey-Wellington, 2008), but also the viewpoints of self-defined stakeholders who would not typically enjoy access to researchers, policymakers or mainstream media (Renn, Webler, & Wiedemann, 1995). Primary research conducted through Q methodology complemented with traditional survey and interview techniques helps assess the plurality of viewpoints on diversity of voices and media policy making in Canada. The use of Q-methodology also contributes a new angle to discussions on diversity of voices both through its focus on viewpoints and also through the use of a methodology not often employed in media policy analysis.

- Three –

Methodology

Chapter Overview

This chapter describes and explains the methodologies that I used to aggregate viewpoints on diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative policy making processes. Since I am interested in examining how stakeholders in the Canadian media mosaic perceive diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative policy making processes, I used Q methodology in conjunction with open-ended survey questions to aggregate viewpoints on diversity, as well as Likert scales and open-ended survey questions to stimulate discussion on the CRTC's diversity proceedings. I also conducted semi-structured phone and in-person interviews with selected respondents to add depth and clarity to survey responses.

This section begins with a detailed description of my survey methodologies and the study's data collection methods. It examines the theoretical frameworks that I used in developing the survey, the techniques I used to select and contact respondents, and the procedures the respondents followed to complete the survey. It concludes with a critical reflection on the advantages and challenges of using the chosen methodologies and the advantages of complementing Q sorts with additional qualitative methods to help mitigate omissions and discrepancies. The bulk of the study was completed on-line through an Internet-based survey, with follow-up interviews taking place in person or over the phone.

Explanation and justification of methodology

Q Methodology

Q methodology is a rigorous qualitative methodology that identifies shared viewpoints among respondents. Respondents complete a Q sort, in which they rank-order a set of statements or other stimuli in a quasi-normal distribution according to an instruction. For example, respondents may rank statements according to extent of agreement, from 'most agree' to 'most disagree'. The goal of a Q sort is to identify shared ways of thinking among subjects by reducing diverse individual opinions to a small number of factors, each of which represents a common viewpoint shared by those respondents[9] (Brown, 1980; Brown, 1986; Brown et. al., 2007; International Society for the Scientific Study of Subjectivity, 2011; McKeown, 1988). Subjects are required to consider statements/stimuli *in relation to each other*, since humans consider ideas in relation to other ideas rather than in isolation.

This approach differs from R-methodology, which examines the relationships between objective, externally verifiable variables (Steelman & Maguire, 1999). R-methodology draws connections between a respondent's opinions and his/her "objective" traits, such as education, age, or gender, and then extrapolates these findings to explain the characteristics of larger populations (Brown, 1980; Steelman & Maguire, 1999). Q methodology, in contrast, examines patterns of subjective viewpoints among individuals. Q methodology does not assume a particular model of responses or number of viewpoints prior to analysis of the Q sorts, nor does it assign normative value to stimuli in advance of the data analysis or assign respondents to categories based on responses to particular stimuli (Brown et. al., 2007). In Q methodology,

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[9] Literature on Q method often refers to these as "factors." For the sake of this project, the term "viewpoint" is interchangeable with the term "factor" used in other Q studies.

diversity is determined by ensuring a diversity of ideas exists *within the sample statements* (the Q sample), with the respondent sample (P sample) selected to ensure a diversity of ideas rather than by "objective" traits such as age, gender or education.

Q methodology stems from the premises that points of view can be communicated and are always "advanced from a position of self-reference" (McKeown et. al., 1988. p.7). When the researcher applies factor-analytic operations to the completed sorts, a few statistically significant groupings (factors) will usually emerge from the diverse individual responses. These 'factors' represent different viewpoints, and respondents are associated with each point of view by the extent of his/her 'loading' on the viewpoints. Individuals who load above a threshold of significance on specific viewpoints share a perspective on the issue under examination.

While Q method does rely on quantification, it is an essentially interpretative methodology and statistical analyses are always subordinate to the wider analysis and interpretation (Dryzek, 1990). The methodology assumes that subjects may possess a coherent, well-organized and expressible viewpoint, which can be modeled through his/her interpretation of the stimuli. A respondent's ranking of each individual stimulus within the Q sort only acquires meaning in relation to the way s/he ranked every other item, and each completed Q sort gains significance when correlated with the responses from each other respondent. As Dryzek (1990) notes, "[t]he ordering a subject produces represents his or her own construction of a particular reality, and Q methodology rests on the principle that the analyst should not seek to impose any other supposedly more 'scientific' or 'objective' construction upon subjects" (p. 176). In this study, I completed Q method with other qualitative techniques to help clarify the viewpoints that emerged through the Q sort.

Likert Scales

A Likert scale is a psychometric scale that is commonly used in closed-question surveys. The scale is bipolar (Likert, 1932), usually ranging from "highly disagree" to "highly agree" with an odd number of potential responses to allow a point for "neutral" or "no opinion." Respondents are asked to rank their attitudes towards stimuli by selecting the response that best matches their opinion (Ferguson, 1941; Likert, 1932).

I use Likert scales to complement the Q sort because they do not force respondents to rank the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements in relation to each other in a quasi-normal distribution. Likert scales complement the Q sort by encouraging respondents to complete the study by changing the format (so they would be less likely to quit out of boredom), allowing respondents to decline to answer questions that they do not feel equipped to answer or that make them uncomfortable, and enabling respondents to complete these questions more quickly.

Like the Q sort, Likert scales also allow respondents to express strong or weak responses to different stimuli. Unlike the Q sort, however, Likert scales offer the opportunity to gauge the strength of the connection respondents feel towards certain issues by allowing them to rank items in isolation and not imposing a limit on how many items respondents must rank as "strongly agree," "strongly disagree," or "neutral." This differs from the Q sort, in which respondents are required to rank statements in a quasi-normal distribution that forces them to consider the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements only in relation other statements. The use of a method that allows the researcher to gauge the strength of individual responses while permitting respondents to decline to answer certain questions was particularly important in sections relating to policy because respondents varied in their experiences with and understanding of the policy process.

Survey questions

Respondents who completed the Q sort also answered open-ended survey questions to help contextualize their responses. In particular, asking respondents to explain why they ranked certain statements in the Q sort as "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" provided depth to the analysis by allowing respondents to express their views in more detail and explain their semantic understanding of any terms or phrases. It also allowed the researcher to identify errors due to incorrectly completed sorts and correct sorts that were accidentally inverted (that is, individuals who unknowingly put statements they agreed with under "strongly disagree" and vice versa). This qualitative information was very useful in determining the reasons why individuals loaded significantly on certain viewpoints and not others.

I considered it important to include open-ended survey questions about policy given the diversity of respondents, who had varying understanding of and interaction with the policy-making process. Since this study is primarily interested in measuring subjectivities, these open-ended questions allowed respondents from diverse backgrounds to express their views without concern for whether their views fit into dominant conceptions of "right" and "wrong" ways to consider policy issues. The inclusion of open-ended survey questions was therefore invaluable in the development of a complex schematic of viewpoints not often considered in policy research.

Semi-structured interviews

I conducted a small number of semi-structured interviews with selected Q sort respondents who had expressed unique and important viewpoints and where I required further information and/or clarification beyond that provided in the survey. I conducted these interviews in person or over the phone as location required. The interviews generally took place after the

respondent had completed the Q sort.

Data Collection

The concourse

In Q methodology, the concourse refers to the entire spectrum of subjective views and opinions related to a particular topic or issue. While the entire communicable concourse is "inherently contestable, infinite in principle, ubiquitous in character, and inescapably subjective" (Brown et. al., 2007, p. 730), as ideas are disseminated they interact with and affect other ideas forming a pattern or schema. Thus, in a Q study the researcher selects a relatively small number of stimuli to create an inclusive Q sample that can reasonably represent the complexity of viewpoints on the issue under investigation, and ensure that respondents are able to express their individual viewpoints through their interpretation of each stimulus. The investigator's technique for selecting the Q sample varies according to the unique requirements of the study, including the subject matter, theoretical framework, practical limitations, and makeup of respondent sample (the P sample).

The full Q sample for this study consists of 48 statements mostly drawn from the written and oral submissions to the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings, with additional relevant statements drawn from news articles, editorial columns, scholarly literature and public discussion fora such as social networking websites. In narrowing the full concourse to an adequate Q-sample of only 48 statements, I developed a two-dimensional model framework based on Philip Napoli's diversity components, sub-components and assumed relationships (Napoli, 1999) and Harold Lasswell's value categories (Lasswell, 1948). This conceptual framework is represented in the factorial design in Table 1.

Napoli's diversity components, sub-components and assumed relationships provide an analytical framework for examining research on diversity as a policy objective. Broadly, Napoli divides diversity in three major categories: source diversity, content diversity, and exposure diversity.

Source diversity includes both ownership diversity and workforce diversity. Ownership diversity is further divided into outlet owners (such as the number of independent transmission systems) and content owners (including diversity in program originators). These distinctions are not absolute since media outlets often simultaneously act as both content producer and outlet owner. Workforce diversity includes ensuring that the mix of personnel employed in media reflects the diversity of the market area, and is included in the assumption that "all personnel, ranging from management to secretarial and custodial staff, are considered components of the source of information and thus all fall under the purview of the diversity principle" (Napoli, 1999, p. 14).

Content diversity is divided into program-type format, demographic, and idea/viewpoint. Program-type refers to the category designations given to different radio and television shows, and program-type diversity measures the availability of different types of shows a viewer/listener can choose from at a given time. Demographic diversity describes ethnic, racial and gender featured within media programs and whether visible minorities and other demographic groups are *visible* in the media in proportion to their prevalence in the market.[10] Idea/viewpoint diversity considers diversity in media narrative, described by Napoli (1999) as "the diversity of viewpoints and of social, political, and cultural perspectives represented within the media" (p. 22).

Exposure diversity, consisting of horizontal and vertical exposure diversity, focuses on

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[10] This differs from workforce diversity in its focus on those who are visible in the media, while workforce diversity is interested in diversity throughout all levels in the organization.

what sources audiences are exposed to in their media use, whether audiences are choosing to expose themselves to a wide range of program types as well as different political and social views, and what factors affect levels of exposure diversity among audiences. Vertical exposure diversity refers to diversity in exposure *within* individual channels/stations, while horizontal exposure diversity considers exposure diversity *across all* available channels (Napoli, 1999).

Table 3.1: Factorial design based on models by Napoli (1999) and Lasswell (1948)

	Source Diversity	Content Diversity	Exposure Diversity
Power			
Enlightenment			
Wealth			
Well-being			
Skill			
Affection			
Respect			
Rectitude			

Note: columns represent diversity components in the model as determined by Napoli (1999), and rows represent Lasswell's (1948) value categories.

Lasswell (1948) argues that "*Man* / pursues *Values* / through *Institutions* / on *Resources*" [original emphasis] (p. 17). In providing an outline of the social process, Lasswell links eight value categories with the institutions usually specialized to each:

Table 3.2: Lasswell's value categories and their institutional counterparts

Value	Lasswell's Institutional Categories
Power	Government, *CRTC, * interest groups with power to influence policy
Enlightenment	Research, education, information
Wealth	Business
Well-being	Hospital, clinic, *policy frameworks that offer protection, *frameworks and organizations that protect Canadians
Skill	Occupations, *emerging technologies
Affection	Family, friendship, intimacy, *nationhood, *cultural identity
Respect	Social class distinctions, *professional distinctions
Rectitude	Church, home, *morality, *civic duty

*Elements added by the author for the purposes of this study
See: Lasswell, 1948, p. 16-17

Lasswell argues that values are both shaped and shared through institutions, and any practise is always included among the institutions of more than one value. For example, a meeting of a board of directors at a community radio station may be concerned with: *power* in voting on new station policy; *enlightenment* in hearing comments and arguments from fellow board members; *wealth* in ensuring the station's financial stability or paying certain employees; *well-being* in decisions made for the overall health of the station; *skill* in the perfection of presentation and debating skills; *affection* in the relationships that develop been station members;

respect in the distinction in roles held by each member; and *rectitude* in the invocation of standards of right and wrong in station policy.

This two-dimensional conceptual framework attempts to represent the plurality of viewpoints on diversity in English Canadian media by considering not only the categorical classifications with which researchers and policymakers have based theories and policy in the past, but also considering the (perhaps less apparent) values that individuals consciously and unconsciously invoke when forming viewpoints on issues related to diversity. It also represents an attempt to incorporate theoretical triangulation through use of different lenses in developing the Q sample. The final Q sample used for this study is available in appendix B.

The P Sample

Q methodology stems from the premise that individual viewpoints are communicable and coherent, and ideas form patterns or schema in relation to other ideas. Q method also assumes that there is a limited number of different ways of understanding any issue, and it is therefore possible to ascertain the full schematic of viewpoints existing within a larger population by eliciting responses from a relatively small but representative sample of respondents (the P sample).

Q method differs from R methodology in that it seeks representativeness through the set of stimuli (the Q sample) as well as through the P sample (Brown, et. al., 2007). Given that representativeness is primarily sought through the Q sample, the goal in selecting the P sample is to ensure respondents provide a diversity of opinions, with individual characteristics considered somewhat less important than in R methodology (Steelman & Maguire, 1999).

This study attempts to include the viewpoints of those individuals and organizations who self-define as Canadian media stakeholders, including media organizations, trade unions and

research groups who enjoy significant access to decision makers and mainstream media, as well as interested individuals and organizations who are less often offered the opportunity to make their views widely heard by policymakers, politicians, researchers or the media. The initial P sample therefore included all of the individuals and organizations who submitted comments in English to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings and at least half of the study respondents had either submitted an individual intervention to the 2007 proceedings, or participated on behalf of an organization that had submitted an intervention. As the study progressed, I invited additional media practitioners, researchers, and related organizations to participate in the study based on their interest in and experience with the subject area in order to fill participation gaps in the P sample.

In total, there were 52 respondents. Respondents included private individuals as well as representatives completing the study on behalf of small, medium and large for-profit media, public media, community and/or not-for-profit media, independent entertainment content producers, independent news content producers, creative talent, related industry groups or trade unions, community or religious organizations, research centres or "watchdogs," non-governmental organizations, and telecommunications companies. Slightly over half (52 percent) of private individual respondents also had practical and/or research experience in the media industries, and half of respondents overall claimed to have participated in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings. Four respondents (less than eight percent) chose to remain entirely anonymous and declined to answer any questions related to personal background. For further detail on the makeup of the P sample, see appendix F.

Respondents who had submitted interventions to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings were sent an invitation letter by mail explaining the nature, purpose and procedures of the study. I also

telephoned these potential respondents to answer any questions and provide additional information about the study. Respondents who did not participate in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings were recruited from relevant industry groups on social networking sites such as LinkedIn, relevant LISTSERVs, and by recommendation from other respondents.

Procedures

The full procedures for respondents who participated in this study included completion of a Q sort, follow-up survey questions based on diversity of voices and a survey on the CRTC's deliberative processes and policy responses to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings. I also conducted follow-up interviews with selected respondents. All sections of this study apart from the follow-up interviews were completed online through the web-based Q survey program, *FlashQ* (Hackert & Braehler, 2007)*,* which was installed on a secure server in the Rogers Communication Centre at Ryerson University. One respondent completed a paper Q sort in person, followed by the same survey questions and a semi-structured interview.

The online survey began with the Q sort and ended with specific questions about policy to ensure that respondents were not primed to consider those topics broached in the policy questions. The 48 statement "cards" were automatically shuffled by the computer and appeared one at a time on the screen, allowing respondents to rank their opinion towards each individual statement as "agree," "disagree" or "neutral."

After completing this initial categorization, respondents were asked to rank the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement in relation to the other statements by arranging the cards in an inverted pyramid-shaped quasi-normal distribution with polar ends ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." For a template of the distribution pyramid, see appendix C. In the final stage of the Q sort portion of the survey, respondents were invited to

add comments about why they "strongly agreed" or "strongly disagreed" with the statements that they ranked most strongly in the distribution.

In the second portion of the study, respondents were invited to complete a survey detailing their organizational affiliation or demographic information. This offered organizational representatives the opportunity to self-define their organizational category and size, while independent respondents self-defined based on their knowledge of media and/or telecommunication industries, industry experience, and political beliefs. Respondents were then asked to describe their experiences with the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings, including the opportunities and challenges that participation in the hearings presented and their overall perceptions about the participatory process.

Finally, respondents were asked about their viewpoints on the CRTC 2008-4 regulatory changes that emerged from the diversity proceedings, including their perspectives on whose views the CRTC considered and did not consider when making their final decisions. The survey concluded with space for respondents to include extra comments and indicate their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview. For full survey protocols, see appendix D.

I invited a small number of respondents to participate in follow-up interviews after completing the survey in order to expand on their comments and/or offer clarification on certain issues that they addressed in the survey.

Reflections on methodology

I have described and provided explanations for my chosen methodologies in this study, and described my techniques for choosing the Q sample and P sample, the procedures involved in completing the study, and the computer software and techniques I used in data analysis. This

section offers a critical reflection on the chosen methodologies and procedures, including the decision to use an online study, issues related to the study construction and sampling, and the benefits and limitations of the chosen methodologies. It also includes descriptions of the challenges that arose in the development and execution of the study, and the anticipated effects these challenges on the study's results.

Online surveys

While qualitative studies including Q methodology have traditionally been completed on a paper template with stimuli provided on individual cards for a manual sort, I chose to use a computer-based online Q sort and survey to facilitate participation by a specified P sample including individuals and organizations dispersed across the country. Using an Internet-based survey helped curb difficulties associated with the cost and labour intensive nature of Q methodology, including travel, printing and postage, and the labour-intensive task of manually inputting large quantities of data into relevant data analysis programs. Many respondents also preferred the flexibility that an Internet-based survey provides, allowing them to complete the sort at their own pace at a convenient time and in a comfortable location. The instantaneous results offered by the Internet-based survey allowed me to conduct data analyses periodically throughout the duration of the study, providing an opportunity to monitor emerging viewpoints and invite additional respondents as necessary.

However, allowing respondents to conduct the sort remotely instead of scheduling individual interviews with each respondent meant little or no face-to-face contact with most respondents, and fewer opportunities for respondent-researcher interaction. While I attempted to mitigate this issue by telephoning potential respondents to answer questions prior to their participation in the study, an overall lack of interaction limited discussion between the researcher

and the majority of respondents. This left study instructions and respondent responses vulnerable to interpretational and communication issues, and frustrated some respondents who did not have a quick way to have their questions answered while completing the survey. I attempted to mitigate these issues by answering questions received via e-mail as quickly as possible, and offering a 24-hour study phone line that respondents could call if they wanted immediate answers to their questions.

Furthermore, while most individuals selected for the study were already computer users, the decision to use computer survey software also risked excluding those in the sample who did not have Internet access or who were less comfortable using a computer. While none of the invited respondents cited use of a computer as a reason for choosing not to participate in the study, a small number of respondents did express concerns about accessing the website or following certain computer-related instructions. For example, one respondent expressed confusion with the instruction to "maximize your browser," while others requested a separate e-mail including a direct link to the study's homepage to avoid the task of manually entering the study's URL.

Another issue with the computer-based survey was that the software package used did not offer a function for respondents to save partially completed work and return to finish at a later time. This was a particular challenge given the length of the survey and the fact that many respondents completed it while at work where they could be called away to another pressing task at any moment. One respondent also expressed frustration after accidentally pressing the "back" button on her browser, causing her careful work to be lost. While I was careful to ensure the survey's instructions were clear about the amount of time required to complete the survey in a single sitting, it would be useful if future surveys would allow respondents to save their work

and return to complete the survey at a later time.

Finally, some respondent results were lost during the course of the survey due to an unexpected technical glitch with the computer software. While the survey page functioned well during the pilot study and throughout user-tests with PC and Mac computers in Explorer, Safari, Firefox and Chrome browsers, there appeared to be an incompatibility between the software and certain versions of Adobe Flash. In rare and random instances, this would cause the survey page to freeze, causing all completed work to be lost. It is unknown how many respondents did not complete the survey as a result of this software bug.

Study Construction

I constructed the study in three parts consisting of the Q sort, survey on policy, and follow-up interviews with selected respondents to help avoid errors based on omission or discrepancies. The use of three different study formats was also intended to encourage respondents to complete the study in entirety by introducing novel formats to keep respondents engaged while allowing them to skip questions that might make them uncomfortable.

While the incorporation of different forms of qualitative methodology adds depth and validity to study results, the inclusion of separate sections to the study resulted in a long survey that generally took respondents between 30 and 60 minutes to complete. Respondents varied in the time required to complete the study, with some requiring up to two hours to produce thoughtful responses. The length of time required to complete the study in full posed a challenge in recruiting respondents who were experiencing particularly tight schedules during the time the study was open, or who were unwilling to devote more than a few minutes to the study.

Q methodology challenges

The use of a Q sort elicited mixed responses from the sample population, most of whom were not familiar with the methodology prior to completing the survey online. Some respondents enjoyed the challenge involved in sorting the cards, and commented that the exercise was valuable for them in contemplating their own values and views on diversity. Other respondents found the process frustrating and overly time consuming, or expressed concern that the results would not accurately represent their views. Any negative perceptions of the methodology were exacerbated by the researcher's inability to interact with and immediately respond to respondent questions and concerns while they completed the sort.

Respondents also expressed mixed views on a perceived ambiguity in the selected statements in the Q sample, which were selected from actual public comments about diversity of voices and contained no normative value beyond that attributed to them by respondents through the act of sorting and ranking each item. While some enjoyed the freedom to interpret the statements, others expressed concern about the lack of formal definition for certain words or phrases. Furthermore, while I attempted to limit industry-related jargon within the statements, the necessary inclusion of certain technical terms and phrases was also frustrating to some respondents who were less familiar with broadcast media policy.[11]

While a properly employed Q sort can create a valuable schematic of respondent viewpoints, it is also important to recognize that results can lose some of their benefits when removed from the sample group (Steelman & Maguire, 1999). The decision to invite all individuals and groups who submitted English-language interventions to the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings as well as other organizations and individuals who self-define as stakeholders in

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[11] These included references to policy documents such as *The Ethnic Broadcasting Act*, as well as some terms such as "campus/community radio," "public broadcasting," and "net neutrality." I felt that it was important to include these terms because they are strongly connected to key issue areas that resonated with some participants.

English Canadian media suggests that most or all of the viewpoints expressed during the proceedings should be represented within this study. However, the complexity of this policy area and the operational necessity of including a relatively small P sample mean that this research may omit viewpoints that exist within the broader Canadian public but were not represented in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, as well as views of those individuals who are less familiar with this policy area. I consider some of the challenges based on sampling and possible self-selection below.

Sampling and self-selection

To some extent, the final P sample in this study experienced self-selection based on those individuals and organizations who had well-developed viewpoints on the issues related to media diversity and had specific ideas for improving Canada's media system. In a Q study, ideal respondents have well-developed viewpoints on the issues under examination, while those who do not hold detailed and expressible viewpoints may experience difficulty in rank-ordering the statements.

Furthermore, some potential respondents who felt that no change was needed or that the diversity debates were not valuable either declined to participate in the study, or withdrew participation after beginning the Q sort. One organizational representative who declined participation argued that as a licensee, her organization did not feel comfortable publicly expressing its views on policy processes, while another who had begun the sort stated that he had felt neutrally towards most of the statements, and did not feel that the issues addressed were relevant in Canadian media. Conversely, those who expressed the most interest in the study also displayed strong views about the current state of diversity of voices and often included specific suggestions about where policy change was needed.

In several cases involving participation by organizations, the individual who submitted the original CRTC intervention could not personally complete the survey either due to time constraints, a change in position at the organization, or because s/he was no longer employed at the organization. In these cases, the organizations appointed an individual with a similar portfolio to complete the study. While these individuals may have been well-equipped to articulate organizational viewpoints on diversity, several were not present for the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, and thus did not feel comfortable offering specific comments on the proceedings and CRTC 2008-4 regulatory changes. This was particularly the case in organizations that experience high employee turnover, such as large corporations and related industry trade unions.

Finally, as previously mentioned, this study included few individuals or organizations who had not publicly commented on issues related to diversity of voices either through the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings or in the media. This selection favours those individuals and organizations with strong and well-developed beliefs about media diversity. As a result, it does not include the viewpoints of those who would consider themselves less informed about issues in media and telecommunications, or who do not feel that they have a significant stake in policy related to diversity of voices. Since this study is particularly interested in stakeholder perspectives on diversity, these individuals and organizations are not part of the target sample population; however, it may be interesting in future to determine if there are any viewpoints on diversity held by members of the greater Canadian public who are less engaged in discourses related to these topics.

Final thoughts

Overall, one of the major strengths of this research was its ability to elicit responses from

a wide variety of individuals and organizations who self-define as stakeholders in English Canadian media, including those organizations and individuals whose unique perspectives may not otherwise be considered throughout the policy making process, and those with fewer resources to make their needs and views known through the mainstream media or policy research. My use of Q methodology combined with complementary qualitative survey questions and follow-up interviews is unique in its focus on *viewpoints* related to diversity, thereby offering a venue for participation by respondents with a wide range of experience related to English Canadian media. This study therefore offers a schematic of viewpoints about diversity that incorporates a variety of respondents with wide range of needs and beliefs that are not often captured by traditional policy research.

Bearing in mind this study's goals and methodologies, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen methodologies, I now move to a description of the study's results, followed by an analysis of the findings and their implications for discourses on diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative processes.

-4-

Findings

Introduction

This chapter discusses results of a Q methodology based exploratory field study of diversity of voices in English Canadian media, as well as respondent comments on the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings and 2008-4 policy changes. Part one begins with a description of my analytical techniques. It then explains the findings concerning viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media, including a detailed description of each of the viewpoints based on analysis of how respondents ranked Q-sample statements as well as respondent comments. It concludes with a comparative analysis of the viewpoints in order to show the affinities and differences among them. Part two describes respondent comments on the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings and the CRTC 2008-4 policy changes that emerged from the proceedings.

For the purposes of this analysis, scores for particular Q sample statements as well as the statement number are indicated in parenthesis and separated by a comma. For example, the notation (+4, s28) indicates that in a typal sort for the viewpoint under discussion, statement 28 received a score of +4, or "strongly agree." Unless noted otherwise, any comments included in quotation marks to support my interpretation of the Q sort results and perspectives on the CRTC's deliberative policy making process are direct quotes from study respondents as provided in the supplementary qualitative question to the Q sort, and complementary survey questions four, five and six. Full survey protocols are available in appendix D. For more information on individual respondent characteristics, see appendix F.

Furthermore, for clarity I have labelled bipolar viewpoints as positive and negative, with

the positive label indicating the side of the bipolar viewpoint that represented the most respondents. Bipolar viewpoints indicate controversy over the viewpoint under examination, since respondents demonstrate fundamentally opposite responses to the same statements. For example, in the case of a hypothetical viewpoint X in which four respondents expressed one viewpoint and three respondents expressed the polar opposite view, the viewpoint with four respondents is labelled as X+ and the polar opposite viewpoint with three respondents as X-.

I: Viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media

Analysis techniques

To analyze the Q-sort, I used the Q method software, *PCQ for Windows* (Stricklin & Almeida, 2000). I first used centroid viewpoint analysis with varimax rotation, and then used graphical rotation to invert a viewpoint that had emerged as a negative in the initial rotation. At a significance level of one per cent (eigenvalue greater than 1), the varimax rotation yielded four identifiable viewpoints, accounting for 41 of 52 sorts (79 per cent). Of the eleven remaining sorts, six were confounded (meaning these respondents shared two viewpoints), and five did not load significantly on any viewpoint. Compared with other possible solutions, the four viewpoint solution offered the cleanest results with the fewest not significant and confounded sorts, and with distinct viewpoints populated by at least four participants.

I used PCQ to generate a typal sort for each of the four viewpoints. The statements at the extreme ends of the typal sort (those that respondents most agreed and most disagreed with), as well as any statements that differentiated each viewpoint from the others, formed the basis of my analysis since these statements best illustrate the elements that make each viewpoint unique. I also considered respondents' qualitative comments on the statements they felt most strongly

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about in characterizing each viewpoint and determining what linked individual respondents together in a particular viewpoint (for survey protocols, see appendix D). For a full list of the Q sort results, see appendix E.

Four viewpoints on diversity

The Q sort analysis revealed four viewpoints on diversity, three of which had bipolar loadings. The emergence of three bipolar viewpoints indicates that perspectives on diversity of voices are extremely controversial, since respondents with bipolar views fundamentally disagree about the topics under examination. Viewpoint A is bipolar, and is characterized by support for marginalized voices (Viewpoint A+), or frustration with perceived unnecessary and discriminatory affirmative action programs that amount to reverse discrimination in media hiring practises (Viewpoint A-). Viewpoint B is also bipolar, and represents concerns about ownership consolidation (Viewpoint B+), or concern for business and economic interests (Viewpoint B-). Viewpoint C is also bipolar, and is characterized by support for the media's role in representing Canadian identity and cultural expression on one end (viewpoint C+), and criticism of perceived government determination of "cultural winners and losers" on the other (viewpoint C-). Viewpoint D expresses concern about corporate influence and government over-regulation, and advocates a comprehensive marketplace of ideas. The following section provides detailed descriptions of the four viewpoints, explains the small number of confounded and not-significant sorts and offers a comparison of the viewpoints that analyzes areas of consensus and conflict.

Viewpoint A: Marginalized voices and reverse discrimination

Viewpoint A+ describes a broadcast system that better represents traditionally marginalized groups on-air and in media management and ownership, including visible

minorities (+4, s30 and +3, s7), women (+4, s28), and people with disabilities (+4, s3). The polar opposite viewpoint A- expresses frustration with affirmative action programs and preferential hiring practises. Respondents expressing viewpoint A+ include independent citizens with a range of industry experience, a community media group, and a not-for-profit community-based organization, while viewpoint A- belongs to an individual with extensive (over 15 years) industry experience.

Viewpoint A+ perceives equitable representation as emerging through CRTC policies and regulations that encourage on-air and management representation for marginalized voices (+4, s28; +4, s3; +4, s30; and +3, s7). In their comments, some respondents pointed to Canada's large immigrant population, arguing that these communities are often attached to their homelands and languages, and that a fair system would provide broadcast content *in proportion to* the demographics in the community (for example, a radio station serving an area with a 10 percent Latin-American population would air 10 percent Latin-American content). Respondents were either indifferent or ambivalent about the current Ethnic Broadcasting Policy (-1, s23), with one respondent suggesting that a better approach to "diversity" programming would be to mandate airtime for marginalized groups in a manner similar to Canadian content regulations.

Table 4.1: Strongest "most agree" and "most disagree" statements for viewpoint A+

Statement	Score*
Most Agree	
Statement 28: Broadcast policies should encourage greater representation of women both on the airwaves and in management positions.	+4
Statement 3: We need improved regulations to ensure that people with disabilities are adequately represented in broadcast media.	+4
Statement 30: A mix of both ethnic and non-ethnic ownership in broadcasting strengthens the broadcasting industry as a whole.	+4
Most disagree	
Statement 46: The CRTC requirement that each religious broadcaster is required to provide opportunity for a diversity of religions to express themselves through programming is unjust and discriminatory.	-4
Statement 33: Tax dollars allocated to broadcast and content production should only be used to hire Canadian talent for productions on Canadian soil.	-4
Statement 15: Real debate happens when people are exposed to content that they find antagonistic.	-4
*Scores range from +4 to -4	

Viewpoint A+ respondents reject the idea that government subsidies and grants for Canadian broadcasting and content production should be limited to Canadian productions on Canadian soil (-4, s33). These respondents understand Canadian cultural industries as part of a global discourse, and allowing subsidizes for global work helps artists "grow in Canada and the world." They view restrictions that would require content to be made on Canadian soil with only Canadian talent as inhibiting artistic vision and limiting an artist's ability to benefit from experiencing other cultures and interacting with talent outside of the country.

Table 4.2: Statements that differentiate viewpoint A+ from all other viewpoints

Statement	Viewpoint*			
	A	B	C	D
Statement 3: We need improved regulations to ensure that people with disabilities are adequately represented in broadcast media.	**4**	0	0	-2
Statement 24: To some extent, media consolidation can mean more and better opportunities for smaller broadcasters.	**1**	-4	-3	-4
Statement 33: Tax dollars allocated to broadcast and content production should only be used to hire Canadian talent for productions on Canadian soil.	**-4**	0	0	1
*Scores range from +4 to -4				

Viewpoint A-, in contrast, expresses concern for poorly-implemented affirmative action policies, with participants arguing that "the doors of media should be open to everyone." This viewpoint asserts that preferential hiring for women (-4, s28) and visible minorities (-4, s30 and -3, s7) is not necessary because a good journalist should be able to report on issues affecting any group or gender in a sensitive and understanding fashion regardless of his/her background. Respondents argued that hiring quotas and preferential hiring amount to "racism and sexism," and that media hiring practises should reflect a meritocracy rather than privileging supposedly 'underrepresented' groups.

Viewpoint B: Ownership Consolidation and Business Needs

Viewpoint B+ expresses concern about ownership consolidation in media, with a polar opposite viewpoint (B-) that reflects free-market ideals and a concern for the industry's economic wellbeing. Viewpoint B+ was the predominant viewpoint in this survey, accounting for 26 of 52 sorts. Respondents loading on this viewpoint include independent citizens, campus/community and/or not-for-profit media, research centres, trade unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and governmental organizations. Large for-profit media

expressed viewpoint B-.

Respondents expressing viewpoint B+ believe that citizens need access to media that are not controlled by corporate interests (+4, s45), and think that the CRTC is not doing enough to prevent industry consolidation (+4, s43). There is a sense of rectitude in viewpoint B+ responses, with an implicit link between media and democracy (+4, s44 and +4, s45) and a belief that industry consolidation is morally wrong (+4, s43). The comments reveal concerns about the media's gate-keeping function, and how corporate media may abuse this privilege. Several respondents commented on a reduction in editorial voices and programming options as corporations seek synergies among their holdings, as well as concerns for how editorial opinion is shaped by media owners. Some respondents also argued that media viewpoints often conform to mainstream views and the status quo rather than offering challenging content because the ultimate goal is to sell audiences to advertisers rather than engage and challenge their audiences. Overall, these concerns can be summed through one respondent's comment: "if profit is the fundamental objective, then profit will triumph over integrity."

Table 4.3: Strongest "most agree" and "most disagree" statements for viewpoint B+

Statement	Score*
Most Agree	
Statement 45: Democracy is enhanced when citizens have access to media that are independent of corporate influence or control.	+4
Statement 44: Private control of the media tends to make democratic responsibility subordinate to profitability.	+4
Statement 43: Media consolidation is wrong. The CRTC needs to stop bowing down to big-business.	+4
Most disagree	
Statement 24: To some extent, media consolidation can mean more and better opportunities for smaller broadcasters.	-4
Statement 18: Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.	-4
Statement 5: Diversity makes good business sense. If we eliminated unnecessary regulations, it would free up companies to better respond to customer demand and serve niche markets.	-4
*Scores range from +4 to -4	

Viewpoint B+ rejects the notion that industry consolidation can lead to greater diversity by allowing companies to respond to customer demand (-4, s5) or offering opportunities for smaller broadcasters (-4, s24). One respondent argued that big media over-homogenize their markets, employing a "one-size fits all" approach that can alienate certain audiences. Others argued that consumers do not really have the opportunity to demand certain types of content, but instead must select from the options that the broadcasters present to them. As one commenter suggested, "business is neither diverse nor democratic and media and the means of communication must be both."

Respondents expressing viewpoint B-, in contrast, believe that media consolidation is

neither right nor wrong, but is simply the result of the business and regulatory environment (-4, s43). According to this viewpoint, diversity is best served by allowing companies to respond to consumer demand (+4, s5 and +3, s42) since, as one commenter noted, "Canadians know better than the government regulatory [agency] what they want to watch." The customer determines what content remains on the airwaves through his/her viewing choices, and diversity makes good business sense since broadcasters will seek to fill niche market demands (+4, s5). Respondents also argued that over-regulation makes it difficult for Canadian companies to compete with unregulated entertainment and information alternatives outside of the official broadcast system, and suggested that it would therefore be logical to reduce the regulatory burden on traditional players.

Viewpoint C: Canadian cultural expression

Viewpoint C+ is characterized by support for Canadian cultural expression, with a polar opposite response (C-) that expresses criticism of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the dominant understanding of Canadian culture and cultural expression. Respondents sharing viewpoint C+ include trade unions, medium for-profit broadcasters, community/religious groups, and a private citizen with over 15 years experience with an independent content provider. Viewpoint C- was expressed by a community/religious group.

Those who load on viewpoint C+ note the importance of broadcasting in building national and cultural identity (+4, s38 and +3, s39). They support Canadian content regulations (+4, s41) and "shelf space" allocation for telling Canadian stories (+4, s36), and believe that allowing unfettered access to American services is not in the best interest of the broadcasting system (+3, s27). The comments reveal a belief among some respondents that certain social and

cultural goals presented in the broadcasting Act may have little commercial value or may not be as economically successful as foreign content in Canada, but they are nonetheless intrinsically valuable and should be protected. There is also a belief that Canadian content is under-promoted on Canadian stations, and if Canadian material was well-funded and better promoted it could be just as popular as foreign material (+3, s16).

Table 4.4: Strongest "most agree" and "most disagree" statements for viewpoint C+

Statement	Score*
Most Agree	
Statement 38: Broadcasting is the most effective instrument we have for the creation and dissemination of our common Canadian culture.	+4
Statement 41: I am glad that Canadian content regulations help creative and innovative Canadians find venues to showcase their work.	+4
Statement 36: Assured shelf space for the telling of Canadian stories to Canadians has to be considered a key ingredient and goal of the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act.	+4
Most disagree	
Statement 46: The CRTC requirement that each religious broadcaster is required to provide opportunity for a diversity of religions to express themselves through programming is unjust and discriminatory.	-4
Statement 2: If the Canadian media system is to remain relevant despite increasingly unregulated sources outside of the official system, the CRTC must recognize that it is the consumer who is now in charge.	-4
Statement 18: Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.	-4
*Scores range from +4 to -4	

Respondents expressing viewpoint C+ do not believe that private control of media necessarily makes democratic responsibility subordinate to profitability (-2, s44); however, they

do believe that in a truly diverse marketplace, smaller independent sources should be able to survive (+2, s17). One commenter noted that smaller broadcasters may be able to fill important niche markets that large companies ignore, arguing that "big conglomerates tend to group think. You don't have to be big to be successful in your niche." Respondents did, however, strongly support maintaining ownership and content regulations, arguing that easing restrictions could mean that large BDUs would focus on reducing costs rather than working toward the objectives set out in the Broadcasting Act (-3, s1; -3, s14; and -4, s18).

Table 4.5: Statements that differentiate viewpoint C+ from all other viewpoints

Statement	Viewpoint*			
	A	B	**C**	D
Statement 16: If Canadians only had more opportunity to learn about and interact with Canadian content, it would be just as popular as American material.	-1	-1	**3**	-4
Statement 44: Private control of the media tends to make democratic responsibility subordinate to profitability.	2	4	**-2**	2
*Viewpoint scores range from +4 to -4				

Respondents expressing viewpoint C- argued that the current conception of Canadian identity and Canadian cultural expression, particularly that espoused by the CBC, does not adequately reflect Canadians, and that there is too much conformity among Canadian journalists along this line. This viewpoint contends that the CBC and Canadian journalism as a whole are unbalanced, arguing that "there is a very narrow range of acceptable opinion in Canadian broadcast journalism." Respondents who share viewpoint C- also oppose the CRTC requirement that each religious broadcaster must provide opportunity for a diversity of religions to express themselves through programming (+4, s46), arguing that the rule is unjust and discriminatory and all religious broadcasters should be permitted a broadcast licence of their own. According to one respondent, religious broadcasters should not be forced to provide airtime for different faiths because "it violates the consciences of religious broadcasters to have them promote a religious

position they don't believe in."

Viewpoint D: Marketplace of ideas

Viewpoint D advocates a comprehensive marketplace of ideas that allows for customer choice and is free from big corporate *and* government influence or control. Respondents expressing viewpoint D include independent citizens with a range of industry experience and a broadcast and telecom company.

Respondents expressing viewpoint D support a free-market consumer choice system that is run by Canadian companies (+4, s34), but also believe that democracy is enhanced when citizens have access to media that are independent of corporate influence (+4, s45). Comments reveal that while respondents recognize the need for some regulation in broadcast and feel that the CRTC should step in to prevent market failure and monopolization in media and communication, they do not necessarily trust the CRTC to act in the best interests of Canadians. They believe that diversity is better served through market mechanisms that adhere to consumer choice (+4 s18 and +3, s2).

Table 4.6: Strongest "most agree" and "most disagree" statements for viewpoint D

Statement	Score*
Most Agree	
Statement 45: Democracy is enhanced when citizens have access to media that are independent of corporate influence or control.	0.616
Statement 34: I would rather have big Canadian companies than big American companies controlling Canadian media.	0.578
Statement 18: Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.	0.471
Most disagree	
Statement 16: If Canadians only had more opportunity to learn about and interact with Canadian content, it would be just as popular as American material.	-0.635
Statement 10: The CRTC should enact Internet-appropriate Canadian content regulations to help talented Canadians find their audiences.	-0.635
Statement 24: To some extent, media consolidation can mean more and better opportunities for smaller broadcasters.	-0.515
*Scores range from +4 to -4	

Respondents strongly oppose Internet-based content regulations (-4, s10) since, unlike traditional broadcast media, the Internet offers unlimited space for individuals and organizations to express themselves. Some respondents argue that the Internet represents the most ideal form of democratic communication since it offers a forum for all citizens to be content creators, editors, and critics.

Table 4.7: Statements that differentiate viewpoint D from all other viewpoints

Statement	Viewpoint*			
	A	B	C	**D**
Statement 18: Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.	-1	-4	-4	**4**
*Viewpoint scores range from +4 to -4				

Confounding and nonsignificant sorts

Overall, the Q sort results were relatively clean, with only six confounded and five nonsignificant sorts. Respondents with confounded results share two viewpoints, while nonsignificant sorts do not load on any viewpoint. Of the six confounded results, three respondents shared viewpoints A+ and C+, one shared viewpoints A- and C+, one shared viewpoints A+ and B,+ and one shared viewpoints B+ and C+.

There are several possible explanations for why five sorts did not load significantly on any viewpoint. Due to the complexity of this policy area, the Q sample may have been constructed in a way that did not permit these respondents to express their views, or they may load on an additional viewpoint that was not strong enough to meet acceptance criteria (I did not accept solutions including viewpoints with fewer than four respondents). Alternately, they may not have had a well-formed opinion about diversity of voices, or they may have completed the sort incorrectly or uncarefully either by not following instructions, or due to fatigue or lack of interest.

Comparative analysis

Areas of consensus

The analysis revealed three consensus items based on some support for net neutrality (statement 31)[12], a relatively neutral stance towards the role of independent producers and freelance journalists (statement 40), and a relatively neutral stance towards offering greater

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[12] The one exception to this was viewpoint B-, which ranked statement 31 as -2 overall. Comments reveal a belief that net neutrality is a complex issue that is not relevant to the current discourse on diversity of voices in English Canadian media.

support for Aboriginal media (statement 47).[13] None of the consensus items had very strong

positive or negative scores, suggesting that respondents feel that these are not key issues in

addressing the current state of diversity of voices in English Canadian media.

Table 4.8: Consensus statements for all viewpoints

No.	Statement	Viewpoint arrays			
		A^+ / A^-	B^+ / B^-	C^+ / C^-	D^+
31	In the coming years, the best way to encourage a diversity of voices will be through ensuring that Net Neutrality is maintained.	+1 / -1	+2 / -2	+1 / -1	+2
40	Independent producers and freelance journalists provide the most accurate and highest quality depiction of our country and the world.	0 / 0	-1 / +1	-1 / +1	-1
47	Aboriginal communities deserve greater support for Aboriginal-run media so they can tell their own stories in their own languages.	+1 / -1	+1 / -1	+1 / -1	0

Areas of deviation by theme

To help distinguish between the four viewpoints and compare and contrast the discourses

more clearly, I have highlighted seven themes that arose during analysis. I inductively

established these themes when analyzing similarities and differences between the viewpoints,

and found them useful in comparing and contrasting viewpoints. Table 4.9 lists the themes and

compares the four viewpoints on each by listing the statements that correspond to the theme and

the mean scores for those statements on each viewpoint.

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[13] The Aboriginal broadcasters who submitted interventions to the 2007 diversity of voices proceedings were invited to participate in this study, but either declined or did not respond to the request. Their views are therefore not represented in the Q sort.

Table 4.9: Mean differences among discourses on key themes emerging from analysis

Theme	Statement No.*	Viewpoints**			
		A $^{(+/-)}$	B $^{(+/-)}$	C $^{(+/-)}$	D
Marginalized voices	3, 7, 28, 30	3.75 -3.75	0.25 -0.25	0.75 -0.75	0.50
Freedom of expression	15, 46, 48	-3.67 3.67	-1.00 1.00	-2.00 2.00	0.33
Localism / Public access to airwaves	13, 19, 32, 35	2.00 -2.00	2.00 -2.00	-0.50 0.50	-0.50
Anti-ownership consolidation	11, 12, 24, 26, 43, *18, 24****	-0.83 0.83	3.00 -3.00	0.83 -0.83	-0.83
Canadian cultural expression	16, 36, 37, 38, 41	-0.40 0.40	0.40 -0.40	3.60 -3.60	-0.60
Economic viability	5, 18	0.50 -0.50	-4.00 4.00	-3.00 3.00	3.50
Consumer choice	2, 21, 42	1.33 -1.33	-2.33 2.33	-2.67 2.67	1.33
*See full list of statements in appendix B. **These numbers are the mean of the scores for the statements associated with the topic. Scores range from +4 to -4. *** The scores for statements in italics have been inverted to account for the statement's wording.					

Marginalized voices and *freedom of expression*

Viewpoint A+ is most interested in representation of marginalized voices, while viewpoint A- expresses concern about affirmative action and reverse discrimination in hiring practises. Scores for the other viewpoints show relatively less interest in diversity issues pertaining to marginalized voices. Additionally, viewpoint A+ respondents also express the most concern about unrestricted freedom of speech and antagonistic content as *inhibiting* certain groups from expressing themselves, allowing for misrepresentation of certain groups, or preventing individuals and groups from choosing not to be part of a discourse. While viewpoint C+ / C- expressed a similar (but less strong) response to these issues as viewpoint A+ / A-, viewpoints B+ / B- and D display weaker responses to these themes.

Localism / public access to airwaves

Viewpoints A+ and B+ both advocate for local media content and citizen participation in

media, while viewpoints A- and B- are either uninterested in local programming, or point to low ratings as evidence that there is not much demand for this content. For viewpoint A+, local and citizen-run media offer an opportunity for media to reflect the demographics of the communities they serve and encourage marginalized groups to tell their own stories. Viewpoint B+ also views local and citizen-run media as offering important opportunities to create and disseminate media that are free from corporate influence, and as venues for content that cannot be seen or heard on mainstream media. Viewpoints C+ / C- and D do not display strong responses to this theme.

Ownership consolidation

Only viewpoints B+ / B- display particularly strong reactions towards ownership consolidation, with viewpoint B+ arguing that consolidation is anti-democratic and serves to circumvent diversity in media, while viewpoint B- posits that consolidation is neither inherently good nor bad, but is a result of the current business and regulatory environment. Viewpoints A+ / A- and C+ / C- may be relatively less concerned about consolidation because both viewpoints perceive the ideal response to diversity issues as emerging from policy that mandates representation of marginalized voices and Canadian cultural expression (respectively). These conceptions of diversity can (theoretically) be achieved within a consolidated media system as long as adequate regulations exist and are respected and enforced. Viewpoint D, in contrast, values market solutions to issues in diversity and feels that the CRTC should only intervene in cases of market failure.

Canadian cultural expression

Viewpoint C+ is most interested in an assured shelf space for Canadian cultural

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expression, while viewpoint C- expresses concern about a dominant conception of Canadian culture that does not adequately reflect Canada and Canadians. No other viewpoints express strong reactions to this theme. In the case of viewpoint A+, this may be due to a belief that there is no single Canadian culture, or the notion that Canada is best understood as a mosaic of many cultures. Respondents sharing viewpoint B+ expressed a range of viewpoints on the importance of Canadian content, but generally seemed to believe that the best way to ensure shelf space for this material would be through developing a media system which relies less on market forces and is therefore more open to these forms of (less profitable) cultural expression. Viewpoint D's preference for customer choice and rejection of over-regulation dictates that viewers should decide whether this content is valuable, and it should not be artificially propped up through CRTC content policy.

Economic viability and *consumer choice*

Viewpoints B-, C- and D display similar concerns for economic viability and consumer choice in media. Viewpoint D, however, is fairly neutral about the other themes, suggesting a belief that a diversity of voices would occur naturally within a strong and vibrant marketplace of ideas that is led by consumer demand and not controlled by either corporate or government interests. Viewpoints B+ and C+ oppose a media system based on economic viability and consumer choice. Both viewpoints argue that valuable media content is not always profitable, and that a market-based system ruled by consumer choice risks circumventing diversity by supporting content repurposing and low-cost, high profit material rather than investment in original, high quality content.

II: Perspectives on the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings

Of the 52 respondents, 26 stated that they or their organizations had submitted comments to and/or appeared at the CRTC's 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings and 23 provided some comment on the experience.[14] Of these, 12 (52 percent) felt that the proceedings were at least somewhat useful for them or their organizations to express their views on diversity to the CRTC, five (22 percent) felt neutrally or had no opinion about the usefulness of participating in the proceedings, and six (26 percent) felt that the process was not very useful. Out of the 23 respondents, only one rated the process as "not useful at all" (0 out of 6), while four found it "very useful" (6 out of 6).

Figure 4.1: Participant viewpoints on the usefulness of participating in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings

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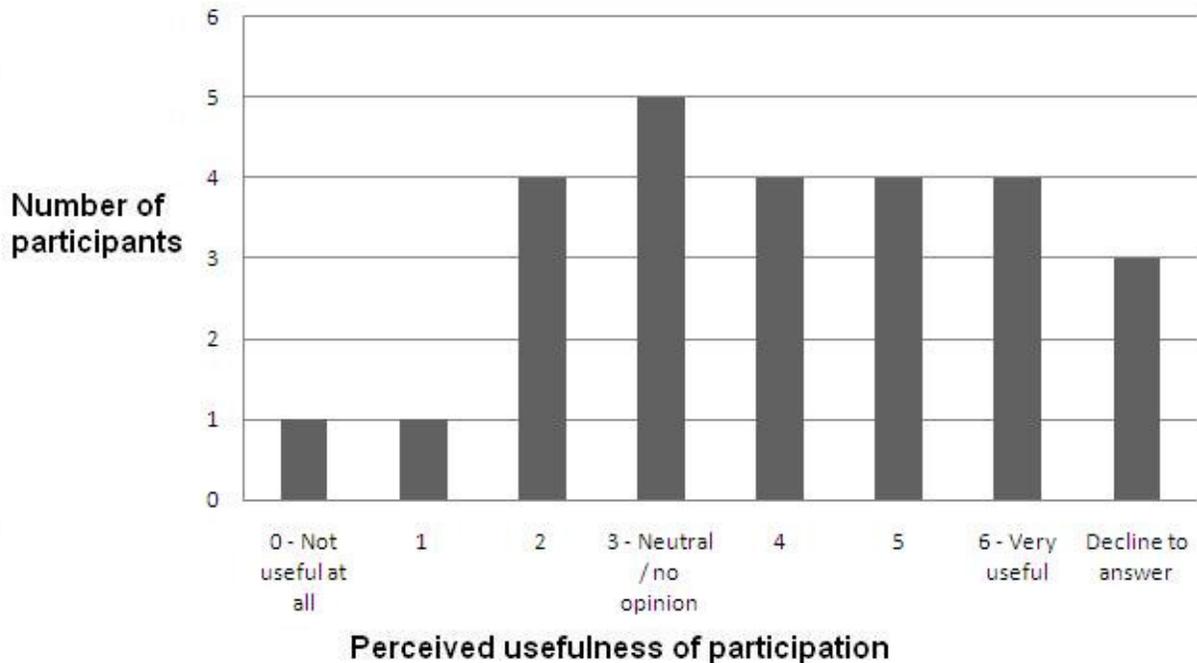
[14] Several more respondents had submitted written interventions to the proceedings, but either did not remember doing so or did not wish to comment. The full list of interventions is available at:
https://services.crtc.gc.ca/pub/ListeInterventionList/Default-Defaut.aspx?en=2007-5&dt=c&Lang=e

Of the respondents who chose to comment, the majority (20 out of 22) stated that they would participate in future CRTC proceedings on similar issues, and two stated that they might participate in a similar proceeding on a similar topic. None of the respondents stated definitively that they would not participate again in similar proceedings.

Interestingly, willingness to participate in future proceedings does not correlate with perceptions on the usefulness of the public participation process. Of the two respondents who stated that they might submit interventions in future proceedings, one was neutral or had no opinion about the usefulness of participating (3 out of 6), and one felt that the process was somewhat useful (4 out of 6). The respondent who ranked the process as "not useful at all" (0 out of 6) stated definitively that he would submit comments to future CRTC proceedings on similar topics.

Figure 4.2: Would you participate again in a similar CRTC proceeding?
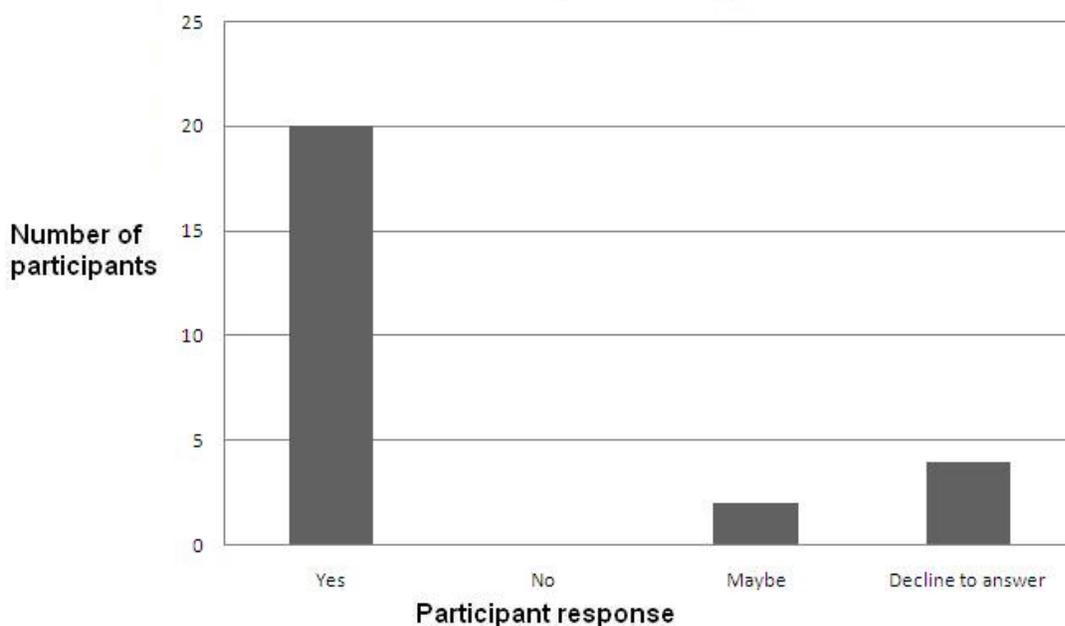
Respondents' perceptions on the usefulness of participating in the 2007-5 proceedings and willingness to participate in future hearings do not significantly correlate with their viewpoints on diversity of voices (as discussed in part I), nor was there any significant correlation between institutional affiliation and overall perceptions of the participatory process.

Benefits of participating in the CRTC-5 proceedings:

Respondents from all viewpoints and organizational affiliations offered similar comments about the benefits of participating in the proceedings. These included opportunities to:

- be part of the diversity of voices discussion and present arguments about diversity that the CRTC might not have otherwise heard or considered;

- organize and solidify the organization or individual's viewpoints on diversity of voices by encouraging contemplation and discussion with colleagues and friends;

- network with like-minded organizations and individuals while attending the public proceedings;

- see the policy process "up close" and gain a better understanding of how media policy is made in Canada; and

- improve recognition and publicity for an organization or cause through speaking at the public proceedings.

Challenges faced in participating in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings:

Individuals and volunteer-based organizations were more likely than established organizations to cite challenges in participating in the proceedings. These challenges were largely resource-based, including the time consuming nature of preparing a submission,

challenges in navigating the CRTC's website and meeting appropriate deadlines and submission guidelines, a lack of specialized institutional knowledge on the issues under debate, the costs involved in traveling to Gatineau for the proceedings, and the challenge of appearing before the Commission and other (often better resourced) participants. Some of these respondents also wondered whether the CRTC took their interventions seriously, and if their comments received any attention or follow-up.

Other challenges noted by a variety of respondents included a belief that the CRTC had a pre-conceived viewpoint on diversity prior to the hearings that would be difficult to counter, and challenges in getting the Commission to pay attention to certain issues (including vertical integration and the power of BDUs, minority rights and community media). Finally, some organizations also noted that smaller broadcasters that are reliant on BDUs may fear retaliation if presenting comments that are critical of BDU business practises, arguing that this could lead to self-censorship among these organizations and prevent the CRTC from understanding their needs.

Whose views did the CRTC consider and not consider in the 2008-4 policy changes?

Opinions on whose views the Commission considered and did not consider in the CRTC 2008-4 policy changes do not vary significantly by diversity viewpoint or organizational affiliation. Many respondents felt that the CRTC gave preference to big media over individuals and community groups in its determinations. Several other respondents, however, felt that the CRTC *did* carefully consider the plurality of needs and attempted a compromise among the many conflicting viewpoints. One respondent felt that through the proceedings, the CRTC gained a greater understanding of minority and third-language programming, and two respondents felt that

the CRTC's decision illustrated an improved understanding of the roles and needs of community-based media. Some respondents felt that while the CRTC recognized the need for some regulatory changes, the 2008-4 policy essentially accommodated the existing large players and only slowed the consolidation process.

Conclusion

Overall, the Q sort results reflect an overwhelming concern about ownership consolidation and monopolistic practises in Canadian media (B+). The results also present a call for protection and support for marginalized voices (A+), concerns about poorly-implemented affirmative action programs and reverse discrimination (A-), support for Canadian cultural expression (C+), concerns about a dominant cultural paradigm that does not really reflect Canadians (C-), and a call for a robust marketplace of ideas that is not controlled by large corporations or the government regulator (D).

Respondent perspectives on participation in the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings and the CRTC's 2008-4 determinations do not appear to correlate with these viewpoints. Individuals and organizations expressed a similar range of sentiments about the usefulness of participating in the proceedings. Respondents with fewer resources available for participating in public proceedings articulated more resource-based challenges in participating in the hearings, although some better established organizations also expressed concerns about getting the CRTC to address their needs and enforce regulations, as well as self-censorship by those who rely on BDUs. Perceptions of whose views the CRTC did and did not consider in establishing the CRTC 2008-4 regulatory changes also did not vary significantly across viewpoints, suggesting that viewpoints on diversity do not significantly influence how an individual or organization perceives the deliberative

democratic process. Chapter five reflects on the theoretical and practical implications of these results in greater detail, and offers recommendations for improvements to the CRTC's deliberative democratic process.

-Five-

Reflection on theoretical and practical implications of findings

A deeper critical reflection on the results of the Q sort and survey offers the opportunity to consider respondent viewpoints on diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative process in relation to prevailing theory and the Commission's actual determinations following the diversity of voices proceedings (CRTC 2008-4). This chapter begins with a critical reflection of the CRTC's participatory policy process in relation to the ideal participatory process as articulated by Young (2000), and provides a list of recommendations to improve the participatory process based on respondent concerns and Young's ideal process. It then considers the viewpoints articulated through the Q sort in relation to theory on diversity of voices. I discuss what the policy preferences regarding diversity of voices would be for each viewpoint, and consider how the CRTC addressed (or did not address) these policy preferences in its 2008-4 determinations. I conclude with a summary of some key areas of contention among the viewpoints, and a discussion of how a few changes to the deliberative policy making process could help ease these conflicts.

Reflection on the policy process

Survey results revealed that participants in the 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings generally considered deliberative process to be useful, and all of the respondents polled stated that they would at least consider participating in future CRTC proceedings. While many respondents listed a number of benefits to participation, several also cited challenges and barriers

to participation in the process, and reasons why participating may be easier and more useful for some individuals and organizations than others.

In analyzing the CRTC's public participatory process as employed during the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings on diversity of voices, I consider how respondents view the diversity of voices proceedings in relation to Young's (2000) four pillars for effective deliberative democratic processes (inclusion, equality, reasonableness, and publicity). Based on these analyses, I offer a summary of recommendations to improve dialogue among participants and ensure that deliberative processes include stakeholders with a range of viewpoints.

Inclusion

Young's (2000) principle of inclusion means that decisions arrived at through deliberative processes are only legitimate if all those bound by them are included in the discussion and decision making process. In theory, this is true of all CRTC public proceedings since the Commission is required to give adequate public notice before launching a public proceeding and any interested individual or organization can submit an intervention online, through the mail, or by fax. All interventions become part of the public record on the issue or case under discussion, and are posted online for any interested party to scrutinize.

While any interested individual can reasonably submit written comments to a CRTC proceeding, there are certain structural barriers that affect an individual or organization's ability to participate in the (more important) public hearings on the issue or case under discussion. From a practical standpoint, it would be expensive and time consuming for every interested party to appear before the CRTC, particularly in high profile cases that receive large numbers of comments. Indeed, it may not be necessary for many (or most) parties to appear before the

Commission, as long as their viewpoints are adequately presented by like-minded individuals or organizations. The problem with inclusion is not the fact that most intervenors do not appear before the Commission, but rather the structural inequalities that make participation by certain types of organizations and individuals more difficult than for others.

Many individuals, community groups and community broadcasters cited challenges in appearing at the public proceedings due to human and financial resource constraints. In particular, respondents cited a lack of money to pay for travel and accommodation expenses and lack of human resources to send key staff to Ottawa for several days (or, in the case of individuals, an inability to take time off of work to present at the hearings). This means that well-resourced organizations that can afford the time and resources to prepare detailed presentations and send teams of experts to the hearings are more likely to be included in live CRTC discussions than community groups, small and not-for-profit media and individuals.

The CRTC acknowledged this structural inequality and its ability to hinder the inclusion of certain voices in a recent decision on Bell Canada Enterprise (BCE)'s takeover of CTVGlobemedia's broadcasting subsideries. As part of its "tangible benefits" package and as a condition of approval of the transaction, the CRTC ordered BCE to invest $3 million into the creation of an independent fund to help cover the expenses incurred by public interest groups that participate in Commission broadcast proceedings (CRTC, 2011). While the CRTC stated that the fund should be used "to assist the representation, research and advocacy of these interests," it is not yet clear what the selection criteria for fund allocation will be, how individuals and groups will apply for funding, or how much would be allocated to an individual or group for a particular hearing. It could be well worth following the progression of this proposal over coming months and years.

Alternately, it may be possible for the CRTC to hold multiple hearings in major cities across Canada for significant events such as the diversity of voices proceedings. The Commission has held multiple hearings across Canada in past, and doing so could ensure inclusion of a range of voices from across the country that may not otherwise have been able to present before the Commission.

Equality

The principle of political equality among participants means that participants should be included on equal terms, and all should have equal opportunity to express concerns and interests (Young, 2000). While all interested individuals and organizations are offered the same opportunity to submit written comments to CRTC proceedings, there are several barriers to acheiving total equality among participants, including the need for presenters to enjoy some specialized industry knowledge on the issue under discussion, the tendency of the CRTC to see licencees as its 'clients,' and the tendency of certain broadcasters to self-censor their comments for fear of retaliation by larger companies or BDUs.

Several respondents felt that the CRTC would not take their written comments seriously, or noted that they felt ill-equipped to present before the Commission because they or their organizations did not enjoy the same in-depth industry knowledge as many of the larger and better-funded organizations. For some participants, these concerns were compiled with a belief that the CRTC would be more likely to consider the views of licensees rather than community groups and individuals, with one individual citing denial of his request to appear before the Commission as indication that his views were not taken seriously.

There is some evidence that certain industry stakeholders do enjoy greater access to

Commission decisionmakers than others (Raboy, 1995), and that the CRTC does tend to consider licencees as its primary "clients" (Armstrong, 2010). The fact that the Commission is more likely to directly cite organizations that appeared at the hearings in its determinations further suggests that the views of those who can appear before the Commission are considered more carefully than those who do not appear. There may therefore be some legitimacy to the concern that the the Commission does not offer equal consideration to all interventions, and the CRTC's ability to deny requests for appearance means that not all participants enjoy equal opportunity to express concerns and interests.

An even more concerning limit to equality in participation is self-censorship by small and not-for-profit broadcasters who are reliant on larger companies and BDUs. This is caused by an imbalance in the power relationship among these co-reliant parties, and emerges as an unintended consequence of the CRTC's committment to transparency in public proceedings. In some proceedings, smaller organizations that are reliant on larger companies or BDUs feel that they cannot express concerns that could reflect negatively on their more powerful business partners, for fear that the company or BDU may react badly or take retaliatory measures against them. This is the case for small and mid-sized broadcasters who are reliant on BDUs to carry their stations, as well as small and not-for-profit radio stations that use a transmission tower owned by a larger broadcast or telecom company. While not explicitly stated in respondent comments in this study, this may also be the case for individuals working in media industries who wish to describe their experiences in the industry, or even non-industry experts who do not wish to sour potential business relationships with major players in Canadian media.

While the CRTC does have mechanisms for accepting confidential written submissions and

in camera proceedings,[15] it does not accept competitive sensitivies as a legitimate reason for a confidential submission. Smaller broadcasters and individuals not wishing to antagonize more powerful industry players (biting the hand that feeds them) must therefore be prudent in their comments to the Commission, and extremely cautious when describing issues or posing suggestions that affect larger companies or BDUs. This could lead to severely truncated discussion on certain issues (such as complaints about treatment by BDUs), while other issues may not be presented before the Commission at all. This unintended and inequitable power dynamic within the participatory policy making process could favour more powerful industry players.

Reasonableness

The principle of reasonableness in public participation requires that participants enter discussion with the aim of reaching agreement, and are willing to listen to the proposals and criticisms put forward by other participants (Cohen, 1989). While the onus is on participants to consider other submissions, the CRTC does encourage participants to listen to other viewpoints by allowing those who appear at public proceedings to submit comments responding to issues and proposals raised by other participants.

However, given that the CRTC maintains autonomy in writing and justifying its final policy determinations, it is clear that the goal of public proceedings is not to find consensus among

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[15] Provisions for confidentiality in written submissions require applicants to submit: a) the full version of one's submission; b) the redacted version of the submission; and c) a written argument as to why the redacted version should be granted the requested confidentiality. This is then scrutinized by CRTC staff, who make a ruling as to what confidentiality (if any) will be granted. In oral hearings, the CRTC may choose to hold in camera proceedings in which only the party and Commission staff witness the proceeding. The transcripts from the proceeding are then provided to the intervening party, which must complete a similar redaction and rationale process. After staff rule on permitted redactions, the redacted transcripts are published on the CRTC website. For a full description of procedures for filing confidential information, see: CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission). 2010. *Procedures for filing confidential information and requestion its disclosure in Commission proceedings*. Ottawa: Broadcasting and telecom information bulletin CRTC 2010-961.

stakeholders, but for the CRTC to develop and enforce some form of compromise on the issues under discussion. Given the deep divisions among stakeholders on many aspects of media policy, it would be unreasonable to expect the Commission to form consensus on many issues, and the CRTC does not perceive its role as attempting to do so. That said, it may be useful for Commissioners as well as stakeholders and interested members of the public if the Commnission were to prepare a comprehensive summary of written and oral interventions that aggregates and compares arguments and areas of contention in key proceedings. A public document of this kind could help participants better understand the plurality of perspectives and more adequately assess whose perspectives the Commission considered in its final determinations.

Preparing a detailed summary of submissions and presentations that is separate from policy determinations could also help the CRTC in combatting criticisms based on perceived bias by showing participants that commissioners did review all submissions, even if not all comments are reflected in policy determinations. When asked about whose views the CRTC considered and did not consider in its CRTC 2008-4 determinations, several respondents felt that the Commission began the hearings with a preconceived viewpoint on diversity which prevented it from considering alternative understandings of diversity and other concerns that did not factor into its preconceived viewpoint. Providing a summary and analysis of the proceedings would offer legitimacy to the process by showing participants that the Commission *did* consider their comments, while also encouraging participants to read and consider other issues raised during the proceedings.

Publicity

Young's (2000) conception of effective deliberative process posits that when the pillars of

inclusion, equality and reasonableness are met, participants in a deliberative democratic process form a public in which they are held accountable to other participants. Participants realize that they must justify their views before a plurality of others, and that other participants will have the opportunity to respond to their arguments. This encourages participants to be as clear and reasonable as possible in expressing their viewpoints while facilitating public dialogue among stakeholders.

In their comments on the CRTC 2007-5 proceedings, some respondents noted the advantages of the public process, including opportunities to meet and network with like-minded organizations and gain recognition for an organization or cause by speaking at a public hearing. However, comments also indicate that the various viewpoints do not always talk to each other throughout the participatory process, nor will they be fully equipped to do so until barriers to participation based on lack of resources and self-censorship by participants are removed. Indeed, one respondent who had not been able to attend the hearings due to resource constraints mused that he would have liked to know how certain organizations would respond to his comments, while others simply assumed that their submissions were filed away and forgotten about. While it might be unrealistic to expect the CRTC to act as a consensus builder, providing a comprehensive summary of the viewpoints expressed throughout the proceedings could encourage discussion by ensuring that viewpoints are included on equal ground in a manner that is accessible and digestible for interested participants and members of the public.

Summary of recommendations

Under the assumption that individuals and organizations are more likely to accept and endorse policy outcomes if they perceive the policy process as legitimate, I would recommend

that the CRTC consider the following steps to improve its participatory policy process:

- facilitate and monitor the development of an independent fund to help cover expenses associated with participation in public proceedings for those individuals and organizations who may otherwise not be able to attend due to resource constraints;

- consider resuming the practise of holding multiple CRTC hearings in main centres across the country in key proceedings affecting the Canadian media system;

- address the issue of self-censorship within public proceedings and work with stakeholders to develop a fair mechanism to ensure these concerns are considered while maintaining the publicity and integrity of the consultation process; and

- in key proceedings, prepare a comprehensive summary of written and oral interventions that aggregates and compares viewpoints to help participants better understand the plurality of perspectives and encourage stakeholders to consider competing viewpoints.

Reflection on diversity of voices

As discussed in chapter four, this study revealed four viewpoints, including three bipolar viewpoints, on diversity of voices in English Canadian media. These viewpoints emphasize inclusion of marginalized voices (A+) and concerns about reverse discrimination (A-); anti-ownership consolidation (B+) and concern for business needs (B-); Canadian cultural expression (C+) and criticisms of the dominant presentation of Canadian identity (C-); and support for a comprehensive marketplace of ideas (D). This section critically reflects on these findings in relation to theory on diversity and the CRTC 2008-4 policy determinations. It begins with a few general comments about how the findings highlight significant trends in the survey results

overall. It then considers each viewpoint in relation to theory on diversity as described in chapter two, and considers each viewpoint's policy preferences and the extent to which the CRTC addressed (or did not address) these preferences in its 2008-4 determinations.

General comments:

Diversity of voices is an extremely controversial policy area

The fact that three of four viewpoints revealed through the Q sort are bipolar indicates that diversity of voices in English Canadian media is a very controversial policy area, in which certain respondents hold seemingly opposite viewpoints from other respondents. If one considers bipolar viewpoints as separate views, respondents in this study displayed seven different viewpoints on diversity of voices encompassing a range of ideas on key issues in diversity and how to address them. The wide range of strongly opposing viewpoints suggests that it may be difficult or impossible for participants to reach a consensus on what good policy on diversity of voices would look like, underscoring the importance of an independent and unbiased regulator that can sift through opposing views to develop a fair policy compromise.

It is important to note that while the Q sort was able to aggregate viewpoints on diversity of voices, it does not indicate how strongly individuals feel about diversity issues, nor their willingness to consider opposing viewpoints on diversity.

Opposing viewpoints do not always speak to each other

Respondent comments on diversity of voices and the policy process suggest that participants in policy processes do not necessarily consider opposing viewpoints in forming their opinions on diversity. This seems to be particularly true with bipolar viewpoints. Many

participants expressing the anti-consolidation viewpoint B+, for example, expressed the belief that drive for profits in media is morally wrong and that media should only be driven by democratic principles and the public good. While there may be some legitimacy to this argument, B+ participants generally fail to address the pro-business B- argument that, for better or worse, media in Canada exist within a capitalist system and are therefore subject to the same economic processes as any other industry. At the same time, B- participants ignore the democratic implications of media consolidation, arguing that the broadcasting industry should be treated as a competitive industry such as other. Similar discrepancies in discussion also exist for viewpoints A+ and A- as well as viewpoint C+ and C-, with participant viewpoints stemming from different premises on what is best for the Canadian media system while either ignoring or dismissing opposing perspectives.

Areas of consensus help define the parameters of the debate

The Q sort revealed three consensus items among all viewpoints based on relative indifference towards net neutrality, independent and freelance producers and Aboriginal media. The fact that participants expressed similarly neutral responses towards these issues suggests that they agree that these issues, while perhaps more relevant in a different context, are not central to the current debate on diversity of voices. In this way, determining consensus items can help define the parameters of the debate on diversity by indicating what issues stakeholders strongly relate to within the topic under debate and what issues may be better left out of these discussions.

Bearing these general comments in mind, the following sections consider how each of the viewpoints relate to theory on diversity of voices, and describe each viewpoint's ideal policy preferences and the extent to which the CRTC 2008-4 determinations addressed these

preferences.

Viewpoint A: Marginalized voices and reverse discrimination

How viewpoints A+ and A- relate to theory on diversity of voices

Viewpoint A emerged as a bipolar factor in the Q sort results. Viewpoint A+ supports a broadcast system that better represents visible minorities, women and people with disabilities on-air and in media management and ownership, while viewpoint A- expresses frustration with affirmative action programs and preferential hiring practises that respondents argue amount to reverse discrimination in broadcast industries.

Scholarly research on diversity of voices supports viewpoint A+'s belief that visible minorities are underrepresented as journalists, in media management positions (Cukier et. al., 2010; Miller, 2006) and within mainstream media coverage (Fleras, 2009). Those expressing viewpoint A+ support measures to include greater representation of marginalized voices on-air and in management positions throughout the broadcasting system as advocated by Thomas (1992) (+4, s28; +4, s3; +4, s30; and +3, s7), while also encouraging marginalized populations to tell their own stories through community media (Valaskakis, 1998) (+3, s35). Respondents also emulate Mackey's (1999) concern about conceptions of a single national Canadian identity, arguing that Canada embodies many unique and distinct cultures rather than a single disingenuous "Canadian" culture (+3, s39).

Interestingly, the A+ viewpoint did not include support for Aboriginal media in its call for better representation of marginalized voices. This may be either because respondents feel that Aboriginal broadcasters, who are represented in the Aboriginal Broadcasting Policy, are not in immediate need of further policies promoting inclusion of Aboriginal voices in mainstream

media or financial support to expand Aboriginal broadcasting operations. Alternately, it may be that those expressing viewpoint A+, none of whom represented Aboriginal media or interest groups, do not include Aboriginal broadcasters in their list of marginalized voices in need of support. Since the Aboriginal broadcasters who were invited to participate in the study declined to participate or did not respond to the request, this study cannot determine if Aboriginal broadcasters would show a similar disinterest in issues affecting other marginalized voices, including women, people with disabilities and other visible minorities. Given that scholarly literature on minority voices often refers to both Aboriginal and ethnic media, it may be worth further investigating this trend to determine if the two groups can be considered together in media policy discussions, or if these groups do indeed have different needs and should therefore be considered in separate policy frameworks.

There is also some scholarly theory that enforces viewpoint A-'s claim that affirmative action is potentially detrimental and may prevent qualified candidates from winning employment opportunities. Respondents referred to affirmative action as "racism and sexism," mirroring Winn's (2008) general description of affirmative action as "compensatory discrimination" (p. 23) that unfairly assists some groups in obtaining employment over others. Respondents also argued that, without policies mandating affirmative action or employment equity, employers would naturally strive to hire the best candidate for any position regardless of race or gender. Becker et al. (1982) offer a similar argument, describing competition in business as "the great equalizer" (p. 13) and arguing that discriminative hiring practises do not exist in competitive fields because businesses lose competitive advantage when they choose personnel based on any criteria other than suitability for the position. Winn (2008) further argues that affirmative action actually harms qualified members of disadvantaged groups, "whose personal successes are consequently

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perceived as privilege instead of achievement" (Winn, 2008, p. 32).

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint A+

Respondents expressing viewpoint A+ generally believe that the best way to ensure that visible minorities, women and people with disabilities are represented in media is through content and ownership policies that mandate diversity on-air and in management positions. Under the assumption that diversity in media ownership can lead to diversity on-air and in programming options, respondents argue that the CRTC should consider identity during competitive licensing processes and give preference to members of marginalized communities when awarding licences. While most respondents note some improvement in marginalized group representation in media due to CRTC initiatives and licensees' efforts to improve reflection of Canada's diversity in programming, they feel that licensees nonetheless need to be more accountable in regard to representation of marginalized voices. To ensure accountability and sustainable improvement in representation of these voices, some respondents recommend introducing new CRTC policy to mandate inclusion of marginalized voices in a manner similar to Canadian content regulations, in which licensees would be required to represent marginalized voices on-air in proportion to their existence within the broadcast market.[16]

Respondents also support community broadcasters as providing an alternative venue for marginalized peoples to *tell their own stories* on-air and offering a broadcast venue that is able and willing to accurately reflect the demographics of its community. Participants expressing viewpoint A+ therefore call for greater financial support and reserved spectrum space for community broadcasters that are sensitive to the needs of various groups within the community

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[16] For example, a radio station in a market serving a population that is 85 percent English speaking, 10 percent French speaking and five percent Chinese speaking would air content that is 85 English, 10 percent French and five percent Chinese.

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and encourage all members of these groups to express themselves through broadcasting.

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint A-

Viewpoint A- perceives entry into media labour markets as a meritocracy and argues that while women and visual minorities were underrepresented in past, they currently match or outnumber white male media workers and do not experience any inequitable barriers to entry. Participants expressing viewpoint A- therefore call for an end to any affirmative action-type policies geared towards ensuring gender and ethnic diversity in the workforce since they perceive these policies as unnecessary and discriminatory. Viewpoint A- respondents favour a policy regime in which the most qualified candidate is offered the job, regardless of gender or ethnicity.

CRTC 2008-4 policy response to viewpoints A+ and A-

In its 2008-4 determinations, the CRTC responded both to arguments calling for greater licence allocation to applications from marginalized groups and improved visibility of marginalized groups on-air. The Commission rejected arguments that Aboriginal and ethnic applicants should receive greater consideration in a competitive licence process, stating that there is no evidence that visible minority applicants are any less likely than non-minority applicants to be awarded a licence and that the present system provides numerous opportunities for diverse voices in the ethnic and Aboriginal broadcasting sectors. In regard to improving the presence of ethnic and Aboriginal voices on the airwaves, the Commission pledged to "closely examine" licensees' performance in this area at licence renewal, and noted various industry initiatives already in existence to address these issues. The Commission did not develop any new policy

related to minority and Aboriginal representation in the media.

While the CRTC's determinations did at least acknolwedge some of the concerns presented by viewpoint A+, it is interesting to note that its discussion did not address the role and respresentation of women or people with disabilities in Canadian broadcasting. Furthermore, despite the fact that the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) expressed different experiences and needs than representatives for ethnic broadcasting (APTN argued that they have benefitted from working with large and better funded broadcasters to expand their program offerings on their network and on other networks such as CTV and OMNI), the CRTC's discussion still included Aboriginal and ethnic media issues together in its policy determinations.

In its determinations, the Commission did not respond to comments discussing perceived reverse-racism in hiring practises due to affirmative action or employment equity initiatives.

Viewpoint B: Ownership Consolidation and Business Needs

How viewpoint B+ and B- relate to theory on diversity of voices

Viewpoint B emerged as a bipolar viewpoint in the Q sort, with viewpoint B+ expressing concern about ownership consolidation and support for non-corporate media, while viewpoint B- focuses on business concerns and the economic strength of the Canadian broadcasting industry.

There is a significant body of scholarly literature that supports viewpoint B+'s concerns about the democratic implications of consolidated ownership and corporate influence in media. Critics including Chomsky & Herman (1988), McChesney (2003), Murdock (1990), and Skinner and Gasher (2005) link economic models of diversity with concerns about the effect of media concentration on editorial autonomy, the flow of information and ideas, and diversity of voices and viewpoints. Much literature supporting community media also mirrors viewpoint B+'s call

for media that are free from corporate control, arguing that citizen-run media can fill gaps in public affairs coverage, encourage participatory dialogue among citizens and empower communities (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrade, 2002; Paranjape, 2007).

Viewpoint B- is supported in literature advocating industry economic strength and consumer choice in media. Respondents echo Fowler & Brenner's (1982) argument that broadcasters should be treated as marketplace participants and that diversity is best served by allowing companies total freedom to respond to consumer demand. Viewpoint B- also reflects Fowler & Brenner's theory that product diversity will emerge naturally as media companies strive to serve niche markets, and that product quality is best determined through its popularity with consumers.

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint B+

It is interesting to note that viewpoint B+'s concerns and policy preferences primarily describe what type of media system respondents *oppose*, rather than detailing what an ideal system would look like. Viewpoint B+'s policy preferences therefore favour policies that restrict the size and holdings permitted for major media conglomerates. Some respondents suggested that the CRTC should take steps to break up major conglomerates to reverse the current state of consolidation, particularly in the country's most consolidated markets (such as Vancouver).

Viewpoint B+ expresses strong support for media that are entirely free from business interests, with many respondents arguing that when media become for-profit businesses, they will always preference shareholders over democratic responsibility (+4, s44). Respondents support not-for-profit media, citizen-run media, including community media, as the best source for comprehensive and unbiased news and entertainment that draws communities together while

meeting the needs of a democratic society (+4, s45). Many respondents cited the fact that airwaves are considered *public* resources in arguments promoting community media alternatives that give all Canadians access to airwaves. These respondents call for assured spectrum allocation for not-for-profit and community media, as well as funding for citizen-run media to allow these broadcasters to operate free from economic concerns.

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint B-

Viewpoint B-, in contrast, argues that allowing companies to respond to consumer demand is the best way to ensure a diversity of voices in media. Ideal media policy would therefore loosen the regulatory burden on companies, allowing space for innovation and ensuring that Canadian companies are able to compete with unregulated new media content outside of the official broadcast system. While these respondents support reducing the regulatory burden on traditional media players, they do recognize the important role that the CRTC plays in facilitating broadcast industries and do not advocate removing all broadcast regulation. Instead, these respondents advocate a liberalized media system that allows for greater foreign investment and foreign content while offering certain safeguards that protect Canadian business interests.

CRTC 2008-4 policy response to viewpoints B+ and B-

The CRTC 2008-4 determinations focused primarily on offering solutions to concerns about increasing ownership consolidation to ensure a range of editorial voices are available in Canadian media. In paragraph 25, the Commission explicitly states its aims as ensuring the continued existence of public, private and community broadcasters; ensuring a plurality of ownership within private media; ensuring audiences have access to a diversity of programming,

including national, regional and local content; ensuring that any further consolidation provides a net benefit to Canadian audiences; and only posing ownership restrictions when absolutely necessary. To these ends, the Commission stated that it would not approve applications or transactions that would:

- allow a single party to own or control holdings in all three major media formats (radio, television and print) in a single market;

- allow one entity to control more than 45 percent of the total television audience share, including audiences to both discretionary and OTA services;[17] or

- offer a single broadcasting distribution undertaking (BDU) owner to control the delivery of programming services in a market.

The Commission also stated that it would review its policies with respect to community-based radio and television, with the objective of ensuring that its regulatory policy supports the development of a healthy community broadcasting sector (as advocated by viewpoint B+).

While this determination did not further liberalize ownership policy (as advocated by viewpoint B-), and it did recognize the need for some policy preventing further consolidation (as advocated by viewpoint B+), some commentators criticized the measures as essentially accommodating existing industry players instead of taking real steps to prevent further consolidation. These criticisms were exacerbated by the fact that the Commission did not explain *why* it chose the thresholds it did for acceptable control over audience share, which were based on the standards that the Competition Bureau had established for banking and accommodated current industry holdings.[18] Furthermore, in its ban on multiplatform media ownership

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[17] The Commission also stated that it would "carefully examine" any transactions that would result in one entity controlling between 35 and 45 percent of total television audience share in a market, and would process transactions that would result in the result in one entity controlling less than 35 percent of the total audience share.
[18] At the time the legislation was passed, CTVglobemedia had the largest audience share at 37.4 percent.

(television, radio and newspapers) in a single market, the Commission ruled that *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, two major dailies owned by companies with broadcast holdings in the Toronto market, were national rather than regional newspapers and were therefore exempt from the ruling. The new regulations did not challenge the status quo of media consolidation, or require major companies to divest certain assets.

Viewpoint C: Canadian cultural expression

How viewpoints C+ and C- relate to theory on diversity of voices

Viewpoint C is also bipolar. Viewpoint C+ is characterized by support for Canadian cultural expression, while C- expresses criticism for the CBC and the dominant understanding of Canadian culture and cultural expression.

Canadian national identity and broadcasting have been linked since radio's early days, with broadcasting long considered to be imbued with special nation-building powers (Babe, 1996; Vipond, 2000) that are essential to prevent complete cultural assimilation into the United States (Copps, 1999). Like respondents expressing viewpoint C+, scholarly commentators argue that there are simply not enough Canadian products to create a strong market presence for Canadian programs (Salter et. al., 2008), and Canadians do not enjoy equal opportunity to sell their products to American markets (Ritchie, 1997). These commentators hold similar viewpoints about the importance of Canadian content regulations and assured shelf space for Canadian stories.

The debate surrounding viewpoint C-'s assertion that Canadian media (particularly the CBC) have a left-wing bias is a long-standing one. Several right-of-centre commentators have called for an overhaul of a public broadcaster that it perceives as failing to offer high quality and

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objective content (Cooper, 1994; Winn, 2002), with one commentaor arguing that the CBC teaches the public to "disbelieve TV news in principle" (Cooper, 1994, p. 224), while opening the door to government control. Other commentators have vehemently denied claims of bias in CBC reporting (Taras, 1996). An independent report commissioned by the CBC showed that topic and tone in CBC news stories had similar profiles to competing sources (Spears et al., 2010).

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint C+

Ideal policy for viewpoint C+ includes continued support for Canadian programming, including financial assistance and Canadian content regulations. Beyond content regulations, respondents would also like to see better promotion of Canadian content, with one respondent arguing that "one of the biggest problems facing Canadian television is that it is not well-promoted by Canadian broadcasters." Measures that ensure that Canadian music and television shows are not only aired, but aired in favourable timeslots and with similar promotion as foreign content, would show broadcasters that Canadian content can be just as popular as American material.

Respondents oppose liberalization that would allow greater foreign control or content in Canadian broadcasting, arguing that "we are too close to the giant US market to be able to rely on market forces." While consolidation is not their primary concern, respondents do support measures would that limit further consolidation. They also support measures that would help small and medium for-profit broadcasters emerge and sustain themselves in the broadcast market, since the business sensibilities of these smaller companies may differ from large conglomerates and they feel that small and medium for-profit broadcasters may add distinct

elements to the broadcasting system that cannot be found on stations controlled by big media.

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint C-

Viewpoint C- is extremely critical of the CBC and a perceived left-wing bias among Canadian journalists in general. In order to rectify the imbalance in journalistic content and ensure that broadcasting accurately reflects Canadian values, respondents support ending funding to the CBC, arguing "the CBC has been better in the past. That doesn't mean it is owed a future." This viewpoint also supports removing regulations that force religious broadcasters to allocate airtime for different faiths.

CRTC 2008-4 policy response to viewpoints C+ and C-

The CRTC did not respond to conceptions of diversity based on Canadian cultural expression (C+) or criticism of an inaccurate dominant portrayal of Canadian culture (C-). While these concerns may address legitimate elements of a diverse media system, it is not surprising that the Commission did not discuss these discourses since its explicitly stated goal was to address diversity issues related to media ownership and a vibrant system including public, private and community elements. Issues related to Canadian cultural expression, in contrast, tend to be dealt with largely through Canadian content regulations and financial support for Canadian productions, neither of which are directly affected by changes to media ownership structures.

Respondents from viewpoint C+ generally oppose easing the regulatory burden on media conglomerates (-4, s18) and are critical of a system in which market forces and consumer choice dictate media content (-4, s2). Viewpoint C+ respondents would likely support the CRTC 2008-4 determinations as preventing further consolidation and ensuring a variety of different venues

remain available for Canadian artists to present their work.

Viewpoint D:

How viewpoints D relates to theory on diversity of voices

Viewpoint D advocates a comprehensive marketplace of ideas that allows for customer choice and is free from big corporate *and* government influence or control. This viewpoint's emphasis on consumer choice and wariness about government control is echoed in Fowler & Brenner's call for an open media marketplace in which the public determines the value of content through its consumption patterns. Viewpoint D also echoes Fowler & Brenner's view that diversity is best served not through content regulation or stringent restrictions on media ownership and control, but by promoting competition, allowing competitive pricing and preventing monopolistic practises, thereby ensuring neither government nor corporate interests dictate media content. The media system should be set up to best respond to consumer demand, unhindered by government and corporate influence or control.

Ideal policy on diversity of voices according to viewpoint D

Ideal policy according to viewpoint D would support an essentially market-based system, but would include provisions to ensure that a variety of broadcasters, including small and medium-sized for-profit firms, could exist alongside the current media giants. While these participants do not oppose large media on principle, they do recognize a need to prevent anti-competitive and monopolistic practises among large actors that could lead to corporate influence on content. That is, while viewpoint D does not share B+'s belief that large companies are immoral and detrimental to democracy, neither do they share B-'s view that the CRTC should

ease ownership restrictions if doing so would mean fewer actors would control a greater share of Canada's media system. Viewpoint D respondents would, however, argue that the CRTC should not influence the media system in any other area that could be otherwise governed through consumer choice, such as through content quotas.

Viewpoint D also opposes regulation of the Internet since, unlike traditional media that exist on public airwaves that are limited in capacity, all individuals and companies can express themselves on the Internet easily and inexpensively. These respondents support the unhindered opportunities for free and open debate that the Internet offers and, while they do not support content regulations on the Internet (-4, s10), they do feel that the regulator needs to ensure continued net neutrality (+2, s31).

CRTC 2008-4 policy response to viewpoint D

Overall, viewpoint D would support the CRTC 2008-4 regulations restricting cross-media ownership and preventing a single company from controlling broadcast distribution or audience share in a single market. In their comments, however, respondents expressed concern that the Commission had not done enough to prevent anti-competitive behaviour, with some respondents arguing that the Commission tends to serve corporate interests that circumvent customer choice. This suggests that respondents would (tentatively) support further measures to assist small and medium-sized media while preventing anti-competitive and monopolistic practises on the part of big media.

The Commission did not change its stance on current content regulations, nor did it consider adding further regulations to facilitate ethnic content. It also chose not to make any ruling on Internet traffic at the time of the hearings, but instead pledged to discuss issues related

to Internet content and net neutrality at a later date.

Managing the mosaic

Even a cursory consideration of the many conflicting viewpoints described above illustrates the tumultuous nature of the CRTC's task to make sense of and develop policy supporting a diversity of voices in English Canadian media. While not discussed in this particular work, it is important to remember that the Commission is also responsible for French language broadcasting, a policy domain with its own sets of viewpoints, goals and challenges. Many of the tensions in diversity discourse can be traced back to differences in the premises from which individuals and organizations develop their conceptions of diversity, as well as conflicts among a plurality of stakeholders who are all pushing for policy that meets their personal best interests.

In an attempt to navigate the pandemonium, I have summarized a few key areas of contention based on differing premises and understandings of "diversity," as well as the push and pull of competing interests:

- Viewpoints B+ and B- illustrate the most clear and direct division of values, with viewpoint B+ calling for an industry overhaul that would see an end to big media and corporate control over content, while viewpoint B- argues that the CRTC should take a step back from regulating media ownership and let the free market work its magic. This represents a very direct and perhaps irreconcilable division of values among these participants, both of which the CRTC must consider in its policy deliberations.
- While viewpoint C+ does express mild support for improving representation of marginalized voices in broadcasting, it appears that viewpoints A+ and C+ may differ on

their conceptions of Canadian identity. Viewpoint A+ perceives Canada as a country of many cultures, and understands Canadian content as part of a broader global discussion. Viewpoint C+, in contrast, sees Canadian cultural expression as something distinct and unique that needs to be protected from the pressures posed by globalization and increased foreign content on Canadian airwaves. Some stakeholders may not be aware of the differences in perceptions of Canada and Canadianness, and these groups would likely benefit from an opportunity to frankly discuss the similarities and differences in their views on diversity.

- Viewpoint B+ does not explicitly address issues related to marginalized voices (A+ / A-), Canadian cultural expression (C+ / C-) or consumer choice (D), but seems to believe that these elements would exist as a natural by-product of a media system that is not entirely profit-driven and is therefore better able to offer challenging discourse and respond to community needs. I get the sense that respondents reflecting viewpoint B+ do recognize these other issues, but consider the cause of and solution to these problems as related to large corporate media and a need to break up industry conglomerates. Viewpoint B-, in contrast, perceives these issues as best addressed through market mechanisms that respond to consumer choice and niche demands.

- Viewpoints B- and D share a common faith in market mechanisms as the best way to ensure a diversity of content. Viewpoint D, however, does not share B-'s view that media consolidation is a natural and inevitable consequence of the economic and regulatory environment. Viewpoint D would therefore support policy limiting the holdings and power of big media, while B- respondents support regulation only in so far as it facilitates business in media and protects Canadian business interests.

Many of these divisions are subtle, some reflecting deeply held values, some based on different conceptions of the current state of diversity, and still others reflecting differences in semantic understandings of certain terms and phrases. It would be very useful to further investigate the sources of individual and organizational beliefs and the conflicts among them, and to take opportunities to clarify differences in semantic understandings, points of misinformation, and differences between "facts" and beliefs. This would allow stakeholders to identify and understand conflicting viewpoints; decide which policy preferences they would be willing to negotiate; and determine which areas reflect fundamental divisions between stakeholders, in which they will need to agree to disagree and allow the CRTC to determine a fair policy compromise.

A clearly defined and inclusive participatory policy process that ensures equality among participants can act as a meaningful learning experience in which many of these areas can be addressed. While the CRTC's current participatory processes fulfill some of these objectives, there is still need to refine the process to create a meaningful dialogue among participants, and to ensure that participants are included on equal terms and are able to participate fully without fear of repercussion. Offering financial assistance for participants who might not otherwise be able to attend public proceedings due to resource constraints; holding public hearings on key issues in several major centres across the country; protecting vulnerable participants addressing issues that might offend other industry players on which they rely for survival; and presenting a comprehensive summary of various viewpoints and areas of contention that is separate from policy determinations would all represent important steps towards a policy process that better aggregates and addresses stakeholder concerns, while also facilitating dialogue and

understanding among participants. While the participatory process may never perfectly reflect Young's ideal pillars of deliberative democracy, each modification that improves participation and facilitates dialogue among stakeholders represents a valuable step towards developing a democratic media system that is sensitive to a plurality of social and economic concerns.

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Parting Thoughts

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Study goals, theory and methodology

This study has examined current viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media, as well as respondent perspectives on the CRTC's deliberative democratic process as expressed through the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings and 2008-4 regulatory changes. For the purposes of this study, "stakeholders" are self-defined through their participation in this study and/or participation in CRTC deliberative processes,[19] and include private citizens as well as media and telecom organizations, trade unions, community groups and research centres.

In analyzing viewpoints on diversity of voices and perspectives on the CRTC's deliberative process and 2008-4 regulatory changes, this study has attempted to answer two separate but related questions on media diversity and policy-making in Canada:

1. What are self-defined stakeholders' current perspectives on the participatory policy process, as employed during the 2007 Diversity of Voices hearings?

2. What are the current stakeholder viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media?

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[19] Since all individuals and organization residing within Canada are potential creators or consumers of English Canadian media, allowing respondents to self-define as stakeholders was meant to ensure that this research included a plurality of individuals and organizations who affect or are affected by English Canadian media, including those who are less often offered the opportunity to make their views widely heard by policymakers, politicians, researchers or mainstream media.

In determining criteria for an effective deliberative policy making process, I drew from Young's (2000) four normative ideals governing the dispositions of and relations among deliberative parties. The four pillars are comprised of: 1) inclusion of all those who are bound by the regulations; 2) political equality among participants, including equal opportunity to express concerns and interests; 3) participant reasonableness in listening to the proposals and criticisms put forth by other participants; and 4) the development of a public in which individuals are held accountable to each other. While in practise these normative ideals may not exist in perfect form, they can act as a useful "compass" in the move toward effective and legitimate deliberative policy making processes (Woolley, 2008). I used these four pillars of ideal deliberative democratic process to help me aggregate and analyze respondent perspectives and comments on the CRTC's deliberative process and perspectives on the CRTC 2008-4 policy determinations.

A review of literature revealed several economic and social perspectives on diversity of voices, including economic arguments based on consumer choice and economic stability (Fowler & Brenner, 1982), as well as social arguments based on Canadian cultural expression (Azzi & Feick, 2003; Babe, 1996; Copps, 1999), community access / localism (Kurpius, Metzgar, &Rowley, 2009; Paranjape, 2007; Ward, 2007), marginalized voices (Cukier et. al., 2010; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Thomas, 1992; Valaskakis, 1998) and net neutrality (Reisman, 2007; Stevenson & Clement, 2010; Wu, 2003). Weighing competing economic and social concerns is a constant challenge for the CRTC, and one of the ways in which the CRTC attempts to balance the public good with economic viability is by ensuring that parties representing different social and economic interests have an opportunity to hear and respond to each other through deliberative processes before the Commission makes its final determinations on key issues.

I used Q methodology to aggregate respondents' current viewpoints on diversity of voices in English Canadian media, combined with traditional survey questions to determine perspectives on the CRTC 2007-5 participatory process and 2008-4 regulatory changes. Q methodology is a rigorous qualitative methodology that identifies shared viewpoints among respondents. Respondents were asked to complete a Q sort, in which they were required to rank a set of statements on diversity of voices in a quasi-normal distribution ranging from those that they "most disagreed" with to those with which they "most agreed." The statements were drawn from written interventions to the CRTC 2008-5 proceedings, media reports, and scholarly literature on the topic. Respondents included individuals and organizations who had submitted interventions to the 2007-5 proceedings, as well as other individuals and organizations with a self-declared interest in diversity of voices in English Canadian media.[20] The goal of the Q sort was to identify shared ways of thinking among subjects by reducing the plurality of individual opinions to a small number of viewpoints. I supplemented the information provided by the Q sort with survey questions and a small number of semi-structured interviews with selected respondents to clarify viewpoints and provide depth to my analysis.

Summary of the research findings

Perspectives on the CRTC 2007-5 deliberative policy making process

Overall, respondents were mostly positive about their experiences participating in the CRTC 2007-5 diversity of voices proceedings, with more than half of respondents stating that

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[20] Q method seeks representativeness through the set of statements or stimuli (the Q sample) as well as through the respondent sample (the P sample). Given that representativeness is sought primarily through the Q sample, the goal in selecting the P sample is to ensure that respondents will offer a diversity of *ideas,* and individual characteristics are therefore considered somewhat less important than in R methodology. For further detail on respondent characteristics, see appendix F. To see the full Q sample, see appendix B.

they found participation in the proceedings to be at least somewhat useful. Most respondents stated that they would participate again in similar proceedings at a future date, and no respondents stated that they would not participate again. Willingness to participate in future proceedings did not correlate with perceptions on the usefulness of the public participation process.

Respondents listed several benefits of participating in the proceedings, including some benefits that resulted as a by-product of the public proceeding but did not relate directly to CRTC policy. These included opportunities to network with likeminded organizations, learn about the policy making process, gain popular recognition for an organization or cause, and solidify viewpoints on diversity of voices through the process of preparing the intervention. These benefits extend beyond the opportunity to present a case for favourable policy on diversity of voices, and illustrate the extent to which public deliberative processes can present an invaluable learning experience for participants as well as the regulatory body.

Participants did, however, list several barriers to participation based on human and financial resource constraints, perceived challenges in getting the Commission to take their intervention seriously and address certain issues, and, in the case of small and mid-sized for-profit and community broadcasters, a fear of retaliation from larger broadcast companies and BDUs should they present information that would be unfavourable to these groups. These challenges act as barriers to reaching Young's (2000) ideal deliberative democratic policy making process by hindering full inclusion of stakeholders who will be bound by the regulations and preventing political equality among participants. This inhibits development of a public wherein participants must be reasonable in listening and responding to opposing viewpoints.

Viewpoints on diversity of voices

The Q sort revealed four viewpoints on diversity of voices, three of which had bipolar results (meaning some participants held opposite views on the same issues). In brief, the viewpoints are characterized by:

- Concern for representation of marginalized voices (A+) versus opposition to affirmative action in media hiring practises (A-);

- Concern about ownership consolidation and monopolistic business practises (B+) versus concern for the economic strength of the broadcasting industry and support for a market-based consumer choice media model (B-);

- Support for Canadian cultural expression in broadcasting (C+) versus a concern about in inaccurate depiction of Canada and Canadian culture in broadcasting (C-); and

- Support for a vibrant marketplace of ideas and consumer choice model that is unhindered by government *and* corporate intervention.

The fact that three of four of these viewpoints are bipolar shows that this is a very controversial policy area in which it may be impossible to develop consensus among stakeholders about the ideal policy regime for managing diversity. The opposing viewpoints stem from different premises about the current state of diversity and offer different policy solutions based on their unique conceptions of the issues and challenges in broadcasting, but do not generally speak to issues raised in other viewpoints. Many of these divisions are subtle, with some reflecting differences in understandings of key concepts, terms and phrases, and others reflecting differences in deeply held beliefs on diversity.

Summary of recommendations

Assuming that individuals and organizations are more likely to accept and endorse policy outcomes arrived at through deliberative methods if they perceive the policy process as legitimate, I recommend that the CRTC attempts the following to improve inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity in public deliberative processes by:

- facilitating and monitoring the development of an independent fund to help cover expenses associated with participation in public proceedings for those individuals and organizations who may otherwise not be able to attend due to resource constraints;
- resuming the practise of holding multiple CRTC hearings in main centres across the country in key proceedings affecting the Canadian media system;
- addressing the issue of self-censorship within public proceedings and work with stakeholders to develop a fair mechanism to ensure these concerns are considered while maintaining the publicity and integrity of the consultation process; and
- in key proceedings, preparing a comprehensive summary of written and oral interventions that aggregates and compares viewpoints to help participants better understand the plurality of perspectives and encourage stakeholders to consider competing viewpoints.

In some cases, stakeholders may not be fully aware of the underlying premises and concerns that inform opposing viewpoints on issues related to diversity of voices, and these groups would benefit from an opportunity to frankly discuss similarities and differences in their viewpoints. Moreover, it would be useful to further investigate the sources of individual and organizational beliefs and the conflicts among them in order to clarify key terms and phrases, determine points

of misinformation, and separate "facts" from beliefs about diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative processes. This would allow stakeholders to identify and understand conflicting viewpoints; decide which policy preferences they would be willing to negotiate; and determine which areas reflect fundamental divisions between stakeholders.

Next steps: immediate issues

This study offers a survey of the ways that stakeholders across Canada understand diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative processes. However, in a vast geographically and ideologically diverse country, one would likely find significant regional and linguistic differences in perceived access to policymakers and concerns about diversity of voices. It would be an oversight to assume that participants from all of Canada's major urban centres share common access to policymakers and common concerns about diversity given the unique makeup and demographics of each market, and it would be an even greater oversight still to assume that residents of small and unique communities such as Gabriola Island, British Columbia; Churchill Manitoba; Iqaluit, Nunavut; and Saint Stephen, New Brunswick, all share these same core concerns. It would therefore be useful to conduct large-scale regional analyses on CRTC deliberative processes and diversity of voices to determine the unique needs and concerns experienced across the country. Where applicable, this survey should also consider issues pertaining to French and Aboriginal language media.

Given the large amount of foreign content on Canadian airwaves and pressures to liberalize ownership restrictions on Canadian broadcasting, it would also be useful to conduct a comparative analysis of stakeholder perspectives on diversity of voices in the United States, as well as a comparison of the FCC's and CRTC's deliberative policy making processes.

Understanding the American perspectives on diversity of voices and participatory policy making could illustrate some of the strengths and weaknesses of our own system, while also offering clues as to how we might expect our own media and culture to evolve if Canadian ownership and content regulations were liberalized.

Diversity of voices in the age of communicative abundance

In Canada, broadcast policy has historically been predicated on the understanding that airwaves are a scarce public good, as well as the notion that media act as powerful gatekeepers of public information flows. While in past this has offered a strong case for government intervention to ensure a broadcasting system that is open to a diversity of voices, the emergence of new media with seemingly infinite opportunities for citizens to engage in an unprecedented variety of discourses offers a future where broadcasters are no longer constrained by airwaves and in which "the old language of scarcity is being overtaken by images of abundance, cornucopias of communication, and even talk of information overload" (Keane, 1999, p. 8).

For some, this vision of "communicative abundance," in which anyone with access to a computer and Internet is a potential author, consumer, editor and critic, means that traditional broadcast regulation as espoused by the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act are becoming increasingly obsolete (Karppenin, 2009). Some states, such as the UK, have already gone so far as to accelerate communications deregulation in response to technology-driven media expansion, optimistically arguing that "if information is power, power can now be within the grasp of everyone" (Curran & Seaton, 2003, p. 276). Regardless of whether or not this optimism is warranted, new media nonetheless challenge the *raison d'être* of both the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act and, by extension, the future of deliberative democratic processes in

determining broadcast and telecom policy.

Given this shift towards new digital platforms, future research on diversity of voices and the CRTC's deliberative processes will need to consider the implications that new media can have for CRTC policy, broadcast regulation and the Broadcasting and Telecommunications Acts, as well as the role of deliberative processes in an environment where consumers are able to search for specific content and decide what content they will consume and when they will consume it. Will new media continue to offer a shift away from traditional gatekeepers and agenda setters, allowing consumers total autonomy in selecting, customizing, and even producing, media? Overall, should stakeholders supporting the viewpoints uncovered in this study look at new media with optimism for a plethora of new opportunities, or wariness about a loss of government control over media ownership and content? What will be the role of the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act in regulating media ownership and content, and will the government develop a policy framework for new media? What will be the role of deliberative policy making in all of this? In a shrinking, fast-paced world with unprecedented technical innovation and change, the shape of debate and discourses about diversity of voices will also evolve quickly as the roles of new and old media shift and the government and CRTC must respond to a rapidly changing world of communications.

Appendix A

The Broadcasting Act 1991, Section 3

BROADCASTING POLICY FOR CANADA

Declaration 3. (1) It is hereby declared as the broadcasting policy for Canada that
(a) the Canadian broadcasting system shall be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians;
(b) the Canadian broadcasting system, operating primarily in the English and French languages and comprising public, private and community elements, makes use of radio frequencies that are public property and provides, through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty;
(c) English and French language broadcasting, while sharing common aspects, operate under different conditions and may have different requirements;
(d) the Canadian broadcasting system should
(i) serve to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada,
(ii) encourage the development of Canadian expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity, by displaying Canadian talent in entertainment programming and by offering information and analysis concerning Canada and other countries from a Canadian point of view,
(iii) through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society, and
(iv) be readily adaptable to scientific and technological change;
(e) each element of the Canadian broadcasting system shall contribute in an appropriate manner to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming;
(f) each broadcasting undertaking shall make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use, of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming, unless the nature of the service provided by the undertaking, such as specialized content or format or the use of languages other than French and English, renders that use impracticable, in which case the undertaking shall make the greatest practicable use of those resources;
(g) the programming originated by broadcasting undertakings should be of high standard;
(h) all persons who are licensed to carry on broadcasting undertakings have a responsibility for the programs they broadcast;
(i) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should
(i) be varied and comprehensive, providing a balance of information, enlightenment and entertainment for men, women and children of all ages, interests and tastes,
(ii) be drawn from local, regional, national and international sources,
(iii) include educational and community programs,
(iv) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to be exposed to the expressionof differing

views on matters of public concern, and

(v) include a significant contribution from the Canadian independent production sector;

(j) educational programming, particularly where provided through the facilities of an aspirations, independent educational authority, is an integral part of the Canadian broadcasting system;

(k) a range of broadcasting services in English and in French shall be extended to all Canadians as resources become available;

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

(m) the programming provided by the Corporation should

(i) be predominantly and distinctively Canadian,

(ii) reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions,

(iii) actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression,

(iv) be in English and in French, reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities,

(v) strive to be of equivalent quality in English and in French,

(vi) contribute to shared national consciousness and identity,

(vii) be made available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose, and

(viii) reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada;

(n) where any conflict arises between the objectives of the Corporation set out in paragraphs (l) and (m) and the interests of any other broadcasting undertaking of the Canadian broadcasting system, it shall be resolved in the public interest, and where the public interest would be equally served by resolving the conflict in favour of either, it shall be resolved in favour of the objectives set out in paragraphs (l) and (m);

 (o) programming that reflects the aboriginal cultures of Canada should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system as resources become available for the purpose;

(p) programming accessible by disabled persons should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system as resources become available for the purpose;

(q) without limiting any obligation of a broadcasting undertaking to provide the programming contemplated by paragraph (i), alternative television programming services in English and in French should be provided where necessary to ensure that the full range of programming contemplated by that paragraph is made available through the Canadian broadcasting system;

(r) the programming provided by alternative television programming services should

(i) be innovative and be complementary to the programming provided for mass audiences,

(ii) cater to tastes and interests not adequately provided for by the programming provided for mass audiences, and include programming devoted to culture and the arts,

(iii) reflect Canada's regions and multicultural nature,

(iv) as far as possible, be acquired rather than produced by those services, and

(v) be made available throughout Canada by the most cost-efficient means;

(s) private networks and programming undertakings should, to an extent consistent with the financial and other resources available to them,

(i) contribute significantly to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming, and

(ii) be responsive to the evolving demands of the public; and

(t) distribution undertakings

(i) should give priority to the carriage of Canadian programming services and, in particular, to the carriage of local Canadian stations,

(ii) should provide efficient delivery of programming at affordable rates, using the most effective technologies available at reasonable cost,

(iii) should, where programming services are supplied to them by broadcasting undertakings pursuant to contractual arrangements, provide reasonable terms for the carriage, packaging and retailing of those programming services, and

(iv) may, where the Commission considers it appropriate, originate programming, including local programming, on such terms as are conducive to the achievement of the objectives of the broadcasting policy set out in this subsection, and in particular provide access for underserved linguistic and cultural minority communities.

Further declaration

(2) It is further declared that the Canadian broadcasting system constitutes a single system and that the objectives of the broadcasting policy set out in subsection (1) can best be achieved by providing for the regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system by a single independent public authority.

*Note: a complete version of The Broadcast Act 1991 is available at:
http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/B-9.01.pdf

Appendix B

Q Sample

Note: these statements were automatically shuffled before each sort, so each participant received the statements in a different random order.

Statement 1

As long as public service broadcasting is strong, the regulatory measures imposed on private broadcasters can be lighter and greater freedom can be granted to the play of market forces.

Statement 2

If the Canadian media system is to remain relevant despite increasingly unregulated sources outside of the official system, the CRTC must recognize that it is the consumer who is now in charge.

Statement 3

We need improved regulations to ensure that people with disabilities are adequately represented in broadcast media.

Statement 4

We need to keep the CBC well-funded and independent, with secure, full-time professionals.

Statement 5

Diversity makes good business sense. If we eliminated unnecessary regulations, it would free up companies to better respond to customer demand and serve niche markets.

Statement 6

The Internet could make regulations to deal with common ownership obsolete.

Statement 7

Given Canada's changing demographics, we need improved regulations to ensure that visible minorities have an adequate on-air presence in broadcast media.

Statement 8

Media diversity can ensure that our most talented artists and performers are able to have a successful career in Canada, and are not forced to go abroad in search of more supportive surroundings.

Statement 9

The CRTC needs to enact measures to ensure fairness in the business relationship between producers and broadcasters.

Statement 10

The CRTC should enact Internet-appropriate Canadian content regulations to help talented Canadians find their audiences.

Statement 11

Powerful big media pander to sensationalism, second and third-hand sources, and/or "opinion" pieces instead of unbiased, thoughtful, research.

Statement 12

We should learn from the American experience and keep our own media sources varied and empires small.

Statement 13

Good news, like politics, is local. We need to understand what is happening in our communities.

Statement 14

We should understand Canadian culture as a living thing which evolves most when it is unhindered by government interference.

Statement 15

Real debate happens when people are exposed to content that they find antagonistic.

Statement 16

If Canadians only had more opportunity to learn about and interact with Canadian content, it would be just as popular as American material.

Statement 17

A meaningful test of diversity is whether or not smaller independent speciality channels/stations are able to survive.

Statement 18

Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.

Statement 19

Because airwaves are public property, there is a need to ensure public access to airwaves through greater financial support and more licences for citizen-run broadcasters across Canada.

Statement 20

Advertising makes it possible for the broadcasting system to fulfill the public objectives established in the Broadcasting Act.

Statement 21

Diversity of voices means making programming services more affordable so consumers have greater choice in selecting a plurality of programming options.

Statement 22

The CBC is important to me partly because it is such an integral part of Canada's history and national identity.

Statement 23

I am not concerned about ownership consolidation because the Ethnic Broadcasting Policy provides an effective regulatory framework to protect ethnic broadcasting services.

Statement 24

To some extent, media consolidation can mean more and better opportunities for smaller broadcasters.

Statement 25

Despite the ever-increasing number of stations and websites available, there is a mind-numbing amount of repetition of programming and repurposing of content.

Statement 26

Growing concentration of the news media has reduced demand for the in-depth investigative journalism required for a healthy democracy.

Statement 27

Unfettered access to American services under the guise of customer service is not in the best interest of the Canadian broadcasting system.

Statement 28

Broadcast policies should encourage greater representation of women both on the airwaves and in management positions.

Statement 29

New technologies and consumer demand will be the primary means for ensuring that spaces for Canadian talent and expression continue to exist.

Statement 30

A mix of both ethnic and non-ethnic ownership in broadcasting strengthens the broadcasting industry as a whole.

Statement 31

In the coming years, the best way to encourage a diversity of voices will be through ensuring that Net Neutrality is maintained.

Statement 32

Community broadcasters are important because the stations themselves are meeting points for people with diverse backgrounds and perspectives, creating sites for dialogue, networking and cross-cultural exchange.

Statement 33

Tax dollars allocated to broadcast and content production should only be used to hire Canadian talent for productions on Canadian soil.

Statement 34

I would rather have big Canadian companies than big American companies controlling Canadian media.

Statement 35

I am very attached to my community radio and/or television station, and would be sad if it went off the air.

Statement 36

Assured shelf space for the telling of Canadian stories to Canadians has to be considered a key ingredient and goal of the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act.

Statement 37

I love high quality Canadian drama and would like to see more of it on the airwaves.

Statement 38

Broadcasting is the most effective instrument we have for the creation and dissemination of our common Canadian culture.

Statement 39

Broadcasting should reflect Canada's many unique and distinct cultures, not a single and disingenuous "Canadian" culture.

Statement 40

Independent producers and freelance journalists provide the most accurate and highest quality depiction of our country and the world.

Statement 41

I am glad that Canadian content regulations help creative and innovative Canadians find venues to showcase their work.

Statement 42

Canadians are shrewd consumers and they show us what broadcast content is valuable or not valuable through their viewing choices.

Statement 43

Media consolidation is wrong. The CRTC needs to stop bowing down to big-business.

Statement 44

Private control of the media tends to make democratic responsibility subordinate to profitability.

Statement 45

Democracy is enhanced when citizens have access to media that are independent of corporate influence or control.

Statement 46

The CRTC requirement that each religious broadcaster is required to provide opportunity for a diversity of religions to express themselves through programming is unjust and discriminatory.

Statement 47

Aboriginal communities deserve greater support for Aboriginal-run media so they can tell their own stories in their own languages.

Statement 48

I feel it is my duty to expose myself to as many different opinions as possible, even when I disagree.

Appendix C

Q Sort Scoring Sheet

Most Disagree   Most Agree

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Appendix D

Survey Protocol

<u>Q sort supplementary qualitative feedback question:</u>

Please explain why you agree most or disagree most with the following statements you have placed in the columns below "9" or "1". To read the entire text of each card, hover your cursor over the card.

(The computer program displays the three statements that the respondent "most agreed" and "most disagreed" with, offering an opportunity for the respondent to explain his/her selections).

<u>Complementary survey questions:</u>

If you do not wish to answer a certain question, please leave the answer blank and continue.
1. About diversity of voices.
    -Are you completing this study on behalf of an organization?
        Yes
         No – Please skip to part 3.

2. If you are completing this study on behalf of an organization:
        If you are completing this study as an independent citizen, please skip to part 3.

    -Which of the following best describes your organization?
        1. Small for-profit media
        2. Medium for-profit media
        3. Large for-profit media
        4. Public media
        5. Community and/or not-for-profit media
        6. Independent entertainment content producer
        7. Independent news content producer
        8. Independent creative talent
        9. Related industry interest group or trade union
        10. Community or religious organization
        11. Research centre or "watchdog"
        12. Governmental organization
        13. Non-governmental organization (NGO)
        14. Other

    -If "Other," please specify:
    .

-What is the name of your organization? _____ .

3. If you are completing this survey as an independent citizen:
>   If you are completing this study on behalf of an organization, please skip to part 4.

a) On a scale of zero to six, zero representing no knowledge and six representing expert knowledge, how knowledgeable do you consider yourself to be about issues related to Canadian media and/or telecommunications?

>   0: No knowledge of Canadian media and/or telecommunications.
>   1
>   2
>   3: Average knowledge
>   4
>   5
>   6: Expert knowledge of Canadian media and/or telecommunications.

b) Have you ever worked in the media or telecommunications industries?
>   1= Yes
>   2= No

If "yes," please specify the type of organization and your position:

For how many years have you worked in the media or telecommunications industries?
>   1. Less than a year
>   2. 1-4 years
>   3. 5-9 years
>   4. 10-14 years
>   5. 15 years or more

c) How would you describe your political beliefs?
>   Conservative
>   Libertarian
>   Centrist
>   Liberal
>   Social democrat
>   Socialist

Green
Communist
Anarchist
Nationalist
Faith-based
Neutral, no strong beliefs
Other
Decline to answer

4. The 2007 Diversity of Voices hearings (2007-5)
   a) Did you or your organization submit an intervention to the CRTC's Fall 2007 Diversity of Voices hearings?

   Yes
   No – Please skip to part 5.

   b) IF YES:

   What were some of the benefits of submitting the intervention for you or your organization?

   What were some of the challenges you or your organization faced in submitting the intervention?

   c) On a scale of zero to six, zero representing "not useful at all" and six representing "very useful," how useful do you think the hearings were for you or your organization to express your views on diversity to the CRTC?

   0: Not useful at all
    1

2
3: No opinion/neutral
4
5
6: Very useful.

d) If you would like, please elaborate:

e) If another opportunity were to arise to submit comments to the CRTC on a similar issue, would you participate?

Yes
No
Maybe

5. 15 January 2008 regulatory policy changes in response to the proceedings on the diversity of voices (CRTC 2008-4)

a) Are you familiar with the 2008 regulatory changes made in response to the diversity of voices hearings?

Yes
No- please skip to part 6.

b) If YES, whose views, if any, do you feel the CRTC considered in its final decision?

c) Whose views, if any, do you think the CRTC did NOT consider in its final decision?

6. Please add any additional comments you would like to share with the research team.

Follow-up:

Please indicate if you would like to receive an executive summary of the results of this study, and if we may contact you for a short follow-up interview (not required)

Note: this study is independent and not-for-profit. We will not share your personal information with anyone.

a) Would you like to receive an executive summary of the study's results?
   Yes
   No

b) May we contact you for a short follow-up interview?
   Yes
   No

c) For follow-up purposes, please enter your preferred contact information (name, e-mail address and/or phone)

Thank you!

Appendix E

Q Sort Results

41 of 52 sorts have been accounted for in 4 factors.

Table E.1: Number of significant Q sorts for each factor

Factor (viewpoint)	Number of significant sorts
A	5
B	27
C	5
D	4
Other sorts	**Number**
Confounded	6
Not significant	5
Total sorts:	**52**

Table E.2: Q sort results

Statement	Score for Each Viewpoint*			
	A (+/-)	B (+/-)	C (+/-)	D
1. As long as public service broadcasting is strong, the regulatory measures imposed on private broadcasters can be lighter and greater freedom can be granted to...	-1 / +1	-2 / +2	-3 / +3	-1
2. If the Canadian media system is to remain relevant despite increasingly unregulated sources outside of the official system...	+1 / -1	-2 / +2	-4 / +4	+3
3. We need improved regulations to ensure that people with disabilities are adequately represented in broadcast media.	+4 / -4	0 / 0	0 / 0	-2
4. We need to keep the CBC well-funded and independent, with secure, full-time professionals.	0 / 0	+3 / -3	+1 / -1	-1
5. Diversity makes good business sense. If we eliminated unnecessary regulations, it would free up companies to better respond to customer demand and serve niche...	+2 / -2	-4 / +4	-2 / +2	+3
6. The Internet could make regulations to deal with common ownership obsolete.	-2 / +2	-3 / +3	-3 / +3	0
7. Given Canada's changing demographics, we need improved regulations to ensure that visible minorities have an adequate on-air presence in broadcast media.	+3 / -3	+1 / -1	0 / 0	+1
8. Media diversity can ensure that our most talented artists and performers are able to have a successful career in Canada, and are not forced to go abroad in search of...	+3 / -3	+1 / -1	+2 / -2	0
9. The CRTC needs to enact measures to ensure fairness in the business relationship between producers and broadcasters.	0 / 0	0 / 0	+2 / -2	-2
10. The CRTC should enact Internet-appropriate Canadian content regulations to help talented Canadians find their audiences.	+1 / -1	-1 / +1	+2 / -2	-4
11. Powerful big media pander to sensationalism, second	0 / 0	+3 / -3	-2 / +2	-3

and third-hand sources, and/or "opinion" pieces instead of unbiased, thoughtful, research.				
12. We should learn from the American experience and keep our own media sources varied and empires small.	-3 / +3	+1 / -1	0 / 0	0 / 0
13. Good news, like politics, is local. We need to understand what is happening in our communities.	+1 / -1	+3 / -3	0 / 0	+1
14. We should understand Canadian culture as a living thing which evolves most when it is unhindered by government interference.	-2 / +2	-3 / +3	-3 / +3	-1
15. Real debate happens when people are exposed to content that they find antagonistic.	-4 / +4	-1 / +1	-1 / +1	-2
16. If Canadians only had more opportunity to learn about and interact with Canadian content, it would be just as popular as American material.	-1 / +1	-1 / +1	+3 / -3	-4
17. A meaningful test of diversity is whether or not smaller independent speciality channels/stations are able to survive.	-2 / +2	0 / 0	+2 / -2	0
18. Broadcasting industry stakeholders would benefit from a lighter, more market-oriented touch to Canada's traditionally protective, prescriptive approach to communications regulation.	-1 / +1	-4 / +4	-4 / +4	+4
19. Because airwaves are public property, there is a need to ensure public access to airwaves through greater financial support and more licences for citizen-run broadcasters across Canada.	+2 / -2	+3 / -3	-1 / +1	-2
20. Advertising makes it possible for the broadcasting system to fulfill the public objectives established in the Broadcasting Act.	-3 / +3	-2 / +2	+1 / -1	-3
21. Diversity of voices means making programming services more affordable so consumers have greater choice in selecting a plurality of programming options.	+2 / -2	-2 / +2	-2 / +2	+2
22. The CBC is important to me partly because it is such an integral part of Canada's history and national identity.	-3 / +3	0 / 0	+2 / -2	+2
23. I am not concerned about ownership consolidation because the Ethnic Broadcasting Policy provides an effective regulatory framework to protect ethnic...	-1 / +1	-3 / +3	-2 / +2	-3
24. To some extent, media consolidation can mean more and better opportunities for smaller broadcasters.	+1 / -1	-4 / +4	-3 / +3	-4

25. Despite the ever-increasing number of stations and websites available, there is a mind-numbing amount of repetition of programming and repurposing of content.	-1 / +1	+1 / -1	0 / 0	-1
26. Growing concentration of the news media has reduced demand for the in-depth investigative journalism required for a healthy democracy.	-2 / +2	+2 / -2	-1 / +1	0
27. Unfettered access to American services under the guise of customer service is not in the best interest of the Canadian broadcasting system.	-2 / +2	+2 / -2	+3 / -3	-2
28. Broadcast policies should encourage greater representation of women both on the airwaves and in management positions.	+4 / -4	+1 / -1	+2 / -2	+2
29. New technologies and consumer demand will be the primary means for ensuring that spaces for Canadian talent and expression continue to exist.	-1 / +1	-2 / +2	-1 / +1	+1
30. A mix of both ethnic and non-ethnic ownership in broadcasting strengthens the broadcasting industry as a whole.	+4 / -4	-1 / +1	+1 / -1	+1
31. In the coming years, the best way to encourage a diversity of voices will be through ensuring that Net Neutrality is maintained.	+1 / -1	+2 / -2	+1 / -1	+2
32. Community broadcasters are important because the stations themselves are meeting points for people with diverse backgrounds and perspectives, creating sites...	+2 / -2	+2 / -2	0 / 0	+2
33. Tax dollars allocated to broadcast and content production should only be used to hire Canadian talent for productions on Canadian soil.	-4 / +4	0 / 0	0 / 0	+1
34. I would rather have big Canadian companies than big American companies controlling Canadian media.	-2 / +2	-1 / +1	+1 / -1	+4
35. I am very attached to my community radio and/or television station, and would be sad if it went off the air.	+3 / -3	0 / 0	-1 / +1	-3
36. Assured shelf space for the telling of Canadian stories to Canadians has to be considered a key ingredient and goal of the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act.	0 / 0	+2 / -2	+4 / -4	+1
37. I love high quality Canadian drama and would like to see more of it on the airwaves.	0 / 0	-1 / +1	+3 / -3	-1
38. Broadcasting is the most effective instrument we have for the creation and dissemination of our common Canadian culture.	-1 / +1	0 / 0	+4 / -4	+1
39. Broadcasting should reflect Canada's many unique and distinct cultures, not a single and disingenuous "Canadian" culture.	+3 / -3	+1 / -1	+3 / -3	+3
40. Independent producers and freelance journalists provide the most accurate and highest quality depiction of our country and the world.	0 / 0	-1 / +1	-1 / +1	-1
41. I am glad that Canadian content regulations help creative and innovative Canadians find venues to showcase their work	0 / 0	+2 / -2	+4 / -4	0

42. Canadians are shrewd consumers and they show us what broadcast content is valuable or not valuable through their viewing choices.	+1 / -1	-3 / +3	-2 / +2	-1
43. Media consolidation is wrong. The CRTC needs to stop bowing down to big-business.	0 / 0	+4 / -2	+1 / -1	-2
44. Private control of the media tends to make democratic responsibility subordinate to profitability.	+2 / -2	+4 / -4	-2 / +2	+2
45. Democracy is enhanced when citizens have access to media that are independent of corporate influence or control.	+2 / -2	+4 / -4	0 / 0	+4
46. The CRTC requirement that each religious broadcaster is required to provide opportunity for a diversity of religions to express themselves through programming is...	-4 / +4	-2 / +2	-4 / +4	0
47. Aboriginal communities deserve greater support for Aboriginal-run media so they can tell their own stories in their own languages.	+1 / -1	+1 / -1	+1 / -1	0
48. I feel it is my duty to expose myself to as many different opinions as possible, even when I disagree.	-3 / +3	0 / 0	-1 / +1	+3
* Scores range from +4 to -4.				

Appendix F

Respondent characteristics by viewpoint

Table F.1: Characteristics of respondents expressing viewpoint A+ and A-

Independent Citizens				
Respondent reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Perceived industry knowledge*	Experience in media / communications industries	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
17	A+	6 – Expert	None	Yes
36	A+	4	5-9 years	Yes
49	A-	6 – Expert	15+ years	No
Organizations				
Respondent Reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Organization type	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?	
6	A+	Community or religious organization	Yes	
34	A+	Community and/or not-for-profit media	Yes	
*Self-defined on a scale of 0 to 6. Zero represents no media / telecommunications knowledge, 3 represents average knowledge, and 6 represents expert media / telecommunications knowledge.				

Table F.2: Characteristics of respondents expressing viewpoint B+ and B-

Independent Citizens				
Respondent reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Perceived industry knowledge*	Experience in media / communications industries	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
4	B+	5	10-14 years	Yes
5	B+	5	None	No
10	B+	4	None	No
11	B+	3	None	No
15	B+	2	None	No
18	B+	4	Less than a year	No
20	B+	5	None	No
23	B+	5	15+ years	No
29	B+	6 – Expert	None	No
33	B+	6 – Expert	15+ years	Yes
37	B+	5	None	Yes
41	B+	6 - Expert	1-4 years	No
43	B+	5	None	No
44	B+	5	Less than a year	No
46	B+	4	None	No
48	B+	5	5-9 years	No
50	B+	6 – Expert	5-9 years	No
Organizations				
Respondent Reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Organization type		Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
9	B+	Community and/or not-for-profit media		Yes
13	B+	Community and/or not-for-profit media		No
14	B+	Research centre / "watchdog"		Yes
16	B-	Large for-profit media		Yes
21	B+	Community and/or not-for-profit media		Yes
24	B+	Community and/or not-for-profit media		Yes
28	B+	Non-governmental organization (NGO)		No
30	B+	Governmental organization		No
31	B+	Related industry group or trade union		Yes
47	B+	Non-governmental organization (NGO)		Yes

*Self-defined on a scale of 0 to 6. Zero represents no media / telecommunications knowledge, 3 represents average knowledge, and 6 represents expert media / telecommunications knowledge.

Table F.3: Respondents expressing viewpoint C+ and C-

Independent Citizens				
Respondent reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Perceived industry knowledge*	Experience in media / communications industries	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
7	C+	6 – Expert	15+ years	Yes
Organizations				
Respondent Reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Organization type	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?	
2	C-	Community or religious organization	No	
12	C+	Related industry interest group or trade union	Yes	
26	C+	Medium for-profit media	Yes	
35	C+	Related industry interest group or trade union	Yes	
*Self-defined on a scale of 0 to 6. Zero represents no media / telecommunications knowledge, 3 represents average knowledge, and 6 represents expert media / telecommunications knowledge.				

Table F.4: Respondents expressing viewpoint D

Independent Citizens				
Respondent reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Perceived industry knowledge*	Experience in media / communications industries	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
1	D	4	1-4 years	No
25	D	6 – Expert	15+ years	Yes
45	D	4	None	No
Organizations				
Respondent Reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Organization type	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?	
27	D	Broadcast and telecom company	Yes	
*Self-defined on a scale of 0 to 6. Zero represents no media / telecommunications knowledge, 3 represents average knowledge, and 6 represents expert media / telecommunications knowledge.				

Table F.5: Characteristics of respondents with confounded and nonsignificant sorts

Independent Citizens				
Respondent reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Perceived industry knowledge*	Experience in media / communications industries	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?
3	Nonsignificant	4	1-4 years	No
19	Confounded	4	1-4 years	Yes
22	Confounded	4	None	Yes
39	Nonsignificant	6 – Expert	15+ years	Yes
40	Confounded	3 – Average knowledge	10-15 years	No
42	Nonsignificant	4	None	No
51	Nonsignificant	3 – Average knowledge	1-4 years	No
Organizations				
Respondent Reference No.	Respondent Viewpoint	Organization type	Participation in CRTC 2007-5 proceedings?	
8	Nonsignificant	Community and/or not-for-profit media	No	
32	Confounded	Related industry group or trade union	Yes	
38	Confounded	Small for-profit media	Yes	
52	Confounded	Research centre / "watchdog"	Yes	
*Self-defined on a scale of 0 to 6. Zero represents no media / telecommunications knowledge, 3 represents average knowledge, and 6 represents expert media / telecommunications knowledge.				

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