

“Canada Lives Here:”

Situating the CBC Digital Archives within the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s
Archival Landscape

By

Jessica Nichol

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has been a force on Canadian airwaves for nearly a century. Within that timeframe, kilometres of textual records and thousands of hours of audiovisual recordings have been produced. Those records are evidence of the CBC's role in mirroring and developing Canada's national consciousness. Yet, the CBC's records are scattered throughout Canada in multiple archival institutions. This thesis analyzes the development of these archives, with special attention to the only repository the CBC links to on its "Resources and Archives" webpage: The CBC Digital Archives. With consideration of the challenges and opportunities presented by digital culture, this thesis aims to uncover the role of the CBC Digital Archives within CBC's archival landscape and its wider broadcasting policies and mandate. This analysis will also demonstrate the dynamism of archival records and their continued influence on identity creation for its users, the larger institution, and even the nation.

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INTRODUCTION

The 1936 Canadian Broadcasting Act authorized the creation of a national radio service. Subsequent revisions of the Act extended coverage to television networks. Canada's public broadcaster has also expanded into digital media, even though those definitions were not included in the 1991 Broadcasting Act that still governs the CBC. At its formation, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)¹ only owned three of the seventy-four radio stations in Canada, with a further four stations leased.² With a limited number of producers and on-air talent, the CBC filled seventy percent of its programming with music in 1936.³ After eighty years of operation, the CBC has diversified its original programming beyond music and expanded its geographic reach throughout Canada and even overseas. The CBC's mandated determination to achieve national network coverage for its original and journalistic programming has created millions of archival records. Even though only a small percentage of the corporation's documentary heritage has been preserved, CBC's archival records are an invaluable source for researchers studying the CBC, broadcasting, and Canada writ large.

Representing one sliver of CBC's records, the CBC Digital Archives is a website providing free access to a limited selection of radio and television clips from the CBC's archives. It is also the only website featured on the CBC's "Resources and Archives"

¹ Throughout this thesis, "CBC," "CBC/Radio-Canada" and "corporation" will be used interchangeably in reference to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Société Radio-Canada. Sometimes Radio-Canada is used to differentiate the Francophone operations from the English services.

² Marc Montgomery, "History: Nov 2, 1936 – Canada's Public Broadcaster birthday: 80 today," Radio Canada International, November 2, 2016, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/11/02/canadas-public-broadcaster-birthday-80-today/>.

³ Ibid.

webpage, even though numerous other CBC collections and archives exist.⁴ This thesis analyzes the CBC Digital Archives and the context in which it was created in 2002. Through examination of this context, the relative prominence of the CBC Digital Archives compared to other CBC archives will be problematized. Primarily, this thesis is attempting to discover why the CBC has highlighted the CBC Digital Archives as its only archival resource. By extension, the analysis will contribute to the wider discourse on the valuation of archives, particularly within the broadcasting sphere.

The CBC has a legislated responsibility to contribute to and then reflect Canada's shared national consciousness and identity. In pursuit of this mandate, the CBC has effectively branded itself as part of Canada's identity. Recent examples of CBC Television slogans include "Canada's Own," "Canada Lives Here," and "Yours to Celebrate."⁵ This thesis argues that information and communication technologies (ICTs) dictated how the CBC marketed itself, and by extension, Canada's national identity. The first chapter surveys the history of the CBC from radio through television, while examining how the Corporation centralized its conception of Canadian identity through regional stations and production centres. Chapter Two then outlines where CBC's archival record is stored, including CBC's internal network, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), and numerous other institutions external to both the CBC and the Government of Canada. Chapter Three will explore how the CBC Digital Archives and larger CBC.ca consolidated CBC's message into one central website accessible to all Canadians, regardless of location.

⁴ CBC/Radio-Canada, "Resources and Archives," accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/resources-and-archives/>.

⁵ "Iconic Identities," *Actually* (blog), October 19, 2012, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.actuallywecreate.com/iconic-identities-the-canadian-broadcasting-corporation-cbc/>.

As a case study, the CBC Digital Archives' relatively recent creation provides an unique opportunity to examine the CBC's current understanding of itself and its own history. Most of the other archives studied in the second chapter are rooted in the 1970s or 1980s when the CBC had more funding and fewer competitors. Furthermore, the CBC has not advertised its other holdings as explicitly, suggesting a current preference for what the CBC Digital Archives represents. The CBC Digital Archives' rebroadcasts of audiovisual archival records is also demonstrative of a broader trend for audiovisual and newspaper archives online. In contrast, broadcast records are typically excluded from mainstream archives since publications are traditionally the province of libraries, not archives.

The CBC Digital Archives also showcases a corporation with a unique and powerful voice in Canadian history. With its colonial connection to Great Britain and the flood of well-produced American programming, Canada was caught between the proverbial rock and a hard place. Canada eventually compromised by adopting some aspects of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as the model for the CBC, while co-existing with American talent and Canadian private broadcasters.

Before continuing, it is worthwhile to define broadcasting. The Broadcasting Act understands it as the

transmission of programs, whether or not encrypted, by radio waves or other means of telecommunication for reception by the public by means of broadcasting receiving apparatus, but does not include any such transmission of programs that is made solely for performance or display in a public place.⁶

⁶ Broadcasting Act, *Statutes of Canada* 1991, c. 11, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/b-9.01/>.

A more contemporary definition of broadcasting describes it as a seeding technique, cast or dispersed in all directions.⁷ Broadcasting is often conflated with media, which is commonly understood as the storage or delivery of information via communication technologies such as radio, television, and the Internet.⁸ All three definitions involve the transmission or sharing of information with near and distant audiences.

The definition of archives has also been complicated by digital technology, as it has been adapted to mean a selected collection of digital items with no distinction between published or unpublished materials.⁹ Archivist Kate Theimer differentiates the professional understanding of archives as a service acquiring records at the aggregate, instead of at the item-level, and which preserves provenance, original order, and collective control.¹⁰ As the CBC Digital Archives loosely fits with both definitions, this thesis will more simply consider archives as the professional preservation and presentation of records with enduring value and their associated context. Institutions that merely store records that may or may not have enduring value will instead be classified as a repository throughout this thesis.

After eighty years the CBC is a popular topic with historians and broadcasting scholars. Even when the medium is the primary focus, the CBC is the dominant example

⁷ Tim Wu, *The Master Switch: The Rise and Fall of Information Empires* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 33.

⁸ "Media (Communication)," *Wikipedia*, last modified October 15, 2016, accessed December 15, 2016, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_\(communication\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_(communication)). The definition of media is more complicated than this paraphrased summary. As the occasional plural form of medium, artists employ media to classify the material or techniques used. The word *media* can also indicate the process of making news, while digital scholars utilize *media* in reference to technology. It has an additional use in the digital age as a synonym for a data storage format. The CBC Digital Archives is therefore comprised of media of content and of format.

⁹ Kate Theimer, "Archives in Context and as Context," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1, no. 2 (Spring 2012). Accessed December 15, 2016, <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/1-2/archives-in-context-and-as-context-by-kate-theimer/>.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

within the Canadian context.¹¹ Some historians study specific content that the CBC produced, such as Teresa Iacobelli's critique of a CBC historical program applying a predetermined narrative to over eight hundred interviews with six hundred veterans of the First World War.¹² One of the more prolific scholars on the CBC is Mary Vipond, who was a history professor at Concordia University and remains a research fellow with the Centre for Broadcasting Studies. She has written numerous scholarly works on the CBC's early history and how that context then shaped its corporate identity. In one article, she introduces a transnational context by noting the American origin of most of the CBC's early content.¹³ The continuing focus on the CBC's identity, and by extension Canadian identity, is an invaluable foundation for this thesis even though the scholarship generally focuses on the early twentieth century instead of the current broadcasting climate.

Ironically, most scholars tackling the CBC.ca of today have underplayed the Corporation's continued role in shaping and representing Canadian culture. There is validity in this, as noted by Brian O'Neill of the Dublin Institute of Technology in his article on the CBC's broadcast sovereignty in a digital environment.¹⁴ He argues that the digital environment evades regulatory protection for Canadian media content, which has forced the CBC to compete for market share on the World Wide Web and move towards serving its audience as consumers instead of citizens. Even with the success of audio

¹¹ Examples include Len Kuffert, "'What Do You Expect of this Friend?' Canadian Radio and the Intimacy of Broadcasting," *Media History* 15, no. 3 (2009): 303-319; Sean Graham, "A Canadian Network? The CBC and Television, 1936-1939," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 35, no. 2 (2015): 300-318.

¹² Teresa Iacobelli, "'A Participant's History?': The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Manipulation of Oral History," *Oral History Review* 38, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2011): 331-348.

¹³ Mary Vipond, "What's a New Public Broadcaster To Do?: The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission's Programs in Transnational Context, 1932-1936," *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 20, no. 2 (2013): 295-310.

¹⁴ Brian O'Neill, "CBC.ca: Broadcast Sovereignty in a Digital Environment," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 12, no. 2 (2006): 179-197.

podcasting of which public broadcasters like the CBC were early adopters, academics like Simone Murray assert that the highly fragmented nature of the Internet has allowed consumers to search for the podcasts relevant to their interests instead of inspiring brand loyalty.¹⁵ By analyzing the digital representation of archival records, this thesis explicitly discusses the CBC's present and continuing notion of Canadian identity.

Essential to the discussion in Chapter Two is an unpublished 1990 report authored by former CBC archivist Ernest J. Dick entitled "The Future of CBC's Past: A Review of Archives."¹⁶ It meticulously presents the decentralized and disorienting position of the numerous archives with formal or informal deposit agreements with the CBC. Dick attempts to bring some order to it all. As Dick's article was written before the CBC Digital Archives was created, this thesis hopes to update the story he began in this report. He is not the only writer on the topic of the CBC Archives, however, as Josephine Langham wrote several articles on the CBC, including its particular problem with preserving visual and audio footage from regional programming in the 1980s.¹⁷ More recent examples have only discussed digital technology in regard to format and preservation, such as Rosemary Bergeron's 2007 article on the Canadian experience with archiving films, videos, and sound recordings.¹⁸ Jennifer VanderBurgh also limited her analysis to broadcasting's fragile and transitory nature, and how the CBC's archival

¹⁵ Simone Murray, "Servicing 'self-scheduling consumers': Public Broadcasters and Audio Podcasting," *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 2 (August 2009): 197-219.

¹⁶ Ernest J. Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past: A Review of Archives," August 1990, CBC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

¹⁷ Josephine Langham, "The Lively Archives," *Archivaria* 14 (Summer 1982): 168-173; Josephine Langham, "Tuning in: Canadian Radio Resources," *Archivaria* 9 (Winter 1979-80): 105-124.

¹⁸ Rosemary Bergeron, "Archiving Moving-Image and Audio-Cultural Works in Canada," *Archivaria* 63 (Spring 2007): 55-74.

strategy became more content-driven by the market in the late 1980s and early 1990s.¹⁹ While not directly related to the CBC, Josephine Sallis' Master's thesis also contributes to the understanding of the archives of journalists. She specifically analyzed how the final, published form of news media records are more commonly archived than journalists' working documents and other internal correspondence of news media organizations.²⁰ Even though the digital reality of modern news organizations was only dealt with in passing, Sallis' MA thesis provides an overview of the recordkeeping and archival strategies practiced within the Canadian journalism profession, which the CBC is a member of.

While much has been written on the CBC's radio and television services, few authors have examined the CBC within the digital context. With the notable exception of Ernest J. Dick and a few others, even less scholarship exists on the CBC's archives. This thesis will address these gaps in the scholarship, while also broadly contributing to archival studies literature. Given the incredible quantity of CBC archives spread throughout Canada and the poor recordkeeping culture they all evolved from, the CBC is also a worthy study for archivists. The overall CBC record has been shaped by the intentions of multiple archivists and institutions, each possessing a different idea of what was worth keeping. This thesis will provide examples for understanding corporate archives, multiple media formats, digital culture, geographically dispersed records, and the role archives play in building and sustaining a community.

¹⁹ Jennifer VanderBurgh, "Against Ephemerality: The CBC's Archival Turn, 1989-96" in Zoë Druick and Gerda Cammaer, eds., *Cinephemera: Archives, Ephemeral Cinema, and New Screen Histories in Canada* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 210-231.

²⁰ Josephine Sallis, "Reading Behind the Lines: Archiving the Canadian News Media Record" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 2013).

As already mentioned, this thesis is exploring why the CBC has portrayed the CBC Digital Archives as the only CBC archival resource. By nature of its global reach, the World Wide Web is sometimes thought of as a decentralizing and democratizing force. Yet, as this thesis argues, the increased rapidity of communications has also enabled corporations like the CBC to centralize its decision-making operations.²¹ With direction from broader CBC policies, a small team based in Toronto decide which records are digitized and uploaded to the CBC Digital Archives. While those records are theoretically representative of and available to all Canadians, regional interests are not necessarily represented.

This thesis will rely upon a close textual analysis of primary source material, a historical contextualization of those primary sources, and an examination of secondary sources and associated historiographies for their relevance to this thesis. Secondary literature will be analyzed on topics regarding broadcasting, digital technologies, archives, and communication studies. Primary sources were discovered mainly through access to information requests to CBC and LAC, as well as archival research in Ottawa at LAC. As a Crown corporation, the CBC has a responsibility to the general public to be transparent and therefore annual reports and financial documents were easily accessed online through agencies like the Treasury Board Secretariat. Resources like the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine were also instrumental in developing a history of the CBC Digital Archives' website, and understanding how the CBC Digital Archives evolved into the only archival institution advertised by the larger CBC organization.

²¹ John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid, *The Social Life of Information* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2000), 29-30.

The first chapter will introduce the CBC's unique history and continued influence on the Canadian public, in order to contextualize this thesis' examination of the CBC Digital Archives. Since its formal creation in the 1930s, the CBC has used information and communication technologies to try to shape a common Canadian identity both at home and abroad. While exploring this history, the CBC will be situated as a Crown corporation with a mandated obligation to present, represent, and even shape Canadian society and identity. Corporate documents, such as budgets and annual reports will be essential primary sources, as will the Broadcasting Act and other regulatory and policy documents affecting Crown corporations. The CBC's presence on the World Wide Web will only be very briefly considered here, as it is the primary focus of the third chapter.

The second chapter maps out the various CBC archives and associated record-keeping and archival strategies, in order to understand their relationship to CBC's mandated responsibilities as a Crown corporation and media organization involved in Canadian nation-building and identity. The numerous archives are analyzed through three groupings: the CBC's internal archival network, Library and Archives Canada, and other external archives with special collections, a regional focus, or privately donated materials by former CBC employees. As revealed through the analysis, the CBC's total archival output is fragmented and held by numerous institutions each with its own notions of what is worth keeping. The dispersal of CBC's records happened partially because programming records were excluded from the Access to Information Act until 2011, a complex regional structure, and many other peculiarities, which will be uncovered and analyzed in depth in this chapter. The impact of these decisions will also be considered. For example, the CBC's internal network and by extension the CBC Digital Archives

prioritized broadcast records over the relative invisibility of their corporate or institutional history. Concluding the discussion is a close examination of the archival practices of other public broadcasters and parallel Canadian institutions.

The final chapter will situate the CBC Digital Archives in relation to the CBC mandate and to the constellation of CBC archives and content repositories uncovered in the second chapter. The analysis will begin in 1999, when the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) exempted new media broadcasting and therefore the Internet from regulation under the Broadcasting Act or the CRTC's jurisdiction. This was a significant departure from the content development support the CBC had profited from in the television and radio environments. As a result, the CBC prioritized the development of a competitive position for its brand of cultural sovereignty, with the centralization of the CBC's mandate through websites like the CBC Digital Archives playing an essential part. Although CBC's archival resources continue to be generally underexploited by the corporation. The development of the CBC Digital Archives will be documented and analyzed through primary sources including website captures from the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, as well as other documentary sources such as the official records accessed through the various CBC archives. Since media organizations have evolved differently in today's digital age, this chapter will also briefly discuss how other media organizations are delivering historical content on the World Wide Web. For instance, the *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *New York Times* have monetized their digitized content through subscription services. Comparisons will also be drawn with other Crown corporations and the Canadian government at large.

The analysis of all three chapters will be rooted in a general overview of today's digital culture and the associated transformation of archival theory and practice, as well as the media, the Canadian government, and corporate structures. It will also offer greater understanding of the role of archival websites in any institution and how they are perceived. The CBC Digital Archives could simply be a repository for digitized content, or part of a larger marketing strategy that is protecting and promoting CBC's brand online, or something else entirely.

CHAPTER ONE

History of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Introduction

“They are not only speaking to you in Ottawa,”¹ George P. Graham, chairman of Canada’s Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Executive Committee, proudly stated on July 1, 1927. The Jubilee celebration was a grand and ambitious event, overflowing with historical pageantry and abstract notions of shared citizenship and nationality. The static-filled voice spoke to a Canada of small communities separated by long distances and divided by language, culture and other factors.² A centralizing or national message was not only targeted at its domestic residents, but it also had to be sold to any international listeners as representative of Canada. It was a challenging, if not impossible goal. While Canada’s British colonial past was the foundation, a distinctly Canadian message also needed to include or acknowledge Francophones, First Nations groups, growing immigrant populations, and other disparate communities. In recognition of the wide variety, each province was encouraged by the organizing committee to hold their own celebration where local populations, such as the Ukrainians in Manitoba, had greater opportunity to be represented.³ Uniting each province’s interpretation of the Diamond Jubilee was a single radio broadcast of the Ottawa event. The archival record from that

¹ “1927: Diamond Jubilee broadcast links Canadians,” CBC Digital Archives, accessed October 17, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/1927-diamond-jubilee-broadcast-links-canadians>.

² Robert Cupido, “Appropriating the Past: Pageants, Politics, and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 9, no. 1 (1998): 158.

³ Robert Cupido, “Public Commemoration and Ethnocultural Assertion: Winnipeg Celebrates the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation,” *Urban History Review/Revue d’histoire urbaine* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 70.

broadcast is also the earliest program in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) digital archives.⁴

In his personal diaries, Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had several complaints about the weekend festivities, ranging from the mediocrity of the Peace Tower Carillon's inaugural concert to his own personal disappointment with his speech.⁵ Those mistakes were inconsequential, however, given the technical brilliance of successfully sharing Ottawa's celebrations with several million people, both in Canada and internationally. To recall Marshall McLuhan's well-known phrase, the medium of radio and its successful broadcast to a broad audience was literally the message.⁶

According to Mackenzie King's diary entry from that day:

The great feature of the day was the broadcasting & its success. While speaking in the morning & afternoon word came back that we could be heard distinctly in Halifax & Vancouver & all intervening points, & in Alaska. Tonight the word came of being heard distinctly in England & Brazil (?). Never before was the human voice heard at one & the same time over such an extent of the world's surface & by so many people.- It was the beginning of Canada's place in the world, as a world power.- This note in the King's speech was quite remarkable.⁷

Exactly seventy-five years later, the CBC launched the CBC Digital Archives in September 2002. This chapter will consider the evolution of CBC media from radio to television with a particular focus on its early history. More recent history will be instead analyzed in chapter three alongside the CBC Digital Archives. The history of the CBC itself is not the primary topic of this thesis. This chapter instead explores the development

⁴ "1927: Diamond Jubilee broadcast links Canadians."

⁵ William Lyon Mackenzie King, diary entry, July 1, 1927, Item 10552, Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, MG26-J13, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/prime-ministers/william-lyon-mackenzie-king/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=10552>

⁶ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964; repr., Berkeley, California: Gingko Press, 2013), 9.

⁷ Mackenzie King, diary entry.

of the CBC in order to understand the impact of that content, during its original broadcast and later life as an archival record. Throughout, it will be argued that CBC's practices and policies developed alongside available information and communication technologies (ICTs), as well as evolving constructs of Canadian identity. ICTs were also regionally distributed, for the purpose of constructing an unified network capable of broadcasting CBC's conception of Canadian identity both at home and abroad.

Divided by language, ethnicity, and geographic space, discovering a single and self-assured Canadian identity was difficult, if not impossible. Even before Confederation, British North America was a multifaceted collection of colonies of Anglophone and Francophone origins, that existed between and amongst First Nations groups. Then and now, the economic, cultural, and political pressures exerted by the United States, also motivated concern about the distinctiveness of Canada. With these and other factors, Canadian identity is defined differently by each shift in perspective or methodology. For instance, historian Joan Sangster observed that the rise of social and personal histories in the 1990s demoted the previous focus on political or nationalistic Canadian histories.⁸ More recent political historians, such as Samuel LaSelva, have situated Canadian identity and the anxiety of protecting it as the foundational centre to Confederation and the Canadian Constitution.⁹ This thesis will not analyze the historiography surrounding Canadian nationalisms or those still awaiting discovery. While this thesis will acknowledge the wide variety of Canadian experiences and their fractured relationship with the formulation prescribed by the Canadian government or the

⁸ Joan Sangster, "Archiving Feminist Histories: Women, the 'nation' and metanarratives in Canadian historical writing," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29 (2006): 257.

⁹ Samuel LaSelva, *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nation-hood* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 38.

CBC, this is not the focus. Instead, CBC's mandated representation of Canadian identity found in annual reports, legislation and related literature will be investigated in relation to the ICTs that broadcast those messages in their original format and later archival record.

Before radio technology or the CBC, physical or legal measures such as Confederation and subsidized railway projects connected Canadians. Vast tracts of cheap land had isolated settler societies from each other, while First Nations groups were crowded into small reservations and excluded altogether. Historian Andrew Smith argues that centralizing tools like Confederation defeated individualist and localized economic philosophies.¹⁰ As compensation, arbitrary groupings of settler societies became provinces and represented supposed differences while disguising internal diversity.¹¹ Sir John A. Macdonald's central government then began sponsoring settlement of the newly formed provinces. As a result, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) physically connected the Western provinces with the governing and business centres found in Central Canada and realized the transcontinental idealization of Canada.

Central to Benedict Anderson's thesis on nations as imagined political communities is the impossibility of having contact with everyone in a nation, even in the modern Internet age.¹² Canada is a physically large country, which only intensifies that impossibility. Anderson theorized that a shared printed language is a foundational ingredient for imagined communities.¹³ That language can be in the form of media, which are typically defined as the technologies that store or deliver information or data. That

¹⁰ Andrew Smith, "Toryism, Classical Liberalism, and Capitalism: The Politics of Taxation and the Struggle for Canadian Confederation," *Canadian Historical Review* 89, no.1 (March 2008): 5.

¹¹ Cole Harris, "Creating Place in Early Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 21.

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; repr., London: Verso Books, 2006), 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 134.

definition could be stretched to include the CPR as it heightened connections with other people by delivering information on a grand scale. However, the newspapers undoubtedly transported along its rails match the definition of media better. While this obviously includes foundational legal documents, Anderson gave weight to the news media and the symbolic and cultural information they transport coast-to-coast.¹⁴ Two scholars studying the transmission of information rephrased Anderson's idea by stating "printed documents helped replace the ideology of sovereigns and subjects with the idea of a self-constructed society built around shared ideals, shared interests, and shared practices."¹⁵ As the philosopher George Santayana summed up "it doesn't matter what, so long as they all read the same thing."¹⁶ However, economic historian Harold Innis cautioned that Canada's sense of shared community was paradoxical. The CBC and associated technology provided coast-to-coast uniformity of message, while at the same time providing a route by which American culture could enter the homes of Canadians.¹⁷

CBC Radio

Long before radio entered the homes of Canadians, the telegraph enabled electronic communication of textual messages through Morse code over large distances.¹⁸ The impact of the telegraph is considerable as it and the railway enabled businesses to manage complex operations over great distances.¹⁹ This follows Benedict Anderson's

¹⁴ Anderson, 35.

¹⁵ John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid, *The Social Life of Information* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2000), 194.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁷ Harold Adams Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), reprint, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 195.

¹⁸ Tim Wu, *The Master Switch: The Rise and Fall of Information Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 21.

¹⁹ James W. Carey, *Communication as culture: essays on media and society* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 155.

work on the imagined community, as he maintained the national importance of the telegraph, especially since newspapers were its main customers.

Popular shared experiences such as the telegraph or reading the top story from a newspaper were just as important, if not more so, than the legal instruments forming the nation. In Canada, the telegraph was purposely excluded from provincial jurisdiction in the 1867 British North America Act (BNA Act).²⁰ It states that “Lines of Telegraphs, and other works and undertakings connecting the Province with any other or other of the Province, or extending beyond the Limits of the Province” are not a provincial responsibility, and by exclusion declared a federal service.²¹ Anti-Confederates like Nova Scotian Thomas Killian even pointed to the government control of telegraph technology as an example of the federal state involving itself too much in the economy.²²

Other legal instruments following the BNA Act include the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1905 that gave the federal Minister of Marine and Fisheries the exclusive authority to issue licences for the installation and operation of telegraphy equipment.²³ This was updated in 1913 with the Radiotelegraph Act, which maintained federal responsibility by requiring all ships near Canadian ports to have telegraphy equipment, and all operators to be British subjects, sign a declaration of secrecy, and apply for a call sign.²⁴ While both acts apply primarily to telegraph technology, the 1913 Act included a provision for radio or the transmission of audio. In the last draft of the act, radio or radiotelephones were added to the official definition of radiotelegraphy, which was declared to be any wireless

²⁰ Robert Armstrong, *Broadcasting Policy in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 20-21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²² Smith, 13.

²³ Armstrong, 22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada* 4th ed. (Toronto: J. Lorimer & Co., 2011), 9.

system for conveying electric signals or messages.²⁵ The Radiotelegraph Act was not replaced until 1932, as the belated inclusion of radiotelephony provided the federal government with the necessary discretionary power to build radio regulation and guide its development.²⁶

Regardless of who invented the technology and drafted legislation to control it, telegraphy and radio broadcasting was reimagined by hobbyists. Columbia law professor Tim Wu remarks that radio amateurs took technology primarily designed for two-way communication and re-applied it to a more social form of networking.²⁷ Early radio broadcasters expanded upon this practice, sharing information and programs beyond those physically in attendance.

Early broadcasting in Canada was stalled by the security measures demanded by the First World War, and therefore commercial broadcasting did not truly begin until the early 1920s. The first attempt in Canada was by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company's Montréal Radio Station XWA, which obtained an experimental broadcast licence on May 20, 1920.²⁸ Such licences were always temporary, as the equipment was prone to breaking, and more importantly commercial interests were still searching for a viable economic model. When combined with the limited geographic range of radio waves, early broadcasting was a localized experience.

²⁵ Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada*, 9-10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷ Wu, 33-34.

²⁸ Armstrong, 23.

Most countries experienced early radio broadcasting differently. In the United State, radio services also began in the 1920s. Without proper radio spectrum²⁹ planning and regulation, there was often interference between the signals of different radio stations. The Radio Act of 1927 codified spectrum as a public resource in the United States, which could only be obtained through application by private users.³⁰ The American government indirectly encouraged the newly formed National Broadcasting Company (NBC),³¹ and also established the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) as a regulatory body for radio licensing.³² Such government intervention was ultimately limited and in the background, however, as the American model of radio broadcasting emerged as a commercialized enterprise with broad appeal and popularity.

In contrast, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) dominated the British Isles' radio spectrum in the 1920s when it was still a private company owned by a collective of radio manufacturers. Without serious competition, and under the leadership of John Reith, the company had an idealistic goal of using radio as a form of moral uplift through the presentation of the finest in human achievement without provocation and propaganda.³³ The British government accepted Reith's vision of broadcasting as public service in 1927, when the BBC became a statutory corporation with a royal charter.³⁴

²⁹ Radio waves are a form of electromagnetic radiation that constitute a portion of the entire spectrum. To prevent radio waves from interfering with other forms of wireless communication, the spectrum is managed, usually by a government body.

³⁰ Lesley Hitchens, *Broadcasting pluralism and diversity: a comparative study of policy* (Oxford; Portland Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2006), 18.

³¹ Wu, 81.

³² Len Kuffert, *Canada Before Television: Radio, Taste and the Struggle for Cultural Democracy* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 120.

³³ Wu, 41.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

As in other areas, the Canadian broadcasting experience was influenced by both its colonial connection to Great Britain and the persistent popularity of American commercialism. Both the BBC and the myriad of American stations preceded the formation of the CBC by about a decade and had an undeniable influence on the fledgling CBC operations. Combating the dynamic popularity of American radio programming was a frustrating problem for CBC producers, who often resorted to airing American programs just to keep Canadians on the same station as home-grown content.³⁵ The BBC achieved its brand without an analogous competitor and its public broadcasting model inspired CBC staff struggling to achieve status as a broadcasting authority in Canada. The BBC was sympathetic to the CBC's plight and offered aid and encouragement, even though it was clear the American influence made the BBC model an impossible reality in Canada.³⁶ As historian Len Kuffert concludes, the CBC "became the face of an alternative kind of democracy – in the market but not wholly of it."³⁷

Today, as in 1936, the CBC reaches Canadians directly in their homes, vehicles, and workplaces. The public portion of public broadcasting refers to its source of funding and governing legislation, the Canadian government. Broadcasting is specifically defined in Section 2(1) of Canada's Broadcasting Act of 1991 as the "transmission of programs, whether or not encrypted, by radio waves or other means of telecommunication for reception by the public by means of broadcasting receiving apparatus, but does not include any such transmission of programs that is made solely for performance or display

³⁵ Kuffert, *Canada Before Television*, 71.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

in a public place.”³⁸ Programs are understood as sounds or visual images designed to inform, enlighten, or entertain, instead of mere text.³⁹

Public broadcasting in Canada did not begin with the CBC, however, as the federally owned Canadian National Railways (CNR) launched a radio broadcasting service in 1924. As already mentioned, railroads and telegraphy were complementary industries. Through pre-existing telegraph wires and radio receivers in passenger cars, CNR delivered en route music, sports, information, and drama programming for train travelers and to anyone else near a CNR rail line.⁴⁰ CNR Vice-President W.D. Robb saw the radio broadcasting as a way of keeping the Western settlers sane and productive.⁴¹ With national coverage along its rail route, the CNR was responsible for the aforementioned 1927 Diamond Jubilee, with telephone lines extending their typical coverage.⁴²

It was not until 1928 that the Canadian government began investigating the possibility of a national public broadcaster or at least constructing a more coherent system for private sector radio stations. The research process was formalized with the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, informally referred to as the Aird Commission after the chairman, Sir John Aird.⁴³ The Aird Commission also addressed the uneven availability of radio services, the appropriate role of religious broadcasting, spectrum management, and the implications American radio networks held for Canadian

³⁸ Broadcasting Act, *Statutes of Canada* 1991, c. 11, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/b-9.01/>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Armstrong, 23.

⁴¹ Len Kuffert, ““What do you Expect of this Friend?”: Canadian Radio and the intimacy of broadcasting,” *Media History* 15, no. 3 (2009): 305.

⁴² Armstrong, 24.

⁴³ Ibid.

sovereignty.⁴⁴ Four years later in 1932, they recommended the creation of a nationally owned broadcasting company operating coast-to-coast.⁴⁵ It was called the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC).

As argued by media historian Mary Vipond, this recommendation was predetermined by the “genesis, mandate, and personnel of the Aird commission.”⁴⁶ Even though the American model of competition for audiences has been understood as a legitimate possibility by many scholars, Vipond maintains the BBC model of public broadcasting was the only real option considered. She highlights the fact that the commission only explored options that involved some level of public financing.⁴⁷ The status quo of privately owned and financed radio stations was not even mentioned as a possible fourth option, even though its owners petitioned their cause.

The private stations, represented by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, did succeed at stalling the development of the CRBC until 1932.⁴⁸ Some of the provinces were also reluctant to support a national broadcasting corporation, even though the Commission’s final recommendation made special provisions for their regional interests.⁴⁹ The provincial radio broadcasting director would decide which programs were

⁴⁴ Armstrong, 25.

⁴⁵ Kuffert, *Canada Before Television*, 82.

⁴⁶ Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting, 1922-1932* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 213.

⁴⁷ See Vipond, *Listening In*, 212. Those three options including the federal subsidization of a private enterprise with a mandated public interest, a government owned and financed company or a group of stations operated by each provincial government. Vipond strengthens this argument by drawing attention to two other points in the commission’s mandate. One being the growing number of Canadian listeners preferring American content, and the other the inclusion of an opinion from a federal department. The Radio Branch of the Department of Fisheries, which contends that the establishment of high-power stations and greater investment in Canadian programming would remedy the preference for American content.

⁴⁸ Armstrong, 27.

⁴⁹ Vipond, *Listening In*, 218.

broadcast in each province, with help from the provincial advisory council.⁵⁰ Despite these overtures, Québec, with support from Ontario and New Brunswick, contested the federal government's responsibility for the broadcasting spectrum. The localized experience of broadcasting was so ingrained, provinces like Québec questioned the feasibility of a national radio service where topography, language, and politics would have to be overcome. The Supreme Court of Canada was eventually called upon for opinion and ruled in favour of the Canadian government on February 1932.⁵¹

With that decision, the Commission's recommendations found a measure of realization with the 1932 Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act. Due to the physical lack of stations, poor quality programming, and inadequate management, the 1936 Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act quickly replaced it.⁵² Consequently, the newly formed Crown corporation known as the CBC was more similar to the successful BBC model. It was granted the authority to regulate private sector broadcasters, whose practices in turn influenced the direction of the CBC.⁵³ Meanwhile, responsibility for the provision of licenses to other broadcasters and the allocation of radio spectrum was shifted to the Department of Transport.⁵⁴

As a Crown corporation, the CBC joined a growing membership including the aforementioned CNR. In essence, Crown corporations are a hybrid operation of public policy and corporate objectives except they are not required to generate profit for shareholders. Each performs a function or service of national interest that is either

⁵⁰ Vipond, *Listening In*, 218.

⁵¹ Armstrong, 28.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵³ Kuffert, *Canada Before Television*, 23.

⁵⁴ Armstrong, 30.

impossible for the private sector or does not fall under the purview of government responsibility.⁵⁵ Most are financially supported by the state to some degree, and in exchange Crown corporations like the CBC are accountable to Parliament through their respective ministers.⁵⁶ As of 2005, the CBC was one of nine Crown corporations exempt from certain responsibilities, such as Parliamentary approval for budgets, in order to shield it against "potential political interference."⁵⁷ The CBC is itself an anomaly as most of the other early Crown corporations were fulfilling transport needs like the CNR.

The CBC's hybridity between public service and business interests was exemplified during the Second World War. As Kuffert highlights, "a national public radio network to coordinate the distribution of war bulletins and national directives was plainly desirable."⁵⁸ On January 1, 1941, the CBC News Service was formally inaugurated, and the supposed neutrality that accompanied that journalistic position did not exist. Even though only twenty-seven percent of the Québec population voted in favour of conscription, its anti-war opinions were not voiced through the radio.⁵⁹ This is particularly striking considering the CBC's French language network had been a separate division since 1937, and had developed its own distinctive style and even identity since the language barrier limited the influence of the BBC model and competing American programming.⁶⁰ The Francophone populations were further alienated with the creation of

⁵⁵ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, *Meeting the Expectations of Canadians: Review of the Governance Framework for Canada's Crown corporations* (Ottawa, 2005), 9, <http://publications.gc.ca/pub?id=9.687379&sl=0>.

⁵⁶ The Crown corporations Directorate of the Department of Finance and Treasury Board Secretariat, *Directors of Crown corporations: An Introductory Guide to their Roles and Responsibilities* (Ottawa, 1993), 2, <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/gov-gouv/role/rolepr-eng.asp> (Canada).

⁵⁷ *Meeting the Expectations of Canadians*, 13.

⁵⁸ Kuffert, *Canada Before Television*, 210.

⁵⁹ Armstrong, 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

Radio Canada International (RCI) in 1945, which continued to favour the Anglophone perspective when reporting to the world.

In the throes of war, it should be noted that the CBC/Radio-Canada's nationalist focus was generally mirrored by the Anglophone newspapers and media organizations. The news media, by virtue of its power to choose which stories to carry,⁶¹ was and still is a fundamental force in moulding public perception on various issues. Canadian media theorist Marshall McLuhan remarked that "people don't actually read newspapers - they get into them every morning like a hot bath"⁶² in his discussion of the compelling influence the media have on society. Newspapers, such as Canada's nationally read *Globe and Mail* and the regional *Winnipeg Free Press*, have long been instrumental in informing, educating, and influencing the general public. Radio broadcasting could also expand the events, ideas, or personalities that Canadians were introduced to.⁶³ Unlike the newspaper, radio could be consumed by anyone within earshot and CBC executives actually planned their daytime slots in reflection of an audience of "innocent housewives" completing their domestic duties and listening to the radio in the background.⁶⁴

Following the war, RCI was officially inaugurated to deliver the best of Canada's radio, news, sports, music, entertainment, and perspectives abroad. A similar service had existed during the war as well, but was instead targeted to Canadian Armed Services overseas and desiring news from home.⁶⁵ At the inauguration, Mackenzie King stated:

⁶¹ Jeffrey A. Kreshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1996), xii.

⁶² Eric Norden, "The Playboy Interview: Marshall McLuhan," *Playboy Magazine* (March 1969), 1, http://www.nomads.usp.br/leuphana/mcluhan_the_playboy_interview.pdf.

⁶³ Kuffert, "Canadian Radio and the Intimacy of Broadcasting," 307.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ James L. Hall, *Radio Canada International: The Voice of a Middle Power* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997), 27.

tonight, Canada enters the world radio arena. As we undertake this new service, let us resolve that in peace as in war, we will be true to the values you are so valiantly upholding, ideals which have made our country a nation. The unity of Canada belongs not only to Canada, it belongs to mankind.⁶⁶

Its programming was thinly veiled propaganda on the brilliance of Canada and often targeted countries with ideal immigrant populations or trade relations. Political alliances such as NATO also prompted the transmission of programming in countries like Italy.⁶⁷

CBC Television

Ninety percent of Canadian households owned a radio by 1949, when some Canadians were also beginning to experience the new visual realm of television.⁶⁸ Some broadcasters believed that radio programming would be subsumed and migrated to television.⁶⁹ As before, the development of this new ICT in the United States eventually pressured Canada to launch television broadcasting services. By 1949, sixty percent of Canadians could receive television signals with a rooftop antenna.⁷⁰ Since CBC Television did not formally begin its transmission until 1952, those television signals would have primarily been from American stations.

Instead, the CBC was preoccupied with the Royal Commission for the National Development in the Arts, Letter and Sciences, which was colloquially referred to as the Massey Commission for its chairman, Vincent Massey. The Massey Commission investigated Canadian arts and culture in relation to certain government institutions and how those agencies could encourage the creation and representation of cultural activities

⁶⁶ Hall, 27.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 35.

⁶⁸ Armstrong, 32.

⁶⁹ Wu, 161.

⁷⁰ Armstrong, 32.

to the citizenry.⁷¹ The commission published its final report in 1951, after touring the country for two years and receiving four hundred and sixty briefs.⁷² Its final recommendations argued the arts provide a strong sense of national community and that a public fund should be established to support this as the private radio stations were failing their national responsibility in competing with American content.

Zoë Druick, Professor at Simon Fraser University's School of Communication, proposes that the final report's

overarching melancholy about the losses precipitated by modern technologies and modern media—loss of community, of pervasive amateur culture, of clear-cut values and traditions tied to European culture and religion—is met with a kind of resolve about how to mitigate these losses with bold decisions about national funding for media and culture.⁷³

The federal government largely ignored the report, however, even though it informally influenced other national cultural institutions such as the National Film Board (NFB), the National Gallery, the Public Archives and a proposed National Library.⁷⁴ In regard to the CBC, the Massey Commission specifically recommended that direction and control over television broadcasting in Canada remain with the CBC.⁷⁵ It is one of the few recommendations the federal government actually acted upon. Then in 1956, the Fowler Commission discovered that private Canadian stations in areas previously dominated by the CBC had not increased the availability of programs of Canadian origin.⁷⁶ Instead, private networks often redistributed American content.

⁷¹ Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters & Sciences, *Report* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), 3-6, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/massey/h5-400-e.html> (Canada).

⁷² Zoë Druick, "Remedy and Remediation: The Cultural Theory of the Massey Commission," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 29, issues 2-3 (2007): 161.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁷⁵ Armstrong, 33.

⁷⁶ Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada*, 58.

As a result, the Broadcasting Act was once again updated in 1958, a decision that most narrative histories mark as the separation between the early CBC and the CBC of today. The previous two acts in 1932 and 1936 had situated the CBC (and former CRBC) as a public broadcaster with a mandated obligation to serve the entire nation, which in turn had relegated private broadcasters to a secondary position of importance. The 1958 Act diminished CBC's control of the television broadcasting environment by transferring regulatory authority to the independent Board of Broadcast Governors, which judged the CBC alongside private broadcasters.⁷⁷ The year 1958 also marked the first coast-to-coast live television broadcast. While the technology and legislative environment was different, the production of television content at the CBC was similar to that of radio, with a focus on national programming with regional variation.

Continuing worry over the preference for American programming in Canada prompted the creation of the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (later the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission) in another update to the Broadcasting Act in 1968.⁷⁸ The CRTC was a successor of the aforementioned Board of Broadcast Governors. The CRTC regulated the quantity of American and other international programming on Canadian airwaves, as well as advertising and other facets of broadcasting.⁷⁹

Conclusion

The succeeding decades witnessed further development of information and communication technologies such as the transmission of colour television in 1966, as

⁷⁷ Frank W. Peers, *Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952-1968* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 416

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁷⁹ Vipond, *Mass Media in Canada*, 59.

illustrated by the CBC's new butterfly logo with rainbow colours.⁸⁰ The Broadcasting Act decided the CBC's structure and mandated operations, which both limited and protected the effect that evolving technology had on the corporation.⁸¹ In pursuit of profit, private broadcasters could more easily transform themselves to take advantage of new ICTs. While the corporation itself was not changed by advancing technology, the CBC instead utilized ICTs to meet the demands of its mandated mission and maintain its presence in an increasingly competitive broadcasting environment. In 1973, the CBC used the Anik satellite to expand its live television service to the North.⁸² Nineteen seventy-nine was the same year the private broadcaster Rogers expanded consumer choice in Toronto to thirty television channels via a cable converter.⁸³ While remaining a pervasive influence, the CBC's role as national broadcaster was increasingly open to competition and preference. Losing the broadcast rights of occasional Olympic Games and even *Hockey Night in Canada* have been difficult blows for the CBC. The 1990s also saw several regional stations axed due to increasing budget cuts.⁸⁴ Digitally, the CBC has been an early adopter with its CBC.ca website created in 1995, only four years after the World Wide Web was launched in 1991.⁸⁵ Finally in 2008, radio, television and digital media were officially integrated by CBC operations.⁸⁶

In addition to technology, the CBC's imagined and broadcast version of Canadian identity also evolved with time, parallel to the Government of Canada's policies. In 1988,

⁸⁰ Peers, 366.

⁸¹ Standing Committee on Transport and Communications, "Time for Change: The CBC/Radio-Canada in the twenty-first century," (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2015), 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁴ "Our History," CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 8, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/our-history/>.

⁸⁵ "Time for a Change," 7.

⁸⁶ "Our History."

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney codified Canada's policy of respecting diversity with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. The act had evolved from the policies Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's government had instituted in the 1970s. In response, the updated Broadcasting Act of 1991 emphasized the CBC must 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."⁸⁷ This is a stark departure from the middle class, white and preferably British-Canadian audience early CBC radio programming likely targeted.⁸⁸

In the late 1940s, the RCI's programming goal was to project the Canadian identity by sharing it through a "*selection* of broadcast topics that reflect elements of Canadian life in the form of news, features, and entertainment."⁸⁹ This mandate could also be broadly applied to the CBC news services, radio programming, television services and the CBC Digital Archives. The word 'selection' speaks to the appraisal process inherent in all CBC operations from its shaky beginning in radio to its present form at CBC.ca. The CBC has always endeavoured to project its idealization of Canadian identity under the guise of serving the nation. Throughout it all and even predating the CBC, ICTs, from the telegraph to the Internet, have had a powerful effect on its audience. The next chapter will more closely consider the archival operations of the CBC, before investigating the Digital Archives itself in the third chapter.

⁸⁷ *Broadcasting Act*.

⁸⁸ Kuffert, *Canada Before Television*, 21.

⁸⁹ Hall, x. Emphasis added.

CHAPTER TWO

The Archival Network of the CBC

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has been in operation for over eighty years. The corporation evolved as a national radio service to include television, French language services, social media, a news platform, and much more. With such varied functions, the CBC has produced reams of paper documents, hours of broadcasting programming, and entire servers of digital records. Even excluding routine records with no archival value, it is still an incredible sum. To understand the CBC's mandated responsibilities as a Crown corporation and media organization involved in Canadian nation-building and identity formation, this chapter will analyze where and how CBC's archival heritage is stored.

In order to map out the numerous CBC institutions, this chapter will explore three different types of CBC collections: the internal CBC network, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), and external archives with significant CBC collections. The internal CBC network consists of archival or recordkeeping departments managing a specific type of record, such as Francophone television news recordings or semi-dormant textual documents from the English network. Analysis of the CBC Digital Archives will be in Chapter Three even though it is also a vital part of the CBC internal network.

Under both historical and present funding, the CBC depended on the assistance of institutions like LAC to preserve its archival records. As specified in several pieces of legislation, LAC is the primary archival repository for publicly funded Canadian institutions like the CBC. Yet, CBC's journalistic and creative functions have historically

been outside the scope of the Library and Archives of Canada Act (hereafter referred to as the LAC Act). Without an explicit requirement to submit archival records to LAC, other institutions developed significant CBC collections to fill that void. Some institutions even signed legal agreements with the CBC.

External to both the CBC and LAC, are institutions such as Concordia's Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies Archives, whose custody of CBC drama scripts demonstrates non-governmental control over publicly funded resources. Substantial CBC collections are also found in provincial and other regional archives and mirror this complicated relationship. These collections typically originated in regionally autonomous CBC production facilities and private donations by retired CBC employees who took records home with them.

Finally, the chapter will conclude by situating the CBC within the international context with comparisons to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), as well as the more privately managed broadcasting archives in the United States. In addition, the domestic comparison of the Canadian Television Network (CTV) will be considered as well as different forms of news media such as Britain's *Guardian* newspaper and the *Winnipeg Free Press*.¹

The CBC Digital Archives was built upon the legacy of these numerous and often unrelated archival institutions. This chapter will argue that without a central or even predominant archival repository, the CBC archival record became confused and then scattered. Competing archival philosophies or interests, regional distribution, weak or

¹ In keeping with the CBC archival record examined in this chapter, news media and other broadcasting records originating on and solely reported on the Internet will be analyzed in the third chapter.

inapplicable government legislation, and, at times, internal apathy are some factors in the divided CBC record explored in this chapter.

In addition to secondary sources and related histories, this chapter was largely built upon primary government documents acquired through three different means. The University of Manitoba Libraries was used to access many government documents such as annual reports, which were supplemented with the digital publication of more recent sources like the Library and Archives Act, reports to Parliament, and policy documents. In researching this thesis, I filed initial access to information requests with both the CBC and LAC in May 2015 with subsequent information requests submitted to CBC in June 2016 and October 2016. In response to my access to information requests in May 2015, LAC provided all the disposition authorities associated with the CBC from as early as 1975, and CBC supplied further internal documentation on their records management and archival schema. I specifically requested Ernest Dick's 1990 internal review of the CBC's archival structure in June 2016, while the succeeding request in October 2016 targeted information on the formation and continuing management of the CBC Digital Archives. Lastly, I documented the early history of the CBC's internal network through archival research at LAC in Ottawa in May 2016.

Archival Practices of Other Corporate Archives

In discussing the institution of the CBC, archival literature on corporate archives provides a healthy starting spot in understanding the different archival strategies for CBC records. The appraisal of corporate records has been a predominant theme in the literature, especially in regard to the fluidity of the modern business world. Historian Joanne Yates has argued for a methodology sympathetic to the impact organizational

structure and business technology have upon document creation.² Richard Cox, a Professor in Library and Information Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh, proposes that corporate archives are primarily repositories for evidentiary records, with their cultural and symbolic value of secondary importance.³ Archivist and media scholar Kit Hughes finds fault in Cox's theory, arguing that an archives' cultural functions should be paramount and Cox's approach serves corporate interests first.⁴ Her appraisal suggestions include oral histories with employees, field observations, and collecting transient artefacts like calendars, as these speak to the business's internal branding. Going even further, Australian archival scholars Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott challenged the dichotomy between corporate and personal archives as corporate recordkeeping is often personalized by each user and their archival records witness the lives of those individuals.⁵ Therefore, both personal and corporate recordkeeping are part of the archival continuum model favoured by most Australian archival theorists. In response to an earlier essay McKemmish wrote on applying a recordkeeping conceptual framework to the realm of personal archives,⁶ archival scholar Verne Harris broadened the margins of that framework using Derridean thinking, while also arguing for a nuanced understanding of personal and corporate recordkeeping.⁷ Finally, Jordan Bass has

² Joanne Yates, "Internal Communication Systems in American Business Structures: A Framework to Aid Appraisal," *The American Archivist* 48, no. 2 (1985): 141-158.

³ Richard J. Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

⁴ Kit Hughes, "Appraisal as Cartography: Cultural Studies in the Archives," *The American Archivist* 77, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2014): 270-296.

⁵ Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott, "Toward the Archival Multiverse: Challenging the Binary Opposition of the Personal and Corporate Archive in Modern Archival Theory and Practice," *Archivaria* 76 (Fall 2013): 111-144.

⁶ Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish, "In Search of the Lost Tiger, by Way of Sainte-Beuve: Reconstructing the Possibilities in 'Evidence of Me,'" *Archives and Manuscripts* 29, no. 1 (May 2001): 22-42.

⁷ Verne Harris, "On the Back of a Tiger: Deconstructive Possibilities in 'Evidence of Me,'" *Archives and Manuscripts* 29, no. 1 (May 2001): 8-21.

positioned personal information management (PIM) as a resource in understanding unstructured corporate environments and how “documentary forms are created, accumulated, used, and preserved by individuals in the digital present.”⁸

Beyond archival literature, business historians and corporate practices have also recognized the value of internal archives. In one article, Stephanie Decker, Professor in Organization Studies at Aston Business School in Birmingham, England, underlined the importance of archival research and methodologies for business historians. Acknowledging the role of archivists as mediators of the records, Decker argued that historians need to be aware that archivists reconstruct the records, and therefore represent a certain narrative with its own set of inherent biases and gaps.⁹ The construction of narrative is often purposely done within corporations such as the CBC, which must impress its importance upon the federal government and the general public of Canada. Typically, reporting requirements of publicly-owned corporations like the CBC result in more complete collections of records.¹⁰ Yet, even the internal records management and archives of the CBC are confused because they have multiple structures and duplication of records.

The CBC’s archival trajectory, as associate professor of film and media studies, Jennifer VanderBurgh coined it,¹¹ has recently prioritized the preservation of transitory objects such as broadcast records. In the 1990s, mounting budget cuts forced the CBC to

⁸ Jordan Bass, “A PIM Perspective: Leveraging Personal Information Management Research in the Archiving of Personal Digital Records,” *Archivaria* 75 (Spring 2013): 76.

⁹ Stephanie Decker, “The silence of the archives: business history, post-colonialism and archival ethnography,” *Management & Organizational History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 170.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 161

¹¹ Jennifer VanderBurgh, “Against Ephemerality: The CBC’s Archival Turn, 1989-96” in Zoë Druick and Gerda Cammaer, eds., *Cinephemera: Archives, Ephemeral Cinema, and New Screen Histories in Canada* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 210-231.

become more market-driven and recordings of broadcasts, which were previously viewed as transitory, were re-utilized to justify and even brand its continuing existence.¹² With diminishing public funds, the CBC's preference for broadcast records gained prominence and associated archival practices followed. Yet, the CBC has been a Crown corporation since 1936, which suggests a significant legacy of previous archival policies.

What are CBC Records?

Before analyzing those policies, it would be valuable to consider what types of records the CBC creates. The corporation's existence is founded in its mandate, officially expressed in the 1991 Broadcasting Act, which states "the [CBC], as the national public broadcaster, should provide radio and television services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains."¹³ Through this mandate, the production and transmission of television and radio programs are identified as the primary functions of the CBC.¹⁴ Other tertiary functions like maintaining equal, yet distinct French and English programming, are still rooted in CBC's operational functions of producing content and then broadcasting it. These two major functions are applicable to most records, although CBC.ca and other digital platform models were not envisioned in their current form in the outdated Broadcasting Act. The administrative structures, technological network, personnel, and policies needed to create and transmit programming are considerable. The types of records produced through these functions are equally diverse.

¹² VanderBurgh, 210.

¹³ "Mandate," CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/mandate/>.

¹⁴ Agreement between CBC and LAC, "Setting out Principles and Policies Relating to the Conservation by the National Archives of Canada of CBC Records of National Significance," 2001, LAC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

While CBC records can be generally separated into production or transmission records, additional interpretations exist. For instance, a 2001 legal agreement between LAC and CBC, which will be discussed later in this chapter, categorized the resultant records into two different types. One serves as evidence of the Canadian national consciousness as documented or expressed through the broadcast records themselves.¹⁵ The second type describes the CBC as a government institution and is primarily comprised of textual or electronic formats.¹⁶ Internal selection guidelines from the 1960s offer another division of records along historical, cultural, and sociological themes.¹⁷ This chapter will further analyze the archival relationship between CBC and LAC, as well as all other institutions possessing fragments of CBC's documentary heritage including the CBC itself. By tracing the types of records targeted by each institution, a larger understanding of CBC's recordkeeping structure will emerge alongside the context surrounding the CBC Digital Archives, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The CBC's Internal Archival Network

Records Management

Since its founding in 1936, the CBC has always had some measure of internal control over its records. The impetus behind the preservation of the records has changed, however. As Terry Cook observed, the mid-twentieth century saw a shift from "semi-antiquarian enthusiasm for collecting the personal papers of heroic figures of a distant or pioneering past to a more scholarly, systematic, and professional approach for acquiring

¹⁵ 2001 Agreement between CBC and LAC.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Rosemary Bergeron, "Archiving Moving-Image and Audio-Cultural Works in Canada," *Archivaria* 63 (Spring 2007): 57.

the records of contemporary society.”¹⁸ An article on business archives in one of the earliest issues of the *American Archivist* in 1938, demonstrates the beginnings of the shift Cook observed. The author, Oliver Holmes, argued for the value of systematic selection of records in business archives.¹⁹ Holmes also discussed the general neglect surrounding contemporary practices of business archives which, unlike government agencies, seek to conceal and hide their practices instead of publicizing or even preserving them.²⁰ Internally, the CBC’s motivations developed from minimal records management to internal reference and reuse, and finally external branding.

From 1936 to 1968, CBC’s administrative, operational, and programming records were managed by the Central Registry System.²¹ The Central Registry System is technically not an archive, but rather a recordkeeping system where records were filed according to numeric file classification schemas. In 1968, the Central Registry System was decentralized and also divided between the French network’s Service de la Documentation-Dossiers²² and the English network’s Central Registry Office.²³ The new model acted primarily as a passive, long-term repository for records, without any legal authority to destroy records or transfer them to LAC.²⁴ In 2011, the CBC became subject to the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act, and therefore the Treasury Board

¹⁸ Terry Cook, “An Archival Revolution: W. Kaye Lamb and the Transformation of the Archival Profession,” *Archivaria* 60 (Fall 2005): 186.

¹⁹ Oliver W. Holmes, “The Evaluation and Preservation of Business Archives,” *The American Archivist* 1, no. 4 (October 1938): 172.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

²¹ Ernest J. Dick, “The Future of the CBC's Past: A Review of Archives,” August 1990, pp. 20, CBC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

²² *Ibid.*, 35.

²³ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

of Canada's government-wide recordkeeping regulations were applied.²⁵ The significance of both acts to the CBC will be more carefully analyzed in the section on CBC's relationship with LAC.

Considering Holmes' evaluation of business archival practices, the early Central Registry System was itself unusual. Yet, the efficiency of the record selection left much to be desired. According to a monograph written by Canadian broadcaster E. Austin Weir in 1965, the CBC and the Public Archives of Canada²⁶ were even then aware of the loss in CBC's historical record.²⁷ Weir adds that routine CBC recordkeeping only started in the 1960s.²⁸ Without these records, it would therefore be difficult, if not impossible, to properly research the early history of the CBC from the 1930s to the 1950s. As discussed in the first chapter, the 1930s had the Canadian government's initial investment in an arts and entertainment venture during the Depression, quickly followed by the broadcasting needs of the Second World War and the growth of its news service, all before the CBC's venture into television broadcasting in the 1950s.

Weir's consideration of the CBC's minimal archiving and records management is supported by more recent scholars as well. In reference to audiovisual records, Jennifer VanderBurgh contends that over fifty percent of the CBC's original programming has been permanently lost.²⁹ Her estimate was partially informed by Ernest J. Dick, who was CBC's corporate archivist from 1989 to 1996, a position created for him when he left

²⁵ "InfoSource," CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/reporting-to-canadians/transparency-and-accountability/infosource/>.

²⁶ Later renamed the National Archives of Canada in 1987, and then the Library and Archives of Canada in 2004; hereafter referred to as LAC in this thesis to avoid confusion between the different acronyms of PAC, NAC and LAC,

²⁷ E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto/Montréal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), xii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, xii.

²⁹ VanderBurgh, 216.

LAC to advise CBC on its internal archival problem.³⁰ During his tenure, he also authored a report on the state of the CBC's internal archival network after several criticisms arising from the construction of the new Broadcast Centre in Toronto, the appointment of a new president, and CBC's worsening relationship with LAC.³¹ Dick's report is a valued resource for this chapter.

In 1967, and long before Dick's report, an external consultant from the Records Management Company of Canada was hired to survey CBC's archives, museums and records management practices while offering recommendations for the future.³² The inclusion of archives and museums shows how linked the functions originally were, and that the Central Registry System doubled as an archive in CBC's early history. The consultant, John Andreassen, complimented the CBC for clearly mentioning records management in policy documents, as well as educating staff on it. He also positively commented on the existence of departmental records retention schedules, which outlined when records could be destroyed.³³ On the other hand, those retention schedules were often outdated, and as a result the consultant found the CBC was not following its own records management policies. Andreassen then criticized the numerous CBC offices with duplicate records, the directionless reference library, and the insufficient environmental controls in most if not all buildings.³⁴ He also identified the unclear ownership of

³⁰ VanderBurgh, 211.

³¹ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 1.

³² John Andreassen, *Report on a Preliminary Survey of Archives and Records Administration, Historical and Museum Activities of the Canadian Broadcasting Commission* (Montréal: Records Management Company of Canada, 1967), pp. 10, Record Group 41, Historical Archives Section Series, Mikan number 631396, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³³ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

programming records and consequent inability to reuse them as a problem.³⁵ He also joked that the general “secrecy of records in CBC is so stressed that I’ve never seen the equal except in wartime.”³⁶

Andreassen’s recommendations included consulting with records management staff before constructing a new building, updating retention schedules, and partnering with LAC when appropriate. He also argued that the selection of archival material should be integrated into the aforementioned retention schedules to prevent avoidable losses of corporate memory.³⁷ His most forceful argument, however, was for a greater partnership with LAC, particularly the federal records centres where dormant and semi-dormant records could be stored for a low or non-existent fee. While the CBC needed an efficient records management system to perform its functions of producing and broadcasting content, he argued that the preservation of CBC’s archival records should instead be the prerogative of LAC.³⁸ He further added that funding and personnel resources should not be spent on an internal CBC archive unless it can relate back to the broadcasting function. Instead, he recommended records that no longer have any usefulness to the corporation’s functions should be “unload[ed] as soon as their usefulness to the Corporation has passed.”³⁹ The subsequent division of the French and English networks’ records management functions in 1968 also resulted from the consultant’s observation that there was no benefit to combining the two.⁴⁰ Both facilities were in disarray, with Montréal’s

³⁵ Andreassen, 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

expensive and inconvenient and the English network's records management barely functioning.⁴¹

According to Dick's 1991 report, several of the consultant's recommendations were met. As already mentioned, the records management functions were divided between the French and English networks: Service de la Documentation – Dossiers⁴² and the English network's Central Registry Office. An updated file retention schedule was distributed in 1982, while the records management policy from 1963 was still in use.⁴³ The CBC had also grown so reliant on LAC's federal records centres in Montréal, Toronto, and Ottawa that Dick noted it as a problem.⁴⁴ The CBC had deposited so many unscheduled records in the record centres that LAC was reluctant to accept further unidentified contributions. With proper schedules, a significant portion of the records stored in LAC's warehouses could be destroyed if they could be identified as general, run-of-the-mill housekeeping records.⁴⁵ On the other hand, regional records were rarely deposited in any federal records centre or transferred to CBC's offices in Toronto or Montréal.⁴⁶ Ultimately, the overall model was dependent on what Dick identified as the "efforts of conscientious individuals rather than any systematic, organizational direction and commitment."⁴⁷

⁴¹ Andreassen, 12.

⁴² Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 35.

⁴³ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 26, 35.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2.

As of 2008, the records management function was relocated to Ottawa at LAC's National Capital Region Regional Service Centre (formerly federal records centre).⁴⁸ That centre was closed on March 31, 2015 however,⁴⁹ and the CBC has not announced where its holdings went. In 2008, four thousand out of sixteen thousand boxes were housed on site by the records management unit so it is possible the CBC found additional room there or leased an off-site warehouse.⁵⁰ As of September 2015, the CBC was also developing a system-wide digital folder structure that everyone would upload electronic business records to, under the direction of their department.⁵¹

CBC Historical Archives Section

Before the creation of the CBC Digital Archives and even the transfer of some of the CBC collections to LAC and other institutions, the Historical Archives Section was partially designed for an external audience. The section was created in 1964 by CBC's Head Office, in partnership with the French and English networks.⁵² The section's director W.A. MacDonald collected records from all three locations. In its early years, records management consultant, John Andreassen advocated that the end-goal of the Historical Archive Section should be the publication of a company-sponsored history, which would legitimize its existence to an external audience and reduce the number of

⁴⁸ "Virtual Tour: Records Management Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_15.asp?IDLan=1.

⁴⁹ "Closure of the Regional Service Centre (National Capital Region)," Library and Archives Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/news/Pages/2013/closure-regional-service-centre-ncr.aspx>.

⁵⁰ "Virtual Tour: Records Management Archives."

⁵¹ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *The E-Archive Project: Preserving our Electronic Business Records: A Critical Asset for CBC/Radio-Canada* (Ottawa, March 2015), CBC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

⁵² Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 19.

overall enquires.⁵³ The book was never completed, and the collected records were transferred to LAC in their entirety in 1979 when the section disbanded.⁵⁴ That collection forms the basis of LAC's Record Group 41, to which all subsequent CBC accruals have been added.⁵⁵

Beyond the records management functions and the short-lived Historical Archives Section, the majority of CBC's archival facilities were coded for internal reference and reuse. The few archival facilities that were available to external researchers or stakeholders were often not advertised. This chapter will detail seven different types of internal archives or repositories with the primary objective of internal reference and reuse. These include radio programming archives, television programming archives, videotape warehouses, technical film conservation facilities, news reporting resources, reference libraries and regional broadcasting holdings.

Radio Programming Archives

Broadcast records created before to the development of internal archival programs in the 1960s were only preserved as products of what Robin Woods defined as "the negative principles of selection" in that records survived by chance.⁵⁶ Woods was the founding manager of the Radio Archives and in 1967 wrote a report on CBC's programming archives. In CBC's early history, record libraries at production facilities only logged notices of record transfer. Disposition was also limited to an annual list

⁵³ Andreassen, 39.

⁵⁴ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 19.

⁵⁵ "Canadian Broadcasting Corporation fonds [multiple media]," Library and Archives Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2016-07-29T23%3A26%3A18Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=274&rft_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

⁵⁶ Robin Woods, "Report on National Program Archives" *Association for Recorded Sound Collections 2*, no. 2/3 (1970), Introduction section [unpaginated], Record Group 41, Historical Archives Section Series, Mikan number 134539, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

which producers selected from.⁵⁷ As perhaps characteristic of Canada's colonial connection to Great Britain, the sound records that survived were predominantly about external figures like King George VI.⁵⁸ His 1939 visit to Canada with Queen Elizabeth II was the CBC's first concerted effort to make a permanent archival record of a broadcast with thirty hours of radio programming transcribed into various formats.⁵⁹ The propaganda and other broadcasts produced during the Second World War were also valued as a nationally significant record; however the CBC is largely indebted to the BBC for what few audiovisual records it does have from this period. The BBC had recorded the operations of the CBC's Overseas Unit and later provided the CBC with copies of those broadcasts.⁶⁰ Besides the corporation's general disorganization in its early years, the limitations of audio formats during wartime are the primary reason the CBC failed to preserve its own history during the Second World War. Woods recounts how thousands of potentially valuable audio records were scrapped during that time, in order to contribute to the war effort's need for valuable aluminum.⁶¹ Brittle glass or steel discs were often substituted for aluminum discs and their fragility decreased the surviving audio record.⁶²

The earliest attempt at an actual CBC archive not tied to records management functions was the Radio Archive established in 1959.⁶³ Its creation was prompted after

⁵⁷ Woods, How CBC Decided Which Records to Keep section.

⁵⁸ Ibid., CRBC Recordings Preserved section.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1939: Royal Tour and War section; "Their Majesties in Canada: the 1939 Royal Tour," CBC Digital Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/topic/their-majesties-in-canada-the-1939-royal-tour>.

⁶⁰ Woods, 1939: Royal Tour and War section.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² "Electronic Transcription Discs," The Audio Archive, accessed December 15, 2016, http://www.theaudioarchive.com/TAA_Resources_Disc_Transcription.htm.

⁶³ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 28.

two decades of uncatalogued and poorly stored records, which were wasting thousands of dollars in storage expenses and were largely unusable by the corporation.⁶⁴ The introduction of tape following the Second World War both increased the durability of audio recordings and made it possible to continually erase and re-use recordings in order to save money.⁶⁵ The Radio Archive was originally intended to be a centralized archive or Program Archives for both radio and television programming, but due to limited funding and differing media storage requirements it instead evolved into an archive for the radio programming records of the English radio network.⁶⁶ In its foundational years, the Radio Archive often had to apply for emergency funding from Head Office in order to save the rapidly disappearing radio programming records.⁶⁷

The French network's equivalent of the Radio Archive, Archives d'émission, was established in the 1960s.⁶⁸ Both facilities preserve master and reference copies, while actively acquiring programs broadcast on CBC radio and stereo networks. Their primary users have been internal, however, and in 1990 only ten percent of reference requests came from external researchers.⁶⁹ Regional content is ill-represented by both language networks, which are also dependent on federal and other external archives for the preservation of its national holdings. In his survey of CBC archives, Dick remarked that the Radio Archive was undervalued until the mid-1980s when it moved to "the forefront of sound archives internationally."⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Woods, Report Recommendations section.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Report on CBC Archives section.

⁶⁶ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 25; Woods, Program Research and Development Group section.

⁶⁷ Woods, Beginning the Job section.

⁶⁸ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 36.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Today, the radio programming records are held in climate-controlled vaults in both Toronto and Montréal, and constitute Canada's largest collection of audio recordings with nearly a quarter of a million analogue tapes.⁷¹ New CBC radio programming is added every week and converted to the current storage medium of choice, which was the CD-ROM in 2008. It is then copied to a computer database accessible through the CBC's intranet, enabling employees to incorporate old programming into their various projects.⁷²

Television Programming Archives

Like radio, television records are fragile and exist on multiple formats. The multiplicity and quantity of formats, even in the earliest days of television programming, quickly eclipsed the CBC radio collections in size. The early film libraries were also organized under CBC Operations instead of Programming, which did not have the resources to determine the value of its records. While stopping short of laying blame with the libraries, Woods still classified this early practice as "little short of vandalism."⁷³ He provided an example of how 94,000 feet of interview footage with Prime Minister Mackenzie King were purposely discarded since they were unusable for stock-shots, the driving mandate of the film libraries.⁷⁴

While CBC's Radio Archive was not able to evolve into a central archive for both radio and television programming records, Archives d'émission managed both media formats for the French network's records. In 1970, responsibility for the television

⁷¹ "Virtual Tour: Radio Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_13.asp?IDLan=1.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Woods, CBC Television section.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

programming records was added to its pre-existing radio archives section.⁷⁵ Several years later, LAC and Radio-Canada shared the burden of archiving television programming records. Dick repeatedly complimented this partnership and asserted it was the leading example on the benefits of developing partnerships with LAC.⁷⁶

In contrast, the English television programming records were held in numerous Toronto buildings with no central collecting policy when Dick authored his report.⁷⁷ The Film Library was nominally in charge of the dispersed collection.⁷⁸ The management of the records is further complicated by the inclusion of stock shots and other film elements.⁷⁹ Raw footage and working prints are a rich source for CBC researchers and media professionals, but require different preservation, management and description methods than the television programming records. Dick noted that the three staff members were overburdened by reference requests using the multiple inventory systems. By uniting its television and radio programming records, Radio-Canada clearly presented its funding priorities to the CBC executive. Conversely, the multiple buildings and types of television records in the English network's Film Library created a confused archive for both researchers and staff members. With such a scattered collection, the CBC also became more dependent on external archives such as LAC and York University when seeking records for internal reference or reuse.⁸⁰

According to a CBC webpage published in 2008, the English network's television or video archives were finally consolidated with the construction of the Toronto

⁷⁵ Ernest J. Dick, *Guide to CBC Sources at the Public Archives* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1987), 84.

⁷⁶ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 37; Dick, "Guide to CBC Sources," 84.

⁷⁷ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 25.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Broadcast Centre in 1994. Television programming records are now sub-divided according to type, with separate vaults for television programming, newscasts, and sports.⁸¹ There was also a separate vault for entertainment programs, which would eventually merge with the newscast's vault.⁸² The video archive's preservation goal was to have two copies of every television program ever broadcast by the CBC, with one master copy and one reference copy.⁸³

Videotape Warehouses

As mentioned, the continual invention of new audio and visual tape formats facilitated erasure and re-use. Before the development of digital video, the CBC encouraged the recycling of magnetic tape formats through two tape warehouses. The English network's Videotape Library was part of Toronto's Television Production Centre and stored thousands of tapes in basements until they could be recycled.⁸⁴ Radio-Canada's Magnétothèque performed the same function.⁸⁵ There was no uniform policy managing the two warehouses, although Production Centre managers were ultimately responsible for deciding which tapes could be erased.⁸⁶ The future value of the tape, through either sale or rebroadcast, was the deciding factor instead of its potential archival value. Dick recalled seeing literal bathtubs full of CBC tapes awaiting erasure so they could be reused for future content.⁸⁷ Even when digital video was incorporated into the CBC's practices in the 1980s, its great quantity, and lack of recordkeeping led to even

⁸¹ "Virtual Tour: Video Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_03.asp?IDLan=1.

⁸² "Virtual Tour: Video Archives: Arts & Entertainment Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_06.asp?IDLan=1.

⁸³ "Virtual Tour: Video Archives"

⁸⁴ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 30.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ VanderBurgh, 215.

further destruction of archive-worthy content. It even became common for CBC producers to stockpile tapes in their offices or homes, away from an archive more known for recycling than preservation.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the tape warehouses no longer appear to exist, likely because of the decreased cost and increased storage capabilities of digital video formats. It is likely the thousands of tapes previously stored at the warehouses were either transferred or destroyed.

Technical Film Conservation Facilities

Radio-Canada also invested in film conservation with its *Secteur controle de la qualité, distribution et mise en ondes film*.⁸⁹ There was no comparable facility for the English network when Dick authored his report. The Secteur oversaw a collection of 100,000 16mm films dating from the 1950s. Dick was quite critical of the facility as it did utilize reference copies. Instead, the original film was used to make copies for requests, which threatened the quality of the preserved film.⁹⁰ Moreover, the collection was far larger than it needed to be and was likely duplicated in other archival facilities.⁹¹

Nevertheless, the function still exists today within the Toronto Broadcast Centre, which divides the preservation of film between two vaults.⁹² As mentioned earlier, television programming records were stored in numerous Toronto buildings before the construction of the Toronto Broadcast Centre. The poor storage conditions in many of the

⁸⁸ VanderBurgh, 215

⁸⁹ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 38.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² "Virtual Tour: Video Archives: Arts & Entertainment Archive."

buildings resulted in a massive conservation project. Staff clean, re-can, catalogue, re-label and repair film, before making a copy in a digital video format.⁹³

News Reporting Resources

The CBC also invested considerably in facilities supporting its journalism department. When completing a story, journalists often depend on CBC's stock shots or clippings to finish a story more quickly.⁹⁴ Historical footage could also be reutilized for its nostalgia values or connection to a present news story.⁹⁵ The CBC facilities include the Radio-Canada's Service documentaires and the English network's Television News Library.

The Television News Library was established in 1952, the same year the CBC began television broadcasting and before the aforementioned television programming archives. As of 1990, it held thousands of film canisters and videocassettes on current affairs programming.⁹⁶ It was also the most accessible internal repository as its physical holdings were available for reference in nearly all hours of the day, and only closed for an hour or two each morning. Regional television reporters accessed the collection through a computer or by telephone request.⁹⁷ The Film Library also possessed approximately two million feet of stock shot footage.⁹⁸ CBC's twenty-four hour news channel, Newsworld (later the CBC News Network) is the most prominent user of the

⁹³ "Virtual Tour: Film Archives: Old Films Rediscovered," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_09.asp?IDLan=1

⁹⁴ Timothy Wisniewski, "Framers of the Kept: Against the Grain Appraisal of Ephemeral Moving Images," *The Moving Image* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 13.

⁹⁵ Wisniewski, 13.

⁹⁶ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 32.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 31.

Television News Library and other stock footage libraries since it is required to fill every hour with content.⁹⁹

Once again, Radio-Canada's management of its television programming rivalled the English network in 1990. Like the Television News Library, Service documentaires provided radio and television news and public programming with an indexed archive of news footage.¹⁰⁰ It also maintained a database of experts or spokespersons who could comment on current news stories, as well as an image bank and reusable analysis of certain topics.¹⁰¹

In the digital age, local, national and international press databanks and other resources are more quickly accessed and searchable by television reporters. The Toronto Broadcast Centre has also maintained an active and on-site analogue archive vault of CBC news and current affairs programming.¹⁰² In addition to storing the newscasts seen by the viewing public, the archive holds raw or partially edited footage used to construct the broadcast version of the story.¹⁰³

Reference Libraries

Besides newscasts, the CBC maintains reference libraries for all its employees. These include 400,000 photographic negatives in the CBC Design Library,¹⁰⁴ the Music Library, the 20,000 volume collection of CBC publications in the Reference Library, and

⁹⁹ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 33.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 40.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² "Virtual tour: Video Archives: Visual Resources Library (News, Current Affairs and Newsworld)," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_05.asp?IDLan=1.

¹⁰³ "Virtual Tour: News Current Affairs and Newsworld."

¹⁰⁴ "Virtual tour: Photo Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_16.asp?IDLan=1.

finally the CBC Museum showcasing material objects.¹⁰⁵ The latter was actually formed in response to Ernest Dick's report, as he criticized the lack of a central policy for preserving broadcasting technology, production artifacts such as sets and costumes, promotional material, and other material objects.¹⁰⁶

Regional Holdings

Returning to Wood's report, he also surveyed the state of archives in the regions in 1966. For the most part, he concluded that the regions were inadequate to the task of preserving CBC's history. Regional production centres often had a storage area or record library, which he often described as dusty or gritty with security limited to an occasional padlock. The broadcast records were normally maintained by programming directors, clerks, or individuals with a personal interest. For instance, the Public Affairs supervisor managed the few radio recordings in the Winnipeg Production Centre.¹⁰⁷ Most of Winnipeg's radio programming was lost, however. Only a few discs of locally-produced drama programs and Public Affairs tapes had survived. Conversely, of all the regional production centres, Winnipeg had the best film retention program.¹⁰⁸ All of its original negatives were wrapped in brown paper, containerized and then filed in an unnamed laboratory, with the edited work-print stored in the Production Centre's film library. The CBC did not pay for storage at the laboratory, which was fireproof and temperature controlled.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ "Virtual Tour: Other Libraries," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_17.asp?IDLan=1

¹⁰⁶ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 24.

¹⁰⁷ Woods, Winnipeg section.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Unfortunately, the state of regional archives has not changed much since Woods' report. In 1990, budget cuts effectively limited record retention to the efforts of conscientious individuals.¹¹⁰ Those records that did survive were often stock shot footage or other reusable broadcasts.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, the only continuing evidence of an archive at CBC's Winnipeg Production Centre is its routine publication of "From the CBC Archive" on CBC.ca and television broadcasts. For instance, one video clip of a blizzard in March 1966 is only discoverable on CBC Manitoba instead of the CBC Digital Archives. This suggests that the record is instead stored by Winnipeg's production facility.¹¹²

Overall Patterns and Trends

A characteristic shared by all of these CBC archives is their intended audiences of CBC employees. While a few of the archival facilities were open for external scholarship, internal reference or management of information directed all facilities first. Historians and other scholars instead depend on those collections deposited in the LAC and other external archives, which usually had more relaxed access policies. In direct contrast, the CBC Digital Archives was explicitly designed for external reference to enhance the CBC's competitive position for its brand of cultural sovereignty, as well as commercial revenue.

Regardless of the overall trend describing or motivating investment in CBC's internal archival infrastructure, the three categories of records management, internal reference and external branding usually co-existed alongside each other. For instance, the

¹¹⁰ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 41.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "From the CBC archives: March 1966 blizzard buries Winnipeg in snow," CBC News Manitoba, last modified February 28, 2016, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/cbc-manitoba-vault-archives-1966-winnipeg-blizzard-1.3468613>.

Historical Archives Section would have concluded with an externally published history of the CBC, long before mounting budget cuts in the 1990s prioritized external branding. The Government of Canada's current recordkeeping requirements are also far less minimal than the prescribed methods of CBC's early history. Lastly, despite the considerable quantity of archival facilities devoted to internal reference, journalists and other CBC staff members still developed their own internal archives out of necessity.

The CBC's changing archival motivations are also coloured by the inherent problems of broadcast records. Dick identified several in his 1991 report to CBC management. These include opposing perspectives on the value of archives, the immense quantity of programming, rapid obsolescence of technology, the transitory nature of broadcasting records, regionalization, and simple expense.¹¹³ The overall archival program was also apathetic about contributing to or being represented in national or international archival communities.¹¹⁴ The unclear policies on records management also resulted in CBC employees creating poor records or never contributing their records to the overall system. The CBC collections found at many Canadian university archives are a direct result of employees keeping corporate records that they created and used during their careers, since they could not rely on the CBC's ineffective corporate recordkeeping systems, and then, after retirement, donating these corporate records to an external institution as their personal archives.¹¹⁵

Nowadays, the analogue records held internally by the CBC are divided between the Toronto Broadcast Centre and Radio-Canada's headquarters in Montréal, in addition

¹¹³ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

to the small archival holdings found in many regional production facilities. The national English language holdings are divided between numerous archive vaults, libraries and staff offices on six different floors, while the national French language collection constitute four vaults in the basement of the Montréal facility.¹¹⁶ Dick's report consistently referred to the then unbuilt Broadcast Centre in Toronto, as either an opportunity or a threat to CBC's archival heritage. It is unclear how much impact that message had upon CBC executive, but the Toronto Broadcast Centre is now the hub of CBC's internal analogue archival network.

CBC Records at Library and Archives Canada

Legislative Background

As detailed in Chapter One, the CBC has been a Crown corporation since 1936, which suggests a significant legacy and continuing relationship with government archival theory and practices. Yet, LAC has had a complicated historical relationship with the CBC, which has further contributed to the corporation's scattered archival record in the CBC's internal network.

Even though the CBC is a publicly funded Crown corporation, it has not been required to comply with the LAC Act until relatively recently.¹¹⁷ In regard to federal government records, the LAC Act only applies to those organizations fitting the legal definition of a "government institution,"¹¹⁸ as identified in the Access to Information Act,

¹¹⁶ "Virtual Tour: A Visit to the Archives," Archives de Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, http://archives.radio-canada.ca/info/archives/archives_en_02.asp?IDLan=1.

¹¹⁷ Andreassen, 16.

¹¹⁸ The CBC of course it is not a typical government institution, as it is operated independently without government oversight or input. Its relationship to the federal government is limited to periodic reports to Parliament through the Minister of Canadian Heritage and to receiving public funds, which only constitute one part of its overall budget.

and subsequently the Financial Administration Act.¹¹⁹ The former states that a government institution is “any parent Crown corporation, and any wholly-owned subsidiary of such a corporation, within the meaning of section 83 of the Financial Administrative Act.”¹²⁰ The Access to Information Act and therefore the legal definition of a “government institution” was modified in 2011. Thus, the CBC is now legally subject to the LAC Act.¹²¹

The LAC Act only dates to 2004, when Canada’s National Library and Archives were merged. Yet, the archives’ mandate for federal government records in the preceding National Archives of Canada Act of 1987 similarly depends on the legal definition of a “government institution.”¹²² However, the CBC was not exempt from the Public Archives of Canada Act of 1912. In that act, the Dominion Archivist had little authority over the records federal departments created, and therefore the CBC had no legislated obligation to transfer its records.¹²³

Before the 2011 amendment, a 2006 amendment broadened the applicability of the Access to Information Act. This amendment brought the CBC and over sixty other Crown corporations and government agencies under the Access to Information Act regardless of the interpretation of “government institution.”¹²⁴ The Access to Information

¹¹⁹ Library and Archives of Canada Act, *Statutes of Canada* 2004, c. 11, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/l-7.7/page-1.html#h-2>.

¹²⁰ Access to Information Act, *Revised Statutes of Canada* 1985, c. A-1, sec. 3, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/a-1/>.

¹²¹ “Corporate Profiles – Crown corporations: CBC.”

¹²² National Archives of Canada Act, *Revised Statutes of Canada* 1985, c. 1, <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/N-2.5/20021231/P1TT3xt3.html>.

¹²³ Terry Cook and Bill Waiser, “The Laurier Promise: Securing Public Access to Historic Census Materials in Canada,” in Cheryl Avery and Mona Holmlund, eds., *Better off Forgetting? Essays on Archives, Public Policy, and Collective Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 74.

¹²⁴ Deen Beeby, “Court rejects CBC appeal in access-to-information feud,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 23, 2016, last modified September 6, 2012, accessed December 15, 2016,

Act also added a new section 68.1, explicitly referencing the CBC. This section provided the CBC with additional instructions, exempting “its journalistic, creative or programming activities” from the Access to Information Act.¹²⁵ Despite this exemption, the CBC was now considered a government institution in the Access to Information Act and therefore subject to the LAC Act. In keeping with Section 68.1, records reflecting journalistic, creative or programming activities were still outside LAC’s scope.

A few years later, however, these restrictions were also lifted and additional CBC record types became subject to the LAC Act. On November 23, 2011, the Federal Court of Appeal defined the parameters of section 68.1 to prevent the continuance of CBC’s reliance on it to turn away requests for information.¹²⁶ The Court asserted that the Information Commissioner was ultimately responsible, under section 68.1, for deciding whether records reflect journalistic, creative or programming activities regardless of the CBC’s opinion.¹²⁷

With its inclusion in the Access to Information Act, the CBC also became more aligned with the LAC Act.¹²⁸ The degree of alignment will not be clearly known until a disposition authority between LAC and CBC is completed. Disposition authorities permit destruction of government records or require their transfer to LAC, and can only be

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/court-rejects-cbc-appeal-in-access-to-information-feud/article4184199/>.

¹²⁵ ATI Act, sec. 68.1

¹²⁶ Beeby.

¹²⁷ Jean Crowder, Standing Committee on Access to Information, Privacy and Ethics, *Exclusions and Exemptions: Study on Section 68.1 of the Access to Information Act and the Resulting Court Actions Concerning the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 1st session, 41st parliament, March 2012, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/hoc/Committee/411/ETHI/Reports/RP5431954/ethirp01/ethirp01-e.pdf>.

¹²⁸ E-mail correspondence between CBC staff on its legal obligations to CBC, April 2015, CBC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

authorized by the Librarian and Archivist of Canada in accordance with the LAC Act.¹²⁹ As of September 2015,¹³⁰ this authorized and formal agreement is not known to have been completed.

LAC and CBC Agreements

Before these legislative amendments, the CBC's archival heritage was only transferred to LAC and its predecessor agencies¹³¹ through agreements, not the disposition authorities most other government agencies fall under. Even before the LAC Act established LAC's authority over CBC records, the CBC and LAC had negotiated mutually beneficial ways to preserve many of CBC's records. Through this, the CBC's archival philosophy gained greater prominence and shaped the resultant record. Ultimately neither institution had complete custody over the records and moreover possessed competing understandings of their value. VanderBurgh examined these competing philosophies in the context of their fragility, with evidence from internal documents, as well as resources and an oral history provided by Ernest J. Dick.¹³² With Dick's insights and other sources, VanderBurgh concluded that "as a public archive, [LAC's] concern was to heritage discourses, whereas the CBC's was to its immediate broadcasting needs."¹³³ Both institutions serve Canadians now and in the future, but LAC values the preservation of documentary heritage while the CBC prefers reusing archival

¹²⁹ "Disposition," Library and Archives Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/government-information-resources/disposition/Pages/disposition.aspx>.

¹³⁰ The ATI process with CBC was completed in September 2015. The received documents included e-mail correspondence between archivists at LAC and CBC records managers trying to make sense of the new legal situation as they moved forward to CBC's first disposition authority.

¹³¹ As a reminder, the acronym LAC is used throughout this thesis to refer to both the current institution and the previous National Archives of Canada and Public Archives of Canada.

¹³² VanderBurgh, 211.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 213.

records to produce new content or to generate revenue.¹³⁴ The fate of records somewhere between LAC's historical preservation and the CBC's future needs was and always has been murky.

While there is truth in VanderBurgh's conclusion about broadcast records, it cannot be necessarily applied to all record types. Some of the earliest records the LAC acquired from or about the CBC indicate a shared interest in preserving its history. As already mentioned, CBC broadcasting pioneer Weir wrote his monograph *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* in 1965 as a supplement to the limited record collection. He was actually prompted to write it when the Dominion Archivist Dr. W. Kaye Lamb wrote to inquire about Weir's personal collections.¹³⁵

In 1967, John Andreassen, the records management consultant hired by the CBC, repeatedly recommended that the CBC take advantage of the national archive's federal record centres.¹³⁶ The federal record centres provided all government institutions, regardless of the aforementioned legal definition, with low-cost or free storage of semi-dormant or dormant records. By accepting government records into their facility, if not formal custody, LAC hoped their creators would then be encouraged to officially transfer their records into its custody. As non-archival records were also stored at the federal record centres, CBC's exemption from the legal definition of "government institution" did not prohibit CBC from using LAC's warehouses. The CBC also had continued ownership of its records, even when in LAC custody.

¹³⁴ VanderBurgh, 213.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Andreassen, 81.

As already mentioned in the discussion of CBC's internal network, the audiovisual broadcasting records of the CBC were also at risk due to their inherent fragility. LAC's early acquisition strategies also undervalued radio and television recordings increasing the risk of loss. LAC's Historical Sound Division was only interested in sound recordings featuring important discussions, debates, speeches or interviews, especially in situations in which no other document survived. This is evident in several CBC collections featuring radio war correspondents' reports, and speeches or debates from events like the Centennial of Confederation or the Newfoundland National Convention.¹³⁷ One LAC annual report from 1973 indicates that there was continuing work on the appraisal of CBC English and French programs,¹³⁸ but none of the other annual reports in the 1970s listed CBC programming records amongst recent acquisitions.

Nevertheless, it was in the 1970s that the deposit of CBC's records in LAC's custody began to be more formally defined. The transfer of the vast majority of these records to LAC has been negotiated through countless agreements and memorandums of understanding due to the CBC's status as a Crown corporation rather than a government institution. The occasional generosity of retired CBC personnel with donations of records still in their possession (like Weir) is also an important, if random source. That generosity appears to have ruled all acquisitions prior to 1975, when a letter written to the Dominion Archivist confirmed an understanding that LAC would accept certain CBC programs and program elements into the custody of its film division.¹³⁹ CBC's authority, not LAC's, is

¹³⁷ Public Archives of Canada, *Annual Report 1959-69* (Ottawa, 1969), 73.

¹³⁸ Public Archives of Canada, *Annual Report 1971-72*. (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973), 80.

¹³⁹ Laurent Picard to Dr. W.I. Smith, February 25, 1973, LAC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

obvious in this letter as the CBC maintained complete ownership over any records transferred with strict rules concerning access and duplication.¹⁴⁰

Following the 1975 letter was a 1981 agreement, outlining the deposit of “archival documents of any kind, nature and description created or received by CBC in its operation of a national or international broadcasting enterprise.”¹⁴¹ LAC still catered to the CBC’s concerns about access, but they were more clearly delineated than before with the agreed goal of discovering which collections of documents or file blocks could be automatically considered publicly available. With respect to the many other archival institutions the CBC already had agreements with by 1981, this agreement also decreed that LAC would be the CBC’s primary archival repository.

This agreement was followed by a collection of disposition authorities signed mainly in 1985. While technically named disposition authorities, the listed arrangements were specific to a regional CBC office and a predetermined extent of records. The authorities were therefore temporary and could not be applied again once the records were transferred to LAC’s holdings. For example, *85/005 – Amendment No. 6* was written for the CBWT – Winnipeg (Television) office and their videotaped programs with a listed extent of 100 2” videotapes, 15 1” videotapes, and 50 videocassettes.¹⁴² CBWT was the local channel responsible for distributing CBC network programming. LAC acquired this and other regional records due to pre-existing related collections. In the case

¹⁴⁰ 1973 letter, LAC ATI.

¹⁴¹ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Public Archives of Canada Agreement, November 27, 1981, LAC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

¹⁴² Records Retention and Disposal Authority PAC 85/005 – Amendment No. 6, April 1, 1985, LAC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

of CBWT, LAC already had 25 hours of CBWT radio recordings dating from 1943.¹⁴³ As discussed below in the section on external archives, LAC preferred to support provincial archives so CBC regional records could stay in their province of creation.

During the tenure of Ernest Dick as CBC's archivist, another agreement was contracted in 1993 with the director of the Visual and Sound Archives unit in LAC.¹⁴⁴ While the 1981 agreement attempted to encompass all types of records the CBC created in national or international activities, the 1993 agreement was primarily concerned with audiovisual holdings. It underlined the need for retention and disposal schedules, as well as the associated selection criteria. It also included a candid consideration of the fragility of audiovisual records and the danger therein being shipped back and forth, as well as a shared cost analysis totaling nearly three million dollars.¹⁴⁵

The most recent agreement was signed in 2001, although it is not technically applied anymore while the two parties work toward the CBC's first true disposition authority now that it is subject to the *LAC Act*.¹⁴⁶ Words like acquire or transfer were notably absent throughout the 2001 Agreement. Instead, LAC would only assist CBC in the management of its records and co-operate with CBC to support the enrichment of audio-visual heritage throughout Canada.¹⁴⁷ The word "transfer" does appear further down in the agreement, although it is accompanied by the qualifier that "the CBC shall retain absolute discretion over which of its records will be transferred for accession to the

¹⁴³ Dick, "Guide to CBC Sources," 101.

¹⁴⁴ "Agreement Setting Out Principles and Policies Relating to the Conservation by the National Archives of Canada of CBC Records of National Significance," October 25, 1993, LAC Access to Information Request, Ottawa.

¹⁴⁵ 1993 Agreement.

¹⁴⁶ Email Correspondence, CBC ATI.

¹⁴⁷ 2001 Agreement between CBC and LAC, 3

National Archives.”¹⁴⁸ With no authorized retention schedules in place, general acquisition targets for CBC records were outlined in Appendix A of the agreement. As explained in the introduction of this chapter, the targets were divided into two groups, one being radio and television records documenting the Canadian experience and the second being the textual and electronic records documenting the CBC itself. These targets indicate the types of records the CBC agrees belong in LAC’s custody and which may also appear in the new disposition agreement.

External CBC Holdings

As alluded to in the 1981 agreement, the CBC had developed agreements or relationships with other archival repositories outside of LAC. Regionally autonomous production facilities desiring to keep their records in the province where they were created contributed to this, as did the inapplicability of the LAC Act to CBC records. Any attempt at central archival management was further complicated by the addition of even more archives with substantial CBC collections. These collections originated in a myriad of ways, but CBC employees typically donated records they had kept in their possession after retirement or a transfer to another workplace. Even though the CBC has little control over these donations, which rightfully belong to CBC not the retirees, they are still part of the overall CBC record. As argued by Terry Cook, the fonds is “not so much a physical entity in archives as the conceptual summary of descriptions” and therefore an intellectual construct with liminal boundaries.¹⁴⁹ The overall CBC record is not bounded by its physical location in numerous archives throughout Canada and moreover each

¹⁴⁸ 2001 Agreement between CBC and LAC.

¹⁴⁹ Terry Cook, “The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions,” *Archivaria* 35 (Spring 1993): 33.

individual CBC fonds or series can belong to a multiplicity of other fonds with varying and evolving interpretations of that belonging.¹⁵⁰

As a result of the haphazard donation of records, the external archives also differ in collection strategies and interests. Some archives, like the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies (CCBJS), have oriented their mandates around their CBC collection, while other archives such as the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collection possess one CBC collection alongside numerous other privately donated collections. Ultimately, because of these external archives, CBC's total archival output is further fragmented throughout Canada and divided into numerous institutions, each with its own perception of what is worth keeping.

The most recent agreement between LAC and CBC identified eighteen external archival institutions¹⁵¹ with formal and continuing agreements.¹⁵² This number may have increased or decreased since 2001, but access to information requests to CBC and LAC did not reveal updated information. Except for a few universities within the jurisdiction of the internal French network archives, the list consists of provincial and territorial archives outside of the scope of the national broadcast centres. Some of them likely

¹⁵⁰ Geoffrey Yeo, "The Conceptual Fonds and the Physical Collection," *Archivaria* 73 (Spring 2012): 68.

¹⁵¹ 2001 Agreement between CBC and LAC, 25. The following are the eighteen archives listed with their 2001 names: Yukon Archives, Thunder Bay Museum Project, Memorial University of Newfoundland's Folklore and Language Archives, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Saskatchewan Archives, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Provincial Archives of Alberta (includes the CBC collection originally at the Glenbow Museum), Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Prince Rupert City Archive Project, British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, l'Université Laurentienne, Centre de Folklore à Sudbury, Archives Nationales du Québec, Centre d'Etude Acadiennes à l'Université de Moncton, Université Laval, Centre du Patrimoine and Cinémathèque Québécoise.

¹⁵² 2001 Agreement between CBC and LAC, 5.

originated from a funding program LAC spearheaded beginning in 1985 for CBC regional records discussed below.¹⁵³

The dire condition of CBC's regional records was noted by the Canada's archival community in the 1980s, as demonstrated by a session devoted to the subject during the Association of Canadian Archivists' 1981 conference in Halifax.¹⁵⁴ The session was chaired by Robin Woods, Ernest Dick and Derek Reimer, the Head of the Sound and Moving Image Division at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.¹⁵⁵ Reimer later explained that his institution had been trying to negotiate a formal deposit agreement for CBC's regional records in British Columbia without success for seven years. The then Provincial Archives of British Columbia and the CBC had difficulty agreeing on standards for selection, as well as the intellectual and physical arrangement of textual, audio and visual formats.¹⁵⁶ Given that the British Columbia Archives and Records Service was listed in the 2001 agreement, a formal deposit arrangement apparently was eventually decided upon.

Two CBC regional employees also attended the session, and Langham complimented their eloquent argument for maintaining regional records in the province of their creation. The CBC stations were committed to their local identities first, before any federal interest.¹⁵⁷ Several years later, LAC financially supported this valuation of regional records in place of a centralized CBC collection. In 1984, LAC had a budget surplus for film and broadcast records preservation, which it distributed to regional

¹⁵³ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 3.

¹⁵⁴ Josephine Langham, "The Lively Archives," *Archivaria* 14 (1982): 168.

¹⁵⁵ Langham, 168.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

archival institutions with a formal deposit agreement with the CBC.¹⁵⁸ In 1991, eight archives received funding in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Fredericton, Moncton, Halifax and St. John's.¹⁵⁹ With the exception of Halifax, all locations are represented in the aforementioned list of eighteen archives.

Curiously, several university archives with CBC collections are not included in the list. One prominent example is the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies (CCBJS), which has been the legal depository for CBC's radio drama scripts and ancillary content such as internal memos or letters from listeners since 1981.¹⁶⁰ The reasons for its exclusion from the list of archival institutions with formal and continuing agreements is unknown. Currently, CCBJS houses more than 20,000 producer scripts from 1925 to the present, as well as annotated copies by directors, actors and musical conductors.¹⁶¹ York University has developed a similar program for CBC's television scripts and associated records.¹⁶²

Another Canadian university with significant CBC collections is Carleton University. It has the CBC News Network Archive, which was formerly known as CBC NewsWorld. Since 1991, the CBC has been transferring recordings of CBC's 24-hour news cycle with only a few months delay between its original broadcast and Carleton's acquisition of the recording.¹⁶³ The archive is linked with news databases, print newspapers, broadcast transcripts and even external links supporting Journalism and

¹⁵⁸ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 3.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ "The Radio Drama Project 1977-2015," Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.concordia.ca/research/broadcasting-journalism/research/projects/radio-drama.html>.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 2.

¹⁶³ "CBC News Network Archive (formerly CBC Newsworld)," MacOdrum Library, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://library.carleton.ca/find/news/cbc-news-network-archive-formerly-cbc-newsworld>.

Communications studies students at Carleton University. In the 1990s, LAC also archived broadcasts from Newsworld by providing the CBC with blank videocassettes in exchange.¹⁶⁴

In short, the multitude of archival institutions with CBC records can be somewhat explained by the quantity and then duplication of the record across regional CBC production facilities. Furthermore, audiovisual records have a temporary nature as news and other programming were often lost or recorded over to cut costs. Because broadcasting records are transitory records, sometimes private individuals have the only surviving example. Dick believed there are “CBC or personally-donated collections of CBC records in almost every archive in the country”¹⁶⁵ as they are considered rich in historical material. The Sheila Rabinovitch fonds at University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections is one example.¹⁶⁶ It consists of seventy taped interviews Rabinovitch conducted between 1970 and 1981, including both working copies and completed programs aired on CBC Radio.¹⁶⁷ As there is no comprehensive inventory of archives with privately donated CBC collections such as the Sheila Rabinovitch fonds, the overall CBC records is further confused.

International and National Comparisons

As a public broadcaster with a significant history in television, radio and now digital media environments, comparable international examples are limited. According to the International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives’ website, there are a

¹⁶⁴ Dick, “The Future of the CBC’s Past,” 33.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶⁶ Sheila Rabinovitch fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, <https://main.lib.umanitoba.ca/sheila-rabinovitch-fonds>.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

total of fifty-six broadcast archives across the world with a primary collection mandate for content originally broadcast on radio or television.¹⁶⁸ That number includes institutions that are not members of the association, such as the CBC. This group is however, likely limited to archival institutions with a clear online presence, as the CBC Digital Archives and its associated French version are the only two CBC archives listed. The discovery of comparable international examples is further complicated as broadcast or audiovisual archives often focus on the medium first.¹⁶⁹ Film, television, radio and digital media are often separated into specialized archival institutions focused on one particular medium. While the CBC record is separated into numerous archives, the entirety of the CBC archives detailed above is inclusive of all media. This chapter will conclude by considering the practices of other public broadcasters including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), as well as the different experience of privately broadcast media in the United States. The Canadian Television Network (CTV), as well as the newspapers the *Guardian* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* will also be briefly considered. The digital or online archives for all examples will be more fully analyzed in Chapter Three.

As public broadcasters in countries with historical and present associations with Canada, the BBC and the ABC provide two international counterpoints to the CBC experience. As detailed in Chapter One, the BBC was often looked to for inspiration

¹⁶⁸ “Broadcast archives,” International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.iasa-web.org/category/links-categories/broadcast-archives>.

¹⁶⁹ Luke McKernan, “Audiovisual archive and the Web,” *Sound and vision blog, British Library*, January 29, 2016, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/sound-and-vision/2016/01/audiovisual-archives-and-the-web.html>.

during the founding of the CBC. The BBC was similarly used as a model for the Australian government when it was envisioning the ABC.

The development of the BBC archives is largely due to broadcasting historian Asa Briggs who underlined its value in his seminal history on the BBC.¹⁷⁰ Like the CBC, the BBC was founded with a Central Registry system, which was later divided into separate records management and archives functions.¹⁷¹ It was often better staffed than its Canadian counterparts. In the 1960s the BBC Sound Archives had a staff of twenty-two in comparison to the CBC Radio Archives' one cataloguer and a few clerks.¹⁷² Briggs publicized the existence of the BBC Archives in 1986, while the CBC's Historical Archives Section's intended publication on the history of the CBC never materialized. Before the World Wide Web, the publication of histories and related archival records was an ideal method for extending knowledge of broadcasting to a wider audience. In a later article, Briggs discussed the problems and possibilities inherent in the BBC archives and the writing of the corporation's history. He believed that his review of thousands of records, reminded the BBC of its own national value and began the reinvigoration of its archival programs.¹⁷³ In the midst of Briggs' research, the BBC separated the archives from the Central Registry and, more importantly, included the development of a television archive in the Broadcasting Act of 1990.¹⁷⁴

In addition to the CBC, the BBC served as inspiration to Australia's public broadcaster, the ABC. Like the CBC, the ABC Archives was originally developed

¹⁷⁰ Asa Briggs, *The BBC: The First Fifty Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁷¹ Asa Briggs, "Problems and Possibilities in the writing of broadcasting history," *Media, Culture and Society* 2 (1980): 9.

¹⁷² Woods, Beginning the Job section.

¹⁷³ Briggs, "Problems and Possibilities," 9.

¹⁷⁴ Broadcasting Act, 1990, Part X (United Kingdom), <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/42/part/X/crossheading/national-television-archive>.

according to medium with separate facilities for textual documents, music or spoken word recordings, radio programming, television programming, and an extensive collection of wildlife sounds and stock footage.¹⁷⁵ Like LAC, the National Archives of Australia also possesses a considerable collection of ABC audiovisual and corporate content, although limited to older records.¹⁷⁶ Oral histories were also conducted with retired employees to compensate for limited textual records.¹⁷⁷ University or private collections are far more limited in the Australian context, possibly due to ABC's closer working relationship with the national archives or stronger internal control by the broadcasting corporation. The ABC Archives website is also not limited to digitized records, unlike the CBC. It features prominent links to its analogue holdings.¹⁷⁸

While the United States does have a form of public broadcasting in the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR),¹⁷⁹ its market is predominantly shaped by private commercial interests. PBS and NPR are also further removed from government funding than the CBC, receiving a limited amount through the

¹⁷⁵ "Search the Online Footage Database," ABC Library Sales, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://www.abccommercial.com/librarysales/search-online-footage-databases>.

¹⁷⁶ "Contact," ABC Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/contact.htm>; "Sound collections in Sydney – Fact Sheet 149," National Archives of Australia, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs149.aspx>.

¹⁷⁷ Kenneth Stanley Inglis, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-1983* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006), 443

¹⁷⁸ "The Sights and Sounds of Our History," ABC Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/>.

¹⁷⁹ Both NPR and PBS were made possible by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which was calculated as a correction to the commercial wasteland and facilitating program diversity. PBS is a non-profit corporation aligned with local public TV stations. NPR is a multimedia news organization and radio program producer, with various member stations too. See James Ledbetter, *Made Possible by...: The Death of Public Broadcasting in the United States* (New York City: Verso, 1998); "Overview and History," NPR, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/about-npr/192827079/overview-and-history>; "Overview," PBS, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.pbs.org/about/about-pbs/overview/>.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting.¹⁸⁰ Since the United States government does not directly deal with either broadcaster, the National Archives and Records Administration only has occasional subject files originating from the NPR or PBS.¹⁸¹ Conversely, the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress has hundreds of NPR and PBS broadcast records due to copyright deposits and a broad collection mandate. In 2013, the Library of Congress also became a partner in the American Archive of Public Broadcasting, which will be discussed in Chapter Three as it is a digital archive. The Vanderbilt Television News Archive is another example, with newscasts dating back to 1968 from national television networks in the United States.¹⁸² Yet, in keeping with the commercial influences and more specifically Hollywood, broadcast archiving in the United States has developed from film preservation.¹⁸³ Institutions like the National Center for Film and Video Preservation or the UCLA Film & Television Archive are well known and prioritize the artistry inherent in the records above other contextual information. The archives of American broadcasting are therefore even more complicated than Canada's. Asa Briggs remarked that Erik Barnouw, an American broadcasting historian, had less archival evidence in comparison to his sources at the BBC Archives.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Brad Plumer, "Why Exactly should the government fund PBS and NPR?" *The Washington Post*, October 10, 2012, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2012/10/10/why-exactly-should-the-government-fund-pbs-and-npr/>.

¹⁸¹ One example is a NPR recording of a town meeting on the National Commission on the International Year of the Child, 1979. "Town Meeting on National Public Radio [record]", National Archives Catalog, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/579046>.

¹⁸² "About the Archive," Television News Archive, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu/web/tvnews/about/?SID=20160728940460205>.

¹⁸³ Dick, "The Future of the CBC's Past," 11.

¹⁸⁴ Briggs, "Problems and Possibilities," 9.

The Canadian Television Network (CTV) is one of the CBC's earliest competitors, founded in 1961. According to a recently published history of CTV,¹⁸⁵ the author had access to privately held records and oral histories of former employees. However, the author also acknowledges the archival collections held by CTV affiliated stations, as well as those records provided by staff at CTV Television Network Ltd and Bell Globemedia Inc.¹⁸⁶ A CTV press release indicates the existence of a Research, Archives and Archive Sales division,¹⁸⁷ but the division does not have a web presence. The CTV archive is therefore primarily for internal reference and external research opportunities are limited and difficult to identify.

News media organizations have generally done a poor job of archiving their business records, either internally or externally. As stated by Josephine Sallis in her Master's thesis, "this seeming lack of required documentation for the editorial and creative decision making that goes into broadcast media programming seems very much at odds with journalists' own stated beliefs about the role of their profession as the voice for democracy and the people."¹⁸⁸ Freedom of the press and the need to protect sources is occasionally cited as an excuse, but as Sallis correctly reasoned medical records similarly contain sensitive personal information and archives have developed appropriate access restrictions.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Michal Nolan, *CTV, the Network that Means Business* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), xvi.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, xvi.

¹⁸⁷ "News Releases: CTV News Announces Senior Management Appointments," BCE, December 3, 2002, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.bce.ca/news-and-media/releases/show/ctv-news-announces-senior-management-appointments>.

¹⁸⁸ Josephine Sallis, "Reading Behind the Lines: Archiving the Canadian News Media Record" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 2013), 86.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

While the CTV archive is hidden from the public, the *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *Guardian* advertise theirs. Even though newspapers are not broadcasters, they are news media organizations like the CBC. One immediate advantage is that by nature of the medium, newspapers only have one or two media formats to preserve, although digital publications have introduced additional formats through web extras and even audiovisual content. Without the legacy of audiovisual records, the *Guardian* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* can more easily prioritize their archives.

Established in 1821 and 1791 respectively, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Observer's* long history is searchable on the *Guardian's* website.¹⁹⁰ The website will be more closely analyzed in Chapter Three, but the archival impetus appears to pre-date the World Wide Web with a dedicated reading room in King's Cross Station.¹⁹¹ The newspaper's centenary publication in 1921 also used internal records to commemorate the *Guardian's* history.¹⁹² The *Guardian's* digital archive is comprised of recent records with the majority of its older records deposited with the University of Manchester Library's special collections.¹⁹³ The *Winnipeg Free Press* similarly deposited some of its corporate records with the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections,¹⁹⁴ as

¹⁹⁰ "Archive Collections," *The Guardian*, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/archive-collections>.

¹⁹¹ "Accessing the archive," *The Guardian*, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/2002/jun/06/3>.

¹⁹² "Manchester Guardian centenary celebrations: GNM Archive teaching resource May 2015," *The Guardian*, accessed December 15, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/gnmeducationcentre/2015/may/01/manchester-guardian-centenary-celebrations-gnm-archive-teaching-resource-may-2015>.

¹⁹³ "*Guardian* (formerly *Manchester Guardian*) Archive," The University of Manchester Library, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/search-resources/guide-to-special-collections/atoz/guardian-archive/>.

¹⁹⁴ Manitoba Free Press fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, <https://main.lib.umanitoba.ca/manitoba-free-press-fonds>.

well as the fonds of past editor John W. Dafoe.¹⁹⁵ The newspaper records themselves date back to 1872 and are searchable on a paid website.¹⁹⁶ Newspapers like the *Winnipeg Free Press* provide detailed histories of a specific area and its residents and businesses. Overall, both newspapers preserve their histories by partnering with universities before developing a digital archive like the CBC Digital Archives.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the labyrinthine and dispersed archival legacy of the CBC not only limits understanding of the history of the CBC, but also the history of Canada itself. Competing archival philosophies, weak government oversight, decentralization, simple internal apathy, and a lack of funding and societal concern all contributed to the CBC archival model outlined in this chapter. The internal valuation of the CBC Digital Archives over other archival models will be analyzed in the next chapter, as it is the only repository the CBC links to on its “Resources and Archives” webpage.¹⁹⁷

The Canadian Historical Association (CHA) has also found fault with the CBC archival structure. In 2011, the CHA wrote an open letter to the president of the CBC condemning the lack of accessibility of the CBC archives.¹⁹⁸ The complaint excluded the CBC Digital Archives, but criticized the CBC’s prioritization of it. Dependent on the interest of the general public and associated revenue generation, the CBC’s rebroadcast archival material rarely reflected the interests of historians of the CBC or Canadian

¹⁹⁵ John W. Dafoe fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, <https://main.lib.umanitoba.ca/john-w-dafoe-fonds>.

¹⁹⁶ “Welcome,” Winnipeg Free Press Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://archives.winnipegfreepress.com/>.

¹⁹⁷ “Resources and Archives,” CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/resources-and-archives/>.

¹⁹⁸ “Advocacy Update – CBC: Interventions publiques, dernières manchettes – Radio-Canada,” *CHA Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (2011): 14-15. <http://www.cha-shc.ca/english/advocacy/difficult-access-to-cbc-archives.html#sthash.T3HdcQYI.dpbs>.

culture.¹⁹⁹ One criticism outlined in the letter pointed to how the CBC website was hiding its corporate archive under an obscure tab where “the historical community would not normally look.”²⁰⁰ There was also concern about the CBC Ombudsman and how that office had no jurisdictional authority over the CBC archives, depriving researchers of that formal complaint process.²⁰¹

The overall message is that researchers could not access the records they desired, and if they did, it involved great difficulty. This was a considerable offence especially since the CHA also named these records as the “richest single collection of Canada’s modern cultural history.”²⁰² This belief was echoed by Ernest J. Dick, who stated “to care about Canada’s heritage we have to preserve CBC’s heritage. To lose the archival record of the CBC is to lose ourselves as Canadians.”²⁰³ Jean-Pierre Wallot, National Archivist from 1985 to 1997, also supported Dick’s and the CHA’s valuation of the CBC archives. He stated that “not only historians of broadcasting, but also students of literature and the performing arts, researchers in sociology and popular culture, historians of political and public affairs, and even genealogists should be making use of broadcasting records for their research.”²⁰⁴

By unravelling the history of the CBC’s archives, this chapter also discovered the CBC’s appraisal of its own history. As argued by Patricia Galloway, archival practice is reflective of the contemporary construction of public and institutional memory.²⁰⁵ As

¹⁹⁹ CHA Letter.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Dick, “The Future of the CBC’s Past,” 7.

²⁰⁴ Dick, “Guide to CBC Sources,” iii.

²⁰⁵ Patricia Galloway, “Archives, Power & History: Dunbar Rowland & The Beginning of the State Archives of Mississippi (1902-1936),” *American Archivist* 69, no. 1 (2006): 116.

demonstrated in the CHA letter, the internal CBC network was primarily designed for CBC employees not external researchers, who were not well served by the myriad of medium-specific facilities. The one exception to internal reference or records management functions, were facilities like the Historical Archives Section and the CBC Digital Archives. These two examples were designed for the external branding of the CBC image to the general public. Yet, internal reference and records management are also deeply revealing acts to external researchers, as the decisions about what was kept or referenced often showcase changing notions of value. The CBC's relationship with LAC also displayed the evolving national legitimacy of the CBC. LAC was originally only interested in recordings of important Canadian events when a written record did not exist, before requesting records from the corporation's founders and broadcasting pioneers. Since the CBC was outside the scope of the LAC Act until recently, the two institutions instead penned a sequence of agreements that provided the CBC with more control over its records than other publicly funded agencies. In addition to the collections housed by CBC and LAC, numerous other external archives have acquired CBC records. In the 1980s, provincial archival bodies saved the regional holdings that were identified as at risk by scholarly and institutional authorities. Specific collections at universities such as Concordia's radio drama script archives were shaped by different institutional interests, although the CBC still welcomed the opportunity to delegate its immense archival responsibility. Lastly, comparisons with other broadcasters like the BBC or news media organizations like the *Winnipeg Free Press* situated the CBC archival experience within a wider context. Generally, the ABC and CBC were the most similar and the BBC continues to offer inspiration with its legislated archival mandate. The private interests of

the American broadcasting experience and the CTV even further limited the discoverability of its records. Each archival system is contextually dependent on its unique historical and cultural circumstances.

Overall, the CBC archival record is an incredibly rich resource on the history of the CBC, broadcasting, and Canada at large. Yet, it is scattered throughout Canada with no cohesive or centralizing archival policy. Understanding of the CBC and its impact on Canadian culture is therefore considerably weakened.

CHAPTER THREE

The CBC Digital Archives

Introduction

The previous two chapters have outlined the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's evolution into a multi-platform broadcaster and the resulting tangled web of archival institutions. As corporate archivist Ernest Dick noted in 1990, this archival network was built upon decades of near neglect and a chronic lack of funding even though many internal departments were crucially dependent on archives and efficient records management. External researchers had even greater difficulty accessing records, which the Canadian Historical Association formally criticized in a 2011 letter.¹ It was upon this foundation that a selection of audiovisual records were made accessible through the CBC Digital Archives beginning in 2002. This chapter will dissect the development of the CBC Digital Archives and the nature of its position within the CBC archival landscape, as well as the corporation itself.

Before discussing the CBC Digital Archives, the chapter will first consider how the corporation adapted to new digital technologies and networks such as the Internet. This is such a crucial juncture in the CBC's history that the parliamentary Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage has published two reports addressing the CBC, new media, and digital technologies.² As evidenced by the combined page count of 1109 pages, the CBC's position in this new broadcasting realm could easily be a thesis topic on

¹ Advocacy Update – CBC: Interventions publiques, dernières manchettes – Radio-Canada,” *CHA Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (2011): 14-15. <http://www.cha-shc.ca/english/advocacy/difficult-access-to-cbc-archives.html#sthash.T3HdcQYI.dpbs>.

² Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage and Gary Schellenberger, “CBC/Radio-Canada: Defining Distinctiveness in the Changing Media Landscape,” (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2008); Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage and Clifford Lincoln, “Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting,” (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2003).

its own and therefore discussion will be limited to a general overview. This chapter will then introduce the CBC Digital Archives, the context in which it developed, and some unique characteristics in comparison to the archives discussed in Chapter Two. Following this summary, this chapter will briefly theorize on the possible purpose(s) of the CBC Digital Archives and how it became the only institution the CBC links to on its “Resources & Archives” webpage.³ With minimal access to internal memos or other documentation explicitly explaining the imagined role of the CBC Digital Archives, this part of the discussion will instead be supported by the primary research of other scholars as well as the trends noted in secondary scholarship. This chapter will once again conclude by exploring comparable archival websites of both national and international media organizations.

In comparison to Chapter Two, this chapter relies far less on documentation acquired through Access to Information (ATI) processes except for a portion of the May 2015 request.⁴ Instead, the CBC Digital Archives was analyzed through primary sources including website captures from the Internet Archive, as well as reports and other documentation available on the CBC and government websites. Secondary sources were utilized to clarify and support those areas underserved by the primary documents, in addition to providing needed comparisons to the larger experience of public broadcasters.

As mentioned in the second chapter, three ATI requests were forwarded to the CBC. The June 2016 one was specific to Ernest Dick’s report on CBC’s internal archival

³ “Resources and Archives,” CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/resources-and-archives/>.

⁴ Given the nature of a website with streaming audio and video, most of the documents acquired through an ATI process would be of a technical nature and therefore beyond the focus of this thesis. Furthermore, the management of the CBC Digital Archives is shared by multiple CBC divisions and would require a far more expensive and lengthy search.

structure, while the May 2015 request clarified CBC's relationships with external archives such as LAC. A final ATI request was submitted to the CBC in October 2016 for additional information about the formation of the CBC Digital Archives in 2002, as well as its current operations in 2016. Unfortunately, the request could not be completed before the submission of this thesis due to a 125-day extension, which pushed the CBC ATI office's deadline to March 31, 2017. Further phone conversations with ATI analysts explained that every single document they identified for the request was partially owned by the Department of Canadian Heritage (PCH)⁵ and therefore the request had to be forwarded to the PCH for review. As discussed later in this chapter, the CBC Digital Archives was at least partially funded through a PCH program and the third party consultation possibly confirms continued relations.

Throughout this chapter, the importance of the CBC Digital Archives will be consistently questioned and analyzed. Even without counting external archival institutions, Chapter Two reveals a wealth of internally managed CBC archives and repositories. Yet, only the CBC Digital Archives has the distinction of being linked to on CBC's "Resources & Archives" webpage. This chapter will also position the CBC Digital Archives and larger CBC.ca as a centralizing force for CBC's conception and reflection of Canadian identity both at home and internationally .

The CBC in the Digital Age

As outlined in Chapter One, the CBC enjoyed tremendous success with radio, which was repeated with the invention of television in the 1950s. That success is not easily replicated today for a multitude of reasons. The CBC is operating with decreased

⁵ PCH is the official acronym for Patrimoine canadien – Canadian Heritage.

funding from the Canadian government compared to the 1980s or earlier. More significantly, the World Wide Web has broadened the quantity and variety of information that a given audience can access. In the radio and television media, an audience had a limited number of broadcasts to choose from. Those broadcasts were also scheduled and missable events. Now, broadcasts encapsulate a diverse range of programming, available in different formats and often watched at the convenience of the audience. Canadians might not even visit a news media website and instead are educated, entertained, and informed by curated social media feeds often with a global, not Canadian focus.⁶

Furthermore, the Internet and other digital technologies magnified the government's need to regulate broadcasting. As media professional Robert Armstrong noted, radio frequency spectrum was considered a scarce resource and required careful regulation.⁷ In contrast, digital technologies are so plentiful they have become collectively embedded in human consciousness and life.⁸ Digital culture theorists have long debated the position of humanity in relation to the World Wide Web. For instance, sociologist Barry Wellman and technology researcher Lee Rainie have argued that broadband Internet access, social media and smartphone connectivity are all revolutionizing human society.⁹ Wellman and Rainie describe how humankind evolved beyond a dependence on community or institution affiliations to a new phase of human existence termed network individualism. Similarly, media scholar Henry Jenkins believes collective intelligence, a fragmented network of diverse populations with common

⁶ Leticia Bode, "Political News in the News Feed: Learning Politics from Social Media," *Mass Communication and Society* 19, no. 1 (2016): 26.

⁷ Robert Armstrong, *Broadcasting Policy in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 7

⁸ *Ibid.*, 302.

⁹ Lee Rainie and Barry Wellman, *Networked: The New Social Operating System* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2012), 11-12.

intellectual and emotional investments, are and will continue to alter how nations operate and connect with people subscribed to various networks.¹⁰ While Wellman, Rainie, and Jenkins paint the digital age as revolutionary and an external force for change, academics like Matthew Hindman and Tim Wu¹¹ perceive digital culture as just another creation by society, mirroring existing political institutions and social structures. Michael Mahoney similarly argued that the history of computing is best understood through the aspirations of the groups and communities who created the machines and associated programming.¹² One foundational factor for this ideological division is differing research approaches. Wu and Mahoney depend on history while recent survey data and ethnographic data inform Wellman and Rainie's conclusions.

According to the Broadcasting Act,¹³ the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) is the regulatory body for the broadcasting system and more specifically the programming, distribution and networks.¹⁴ Since its creation in 1968, the CRTC has monitored the Canadian broadcasting system and enforced rules such as those related to Canadian content. In the 1990s, the CRTC faced a monumental decision regarding the inclusion of new media to its jurisdiction. In May 1999, the CRTC ruled that it only had jurisdiction over audio and video content broadcasted uploaded to the Internet.¹⁵ Webpages, e-mails and other content

¹⁰ Henry Jenkins, "The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (March 2004): 33-43.

¹¹ Matthew Hindman, *The Myth of Digital Democracy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009); Tim Wu, *The Master Switch: The Rise and Fall of Information Empires* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).

¹² Michael S. Mahoney, "The histories of computing(s)," *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 30, no. 2 (2005), 119.

¹³ Broadcasting Act, *Statutes of Canada* 1991, c.11, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/b-9.01/>.

¹⁴ Armstrong, 11.

¹⁵ "Public Notice CRTC 1999-197," Canadian Radio and Tele-Communications Commission, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/archive/1999/PB99-197.htm>

predominantly featuring alphanumeric text was considered outside the scope of the *Broadcasting Act*, and therefore the CRTC.¹⁶ Furthermore webpages with interactivity and user customization obstruct the formation of the unified message typical of public broadcasting and are therefore also outside CRTC jurisdiction.¹⁷ Instead, the CRTC monitors Canadian Internet providers for compliance with the Telecommunications Act.¹⁸ Unlike the Broadcasting Act, the Telecommunications Act is managed by Industry Canada instead of the Department of Canadian Heritage and therefore contains no reference to cultural objectives and encourages reliance on market forces instead.¹⁹

The 1999 CRTC decision marked a significant departure from the content development support the CBC profited from in the television and radio environments. The difference is noted by academics like Simone Murray and Brian O’Neill.²⁰ Both scholars distinguish between the highly fragmented and globalized nature of the new digital landscape and the traditional broadcasting environments that possessed far fewer competitors. With this increase in consumer choice, the CBC was forced to create an identifiable online brand to compete against media organizations. Nowadays, the CBC is combating audience fragmentation by providing as many services as possible on different platforms and advertising itself as an “integrated content provider that leverages television, radio and the Web”²¹ instead of a public broadcaster with a webpage.

¹⁶ “Public Notice CRTC.”

¹⁷ Armstrong, 15.

¹⁸ Telecommunications Act, *Statutes of Canada* 1993, c. 38, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/t-3.4/>

¹⁹ Armstrong, 15.

²⁰ Brian O’Neill, “CBC.ca: Broadcast Sovereignty in a Digital Environment,” *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 12, no. 2 (2006): 179-197; Simone Murray, “Servicing ‘self-scheduling consumers’: Public Broadcasters and Audio Podcasting,” *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 2 (August 2009): 197-219.

²¹ “Our History,” CBC/Radio-Canada, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/our-history/>.

While the sheer immensity of the World Wide Web brought challenges to CBC's traditional model of public broadcasting, the broadcaster simultaneously embraced the possibilities of digital technology. On July 3, 2016, CBCnews.ca celebrated its twentieth anniversary and published an article detailing CBC's experiments with networking tools previous to 1996.²² Project IRIS (Information Relayed Instantly from the Source) was one of the earliest trials in the 1980s and was designed as a temporary measure until home computing became more popular.²³ Working in partnership with the federal Department of Communication, CBC's Project IRIS experimented with a teletext technology named Telidon.²⁴ An unused portion of the television signal was used by Telidon technology to send data to two hundred test homes in Toronto, Montréal, and Calgary, which in turn could select information from a menu system.²⁵ The broadcast teletext was designed and written by a specialized group of journalists, which the article positions as the precursor to the journalists responsible for CBCNews.ca.²⁶

Project IRIS was later dismantled due to budget cuts, although the project would have likely been undercut regardless in a few years due to the unpredicted growth in home computing. By 1993, the CBC was seriously considering the possibilities of the Internet and as noted in a contemporary article, new media or the convergence of telecommunications, broadcasting, publishing, and computers was of particular interest.²⁷

²² Paul Gorbould, "CBCNews.ca at 20: A look back at how far we've come on the 20th birthday of CBCNews.ca," CBC News, July 3, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/birthday-20-cbcnews-anniversary-look-back-10th-prehistory-1.3656223>.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Telidon – 'knowledge at your fingertips!'," CBC Digital Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/telidon-knowledge-at-your-fingertips>

²⁵ "Telidon – 'knowledge at your fingertips!'"

²⁶ Paul Gorbould. "CBCNews.ca at 20."

²⁷ Andrew Patrick, "CBC Radio on the Internet: An Experiment in Convergence," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 21, no. 1 (1996), <http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/926>.

The author of that article, Andrew Patrick, had partnered with a small team of CBC employees to lead a pilot project on uploading CBC radio programming to the Internet.²⁸ Patrick utilized a government server to offer select episodes for download via FTP, Gopher and the World Wide Web.²⁹ The public response was so overwhelming that the available bandwidth was quickly met. Eventually the project developed into CBC's first website in December 1994 and marked the beginning of the CBC's digital strategies.

After the success of CBC Radio's website, CBC Television, Newsworld Online, the National and other corporate divisions launched their own websites. An annual report from 1996 indicated that the CBC saw the Internet as an avenue to inform the public and obtain audience feedback on CBC and its services, while also providing a forum for sharing thoughts, ideas, and opinions.³⁰ As the 20th anniversary article notes, however, these early websites were a "motley collection of seemingly unrelated sites, characterized by brand confusion and internal political divisions."³¹ These divisions were exacerbated by a vigorous debate over which CBC department should manage these websites. The debate drilled down to the question of whether the CBC websites were a communication or distribution tool. Eventually, the disparate websites were organized under the umbrella CBC.ca, which was recognized as another medium for delivering journalism, original programming, and other information relevant to Canadians.³²

²⁸ Paul Gorbould, "CBCNews.ca at 20."

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ CBC Canada. "CBC Annual Report 1995-1996 — Highlights." October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19961031095559/http://www.cbc.ca/aboutcbc/annualreport/cbceng.html>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Paul Gorbould, "CBCNews.ca at 20."

Digital scholars such as Wellman would posit the creation of CBC.ca as a revolutionary step for the corporation. While the website certainly advanced the corporation in a new medium, this thesis ultimately disagrees with Wellman's perspective. As already studied earlier, Wu and Mahoney are examples of academics viewing digital technology as an extension of pre-existing conditions instead of a radical revolution. By including a historical perspective, CBC.ca becomes one of several digital technology projects the national broadcaster was experimenting with. Furthermore, the Crown corporation has a mandated obligation to reach as many Canadians as possible so CBC.ca is instead a natural progression of a mandate dating back to 1936.

The Evolution of the CBC Digital Archives

As the name suggests, the CBC Digital Archives has always had a place within the larger CBC organization. It was originally listed under A, for archives, in its hotlink index,³³ before being integrated into the larger CBC.ca website with a menu bar always linking to radio, television, and local news. The CBC Digital Archives was officially created in 2002, although its URL dates back to 1996 when the website represented a different form of CBC archives. This chapter will analyze this evolution through the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine and then investigate the perceived intention for the website. This analysis will provide direction for examining the website's missed opportunities, such as greater social media integration and a visible link to the rest of the CBC's institutional memory discussed in Chapter Two.

³³ CBC Canada. "Hotlink Index." October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19961031101941/http://www.cbc.ca/commnhtm/hotlinks.html>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

As already mentioned, the CBC Digital Archives is part of the larger CBC organization, which in turn reports annually to the Parliament of Canada through the Minister of Canadian Heritage. In 2008, a parliamentary Standing Committee's report referenced the CBC Digital Archives and the urgency of preserving audiovisual heritage, which was lobbied for by the Canadian Broadcast Museum Foundation(CBMF).³⁴ The CBMF had criticized the slowness of the current digitization strategy by estimating it would take one technician thirty years to complete just one aspect of the task.³⁵ It urged the Standing Committee to make preservation of CBC's audiovisual heritage an integral part of its mandate.³⁶

Beyond lobbying for a specific addition, the CBMF also criticized the entire 1991 Broadcasting Act, which is also the official CBC mandate and the cornerstone of its broadcasting policy, governance, and organization. While the corporation adapted to digital technologies, its mandate did not. The Broadcasting Act predates the first CBC website and other digital projects. As a result, digital technologies are only loosely included in the definition of other telecommunication meaning "any wire, cable, radio, optical or other electromagnetic system, or any similar technical system."³⁷ Furthermore, several foundational sections to the CBC's mandate explicitly limit CBC's functions to radio and television services.³⁸ Defenders of the Broadcasting Act point to broader definitions within that same section 3(1) like the declaration that the CBC serve Canadians using the "most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become

³⁴ "CBC/Radio-Canada: Defining Distinctiveness in the Changing Media Landscape," 136.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *Broadcasting Act*, section 2.2, pg. 3

³⁸ *Broadcasting Act*, section 3.1, pg. 5.

available for the purpose.”³⁹ Nevertheless, the Standing Committee recommended that the Government of Canada amend the Broadcasting Act to include “digital media and emerging technologies as an integral aspect of achieving CBC/Radio-Canada mandate and reaching out to Canadians.”⁴⁰

Within this technologically vague definition of new media, the website of the CBC Digital Archives was created and evolved over time. It should be noted that Radio-Canada has its own distinct digital archive divorced from the CBC Digital Archives studied in this thesis.⁴¹ Funded by the same source, Radio-Canada’s digital archive similarly provides access to radio and television clips from throughout the corporation’s history. The only discernible difference is that Les Archives de Radio-Canada focuses more on Québec. This thesis chose not to analyze Les Archives de Radio-Canada because the website appears to not have had any major updates since 2008, it is not listed on the “Resources and Archives” webpage central to this thesis’s question, and the content and structure is virtually the same as the CBC Digital Archives. Digitization of records in both official languages was required by the original funding source, which expired in 2009. It is probable that Radio-Canada lacked the necessary resources to continue investing in a Francophone digital archive in addition to the CBC Digital Archives.

In total, this thesis analyzed six captures and the CBC Digital Archives⁴² analyzed for changes in content, design, structure and functionality. The earliest capture

³⁹ *Broadcasting Act*, section 3.1, pg. 5.

⁴⁰ CBC/Radio-Canada: Defining Distinctiveness in the Changing Media Landscape, 141.

⁴¹ Radio-Canada, “Les Archives de Radio-Canada,” Accessed January 11, 2017. <http://archives.radio-canada.ca/>.

⁴² CBC Canada, “CBC Digital Archives,” <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed September 3, 2016.

is from October 31, 1996,⁴³ which due to a very simplistic design, was fully and completely archived with all images and video clips intact. After several broken captures, a December 2, 1998⁴⁴ capture represents a design found in all 1998 and 1999 captures. It is a very poor record however, with many links broken and all images lost in a cloud of blue squares and question marks. With the return of a minimalistic website design in 2000 and 2002, the Internet Archive fully recorded the October 6, 2001 capture⁴⁵ without error.

The website design of the next two captures was more complicated and therefore captured with errors. Links from the homepage often arrived at a different capture date, but regardless a September 5, 2002 capture⁴⁶ represents the 2002-2008 design⁴⁷ and a July 22, 2010 capture⁴⁸ embodies the 2008-2012 aesthetic. For some reason, there are very few captures from the 2008-2012 period. It is unclear why, but there is a password and user section for managing bookmarks within the website that perhaps stalled the capturing of the website. The final capture of the 2012-2015 design⁴⁹ was more complete, although like the previous two captures video and audio clips were not preserved in a playable format possibly due to copyright reasons. Most succeeding captures are of high

⁴³ CBC Canada. "Visual Resource Archive." October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19961031101955/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁴⁴ CBC Canada. "CBC Archives." December 2, 1998. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19981202054442/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁴⁵ CBC Canada. "Archive sales." October 6, 2001. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20011006114138/http://www3.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁴⁶ CBC Canada. "CBC Archives." September 5, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020921131319/http://archives.cbc.ca/>. Accessed November 15, 2004.

⁴⁷ Most captures of this design resulted in an error webpage and then redirect to a capture of the present website.

⁴⁸ CBC Canada. "CBC Digital Archives." July 22, 2010. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100629000226/http://archives.cbc.ca/>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁴⁹ CBC Canada. "CBC Digital Archives." November 17, 2014. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141117144839/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed September 3, 2016.

quality as the Internet Archive's technologies presumably have improved since 1996. The algorithms controlling the automated crawlers are not public knowledge however, so it is unclear how the Wayback Machine has specifically evolved.⁵⁰

It should be noted that each of the six captures represents a different redesign of the website. Choosing captures by the website design was simply the easiest method since the Internet Archive has 5,151 captures of the CBC Digital Archives and counting. Therefore, this bias towards significant design changes may diminish the analysis of the website's structure and functionalities.

Structurally, the three earliest captures consist of a homepage linking to a few other webpages. From 1998 to 2008, there was also a sidebar that was minimized into a collapsible or stacked menu system in the present design, which decreases the amount of text on all webpages. Since 2002, content is discovered through topical indexes,⁵¹ a chronological index of all clips,⁵² the search bar, the lesson packets for teachers⁵³ or

⁵⁰ Internet Archive, "Frequently Asked Questions," accessed December 12, 2016, https://archive.org/about/faqs.php#The_Wayback_Machine; Kalev Leetaru, "How Much of the Internet does the Wayback Machine Really Archive," *Forbes* (November 16, 2015), <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kalevleetaru/2015/11/16/how-much-of-the-internet-does-the-wayback-machine-really-archive/#11b303bd88d4>.

⁵¹ CBC Canada. "Index of all Topics." August 6, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020921131319/http://archives.cbc.ca/251h.asp?IDLan=1&IDMenu=-3&NC=1>. Accessed November 16, 2014.

⁵² CBC Canada. "Index of all Clips." August 6, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020921131319/http://archives.cbc.ca/261k.asp?IDLan=1&IDMenu=-1&NC=1>. Accessed November 16, 2014.

⁵³ CBC Canada. "For teachers." December 14, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20021214142511/http://archives.cbc.ca/290p.asp?IDLan=1&IDMenu=-4&NC=1>. Accessed November 16, 2014.

through features like “this week in history”⁵⁴ and the repackaging of audio content in the “Rewind Podcast.”⁵⁵

As stated by computing historian Mahoney, digital technology as a tool and medium is not neutral as it informs and even limits what can be done.⁵⁶ Increased bandwidth enabled the transition to streamable video, while early content was primarily about selling audiovisual copies of programs with webpages detailing rates and contact information. As an interesting aside, the earliest capture has “Archie Archive” welcoming visitors to the webpage. There is no definitive proof, but as the associated clipart is of an old fashioned business man and not a teenaged boy from Riverdale, the name was probably inspired by the Archie search engine.⁵⁷

A later capture from when the website was under construction speaks to a significant turning point in the history of the website.⁵⁸ On June 14, 2002, the CBC Archive website funneled its previous interest in selling VHS tapes to the CBC Television Archive Sales website⁵⁹ and reoriented itself towards the present model of the CBC Digital Archives. Ironically, the 1996 capture describing the brick and mortar CBC Museum better mirrors the current CBC Digital Archive as it describes “interactive radio

⁵⁴ CBC Canada. “This Week in History.” August 6, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020921131319/http://archives.cbc.ca/340j.asp?IDLan=1&IDMenu=-2&NC=1>. Accessed November 16, 2014.

⁵⁵ CBC Canada. “Rewind Podcast.” June 26, 2010. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100626103843/http://archives.cbc.ca/podcast>. Accessed November 16, 2014.

⁵⁶ Mahoney, 132.

⁵⁷ The Archie search engine was the first Gopher search engine on earlier iterations of the World Wide Web. It was originally envisioned to have the name Archive, but its creators at McGill University were limited to a six character title.

⁵⁸ CBC Canada. “CBC Archives.” June 14, 2002. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020614221934/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>.

⁵⁹ CBC Canada, “CBC Archive Sales,” <https://archivesales.cbc.ca/content/stocontent.aspx?pageid=stohomepage>.

and television displays allowing users to revisit moments in history from a Canadian perspective.”⁶⁰

Audiovisual records on the new CBC Digital Archives website were primarily selected for digitization by a team of journalists and historians, who identified thirty initial themes and historical events since the creation of radio in 1936 and television in 1952.⁶¹ According to interviews with four CBC officials involved in the CBC Digital Archives project, the project was not without its share of difficulties. Studying the pedagogical impact of the CBC Digital Archives for her Master’s thesis in Communications, Lara Trehearne conducted semi-structured interviews with CBC staff in 2006 on historical consciousness, Canadian memory, technology, and other features of the CBC Digital Archives.⁶² Conscious of constructing an archive reflective of Canada and not just the Toronto or Montréal production centres, the interviewees noted a concerted effort to digitize regional content alongside nationally-held records.⁶³ CBC archivists were also a central force in reminding other project members about the inherent biases of each broadcast record and the necessity of presenting that context to Canadians on the CBC Digital Archives.⁶⁴ According to the website’s project director François Boulet: “the goal isn’t just to present these clips and TV and radio accounts by

⁶⁰ CBC Canada. “CBC Museum.” October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19961031101503/http://www.cbc.ca/aboutcbc/tbc/museum/museum.html>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Lara Trehearne, “The Canadian Memory Fund: Digital Archives, Historical Consciousness and the CBC/Radio-Canada,” (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2014), 9.

⁶³ Trehearne, 50.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 49.

themselves, but to add value to this content by explaining what happened and placing these events in context.”⁶⁵

Outside consultants were also hired to frame the clips and their associated context into educational resources aligned with the curricular needs of each age group and Canadian province or territory.⁶⁶ Two lawyers were also employed full time to acquire licensing agreements for publication to the digital archives website.⁶⁷ Due to the prohibitive cost of copyright negotiation, the CBC Digital Archives is primarily comprised of broadcast records the CBC already owns the rights to, such as current affairs programming.⁶⁸ The CBC may partially own copyright for original programming like *Mr. Dress Up*, but the licensing and copyright agreements originally signed by musicians, writers, actors, and other creative professionals contributing to the program have expired or are limited to traditional television broadcasting. If the CBC wished to add episodes of *Mr. Dress Up* to the CBC Digital Archives, lawyers would have to re-negotiate with each individual party according to the original contracts and relevant union agreements. Even with current affairs programming, the discrepancy in intellectual property rights ranged in cost from \$4.00 per file to over \$200.00.⁶⁹

The cost and technical challenges in combination with the copyright or privacy restrictions and missing regional records have created a digital archive representing only a small portion of CBC’s archival heritage. Yet, the CBC Digital Archives is deliberately advanced as the CBC’s only archival resource. Canadians wishing to utilize publicly

⁶⁵ CBC Canada. “A Vision for the Archives Online.”

⁶⁶ Trehearne, 64.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 72.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 71.

funded broadcast records for their own projects either have to download content from the CBC Digital Archives or purchase content from CBC Archives Sales. Both require either an investment of time or money. Denying free access is particularly hypocritical as the interviewed staff members confirmed that the CBC Digital Archives have heightened CBC's brand power. As a form of online advertisement, the digital archives have directly increased business and commercial opportunities for the corporation.⁷⁰ The CBC was apparently surprised by this as the corporation had initially assumed the availability of free content would be a financial drain.

This goal is reinforced by the structural outline of the CBC Digital Archives website, which prevents users from interacting with the written context associated with audio and video clips or the audiovisual content itself. Instead, users consume the CBC's contextualization of the event and are encouraged to share the link through social media networking services. These include an RSS Feed,⁷¹ the ability to share clips over e-mail, and other social networking sites,⁷² such as a Twitter feed in existence since 2009.⁷³ The Twitter feed and other forms of social media were not linked to the main website until the website redesign in 2015. This delay in embracing social media is somewhat surprising considering the CBC was an early adopter of several other functionalities of the Internet with streaming video content⁷⁴ and e-commerce⁷⁵ solutions like having an invoice mailed

⁷⁰ Trehearne, 71.

⁷¹ CBC Canada. "RSS Feeds." February 1, 2010. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20100701184206/http://archives.cbc.ca/rss/rss_en.asp. Accessed November 16, 2014.

⁷² Sharing options include Facebook, Email, Twitter, Google Plus, Reddit and further options under the "more" button include, but are not limited to LinkedIn, Digg and StumbleUpon.

⁷³ CBC Digital Archives, Twitter Feed, https://twitter.com/cbc_archives.

⁷⁴ CBC Canada. "Videoclip: Pearson & Johnson sign Auto pact." October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available:

to you after completing an online form.⁷⁶ As observed on other archival websites, the majority of archival institutions similarly limit user interaction to sharing links and dialogues through social media.

In both the archival profession and journalism, information traditionally flowed in one direction to the user in a manner decided by the professionals. Web interactivity has challenged this and Seth Lewis, a scholar in digital journalism, believes such collaboration offers a helping hand that journalists (and archivists) have to factor into their traditional models of professionalism.⁷⁷ Other scholars contend that the rise in sensational clickbait is indicative of a decline in the quality of journalism.⁷⁸ Yet, as archival theorist Mary Samouelian pointed out, archivists are already struggling to find time to engineer ways to encourage user interaction.⁷⁹ There is also no guarantee that audiences will interact with the archival records as participatory archiving is still a relatively new concept that institutions are experimenting with.⁸⁰ While reflecting on her experience with web 2.0 functionalities and the Polar Bear Expedition Digital Collections, Elizabeth Yakel hypothesizes that a model of distributed curation is better

<https://web.archive.org/web/19961031112718/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/clip5.avi>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁷⁵ According to a news article, e-commerce officially began with NetMarket.com in 1994. Allure Gilbert, "E-commerce turns 10," *CNET*, (August 11, 2004), http://news.cnet.com/E-commerce-turns-10/2100-1023_3-5304683.html.

⁷⁶ CBC Canada. "VHS Cassette Order Dept." October 31, 1996. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/19961031102016/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/business.html>. Accessed November 15, 2014.

⁷⁷ Seth C. Lewis, "The Tension Between Professional Control and Open Participation," *Information, Communication & Society* 15, no. 6 (2012): 853.

⁷⁸ Leopoldina Fortuna et al., "The Influence of the Internet on European Journalism," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 14 (2009): 953.

⁷⁹ Mary Samouelian, "Embracing Web 2.0: Archives and the Newest Generation of Web Application," *The American Archivist* 72, no. 1 (2009): 42-71.

⁸⁰ Dallas C. Hanbury, "Build it and Will they Come?: Participatory Digital Archives, Hesitant Users, and the Emerging Archival Commons," *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 32, no. 1 (2014), 61.

suites to the World Wide Web with added benefits for typically disenfranchised audiences.⁸¹ As she posits, “accessibility extends beyond viewing digital objects; it requires interaction on a personal or intellectual level that includes re-creating materials in collections outside the archive and on the desktop.”⁸²

Distributed curation is also applicable to media organizations as users typically encounter articles through social media platforms instead of the CBC.ca homepage. If and when users visit the homepage, the design of a website unconsciously educates users in the correct way to use it. As argued by digital media professor Mel Stanfill, a website’s “structural ideals [are] so ingrained as correct that social valuation is also attached to them.”⁸³ For example, by preventing users from downloading the audiovisual clips and instead assuming the cost of bandwidth to stream the thousands of clips, users understand their interaction with the content is subordinate to their passive consumption of the corporation’s representation of Canada’s history.⁸⁴ A portion of CBC’s potential audience was also excluded when the CBC Digital Archives adopted the streaming service model. As of 2010, twenty percent of Canadians were not connected to the Internet with lower-income, rural, and Northern Canadians particularly disadvantaged.⁸⁵ The inherent valuation of broadband Internet accessibility challenges the CBC’s mandated obligation to serve all Canadians, regardless of location.

⁸¹ Elizabeth Yakel, “Who represents the past? Archives, records and the social web,” in Terry Cook, ed., *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 259.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 275.

⁸³ Mel Stanfill, “The interface as discourse: The production of norms through web design,” *new media & society* 17, no. 7 (2015), 1060.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1067.

⁸⁵ Michael Haight, Anabel Quan-Haase, and Bradley A. Corbett, “Revisiting the digital divide in Canada: the impact of demographic factors on access to the Internet, level of online activity, and social networking site usage,” *Information, Communication & Society* 17, no. 4 (2014): 514-515.

The arrangement and description of the archives discussed in Chapter Two were also passively consumed, however, as the official arrangement and description of the archival records would rarely, if ever, be altered according to the advice of an external researcher or former CBC employee. Those scholars still have the advantage of what Stanfill called “remixable creativity,” because the content of those archival records could be copied and then enveloped into research processes and other creative work. Since the CBC Digital Archives has not built a native functionality for downloading audiovisual content, users are therefore discouraged from remixing the records discovered on the CBC Digital Archives into a different form. Legally, the CBC only has the licensing rights for its own website.⁸⁶

What was the Purpose of the CBC Digital Archives?

The motivating factors that led to the creation and then prioritization of the CBC Digital Archives over the archives discussed in Chapter Two is less clear. This chapter will consider several possible motivations, which likely all contributed in some degree to the website’s formation. As the cost of bandwidth and server space decreased over the years, digitization of audiovisual material became more possible as a mode of preservation and is the first motivating factor analyzed. Given the corporation’s continual promotion of the CBC Digital Archive, it is also an incredible access and advertising tool for educators, journalists, and the general Canadian community. Finally, the website is likely part of CBC’s wider goals of revenue generation and meeting Government of Canada digital strategies.

⁸⁶ Trehearne, 72.

Since the popularization of the Internet, the Government of Canada has also been interested in supporting online spaces that promote Canadian culture and heritage. Multiple departments and government-wide programs supported the federal government's interest in preserving Canadian culture online. The aforementioned 1999 CRTC decision was one of the reasons the Government of Canada assumed that responsibility, although funding opportunities like the Multimedia Investment Fund predated that decision by two years.⁸⁷ Another critical government initiative was the Information Highway Advisory Council (IHAC), which was a response to the perceived erosion of a distinct Canadian identity due to globalization and digital technologies. Founded in 1994, the IHAC recommended universal and affordable Internet access to all Canadians alongside a reinforcement of Canada's economic, cultural, and social sovereignty.⁸⁸

Most recently, Digital Canada 150 2.0 is part of the Government of Canada's policy suite for Canada's 150th birthday in 2017 and while its main focus is on increasing high-speed Internet access, the fifth pillar is potentially relevant to the CBC Digital Archives.⁸⁹ The fifth pillar promises support for arts, culture, and heritage associated with Canada's 150th anniversary and on digital platforms. The CBC is not listed as a current recipient of funding, but the corporation is closely linked to Canada's 150th anniversary⁹⁰ and the CBC Digital Archives is likely one tool the CBC will utilize to fulfill its commitments. Even if the CBC Digital Archives does not receive any funding, the

⁸⁷ Canadian ePolicy Resource Centre, "Canadian Culture Online Policy Statement," http://www.crc.gc.ca/culture_e.html

⁸⁸ Industry Canada, *Preparing Canada for a Digital World: Final Report for the Information Highway Advisory Council* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1997), 58

⁸⁹ Industry Canada, "Digital Canada 150," <http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/028.nsf/eng/home>.

⁹⁰ 150 Alliance Organizational Listings, "CBC/Radio-Canada," https://150alliance.ca/members/organizations/listings/cbcradio_canada

government-wide rhetoric surrounding Canada's 150th will inform the content of the website.

The CBC Digital Archives was partially or completely funded from 2002 to 2009 by the Canadian Memory Fund, which was jointly administered by the Canadian Culture Online Strategy Branch (CCOS) and the Department of Canadian Heritage (PCH).⁹¹ This government-wide funding opportunity was an essential factor motivating the critical 2002 redesign of the CBC Digital Archives that transformed the website into a streaming audiovisual repository for the general public's consumption. The Canadian Memory Fund was mandated to "connect all Canadians with the riches of Canada's heritage by making key Canadian cultural collections held by federal institutions free of charge via the Internet in both official languages."⁹² The CBC Digital Archives easily aligned with the Memory Fund's mandate and eventually received over \$12 million in funding.⁹³ Some recipients of the Memory Fund were critical of the funding program, however, as it limited their control over which collections would be digitized.⁹⁴ It is unknown if the CBC was part of this group.

One CBC staff member interviewed by Trehearne stressed their preference for describing the CBC Digital Archives as a cultural resource instead of a historical one.⁹⁵ The CBC Digital Archives does not merely inform visitors about certain historical subjects, it demonstrates how Canadians reacted to the event or at least how CBC

⁹¹ Canadian Heritage and the Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive Evaluation Services Directorate, *Summative Evaluation of the Canadian Culture Online Strategy (CCOS)*, [Ottawa], September 2008, 7. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2010/pc-ch/CH7-2-2008-eng.pdf.

⁹² *Summative Evaluation of the Canadian Culture Online Strategy (CCOS)*, 7.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vi.

⁹⁵ Trehearne, 50.

reported or presented the issue in its current affairs programming.⁹⁶ As part of an evaluative report on the funding program, the Corporate Research Group conducted an online public survey measuring, among other questions, the level of satisfaction for the websites that received funding.⁹⁷ On a scale of 1 to 5, 73 percent of the 334 respondents were satisfied with the CBC Digital Archives.⁹⁸ The CBC also reported 467,151 unique visitors in 2006/07.⁹⁹ More recent statistics could not be found for this thesis as the Canadian Memory Fund was dismantled in 2009 and presumably the CBC is now solely responsible for funding the CBC Digital Archives.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned earlier however, the ATI request submitted October 2016 was delayed because the PCH jointly owns all of the requested documents. A portion of the request specified documents for the year 2015 onwards signifying a potential continued partnership between the PCH and CBC.

The majority of the scholarship on audiovisual archives focuses on preservation, which has increasingly merged with digital theory. As previously mentioned, digital culture theorists view the spread of personal computing as either revolutionary by itself or a continuance of current societal structures in a different form. This division was repeated within archival scholarship with theoreticians Elizabeth Yakel and Kate Theimer debating models of participatory archival description.¹⁰¹ While the CBC Digital Archives does not include participatory description, it can still be analyzed through both perspectives. The proliferation of personal computers and increased bandwidth capabilities from 1996 to 2016 radically transformed the preservation methods of

⁹⁶ Trehearne, 50.

⁹⁷ Evaluation of the CCOS, v.

⁹⁸ Ibid., v, 59.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰⁰ Trehearne, 77.

¹⁰¹ Yakel, "Who Represents the Past?"; Kate Theimer, ed., *A Different Kind of Web: New Connections Between Archives and our Users* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011).

audiovisual archives and therefore resulted in a website capable of streaming thousands of audiovisual clips for free instead of a limited advertising space for selling VHS tapes.

On the other hand, both analogue and digital preservation methods migrate content to standardized formats requiring regular maintenance.¹⁰² In his historical overview of the C-SPAN television archive, Robert Browning demonstrates how audiovisual archivists consistently struggled to find solutions for the short life expectancy of its audiovisual records and constantly changing formats.¹⁰³ In their analogue stage, the solutions were mechanical and dependent on the reliability of playback equipment. Digitization uses different processes and has additional steps such as the creation of metadata and subject tags to aid future discoverability, but it still performs the same basic functions of migrating content to standardized formats.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the CBC Digital Archives can be interpreted as an updated version of newspaper archives, which in the United Kingdom date back to the Palmer's Index in 1868.¹⁰⁵ Both analogue and digital preservation strategies prioritize accessibility and future information retrieval over original context, functionalities and user experience.

One of the primary audiences of these preserved clips is students and teachers, with an article from *Education Canada* applauding the CBC Digital Archives for connecting current events with historical precedents. The authors specifically note that the personal bookmarking tool found in the 2008-2012 capture makes the website

¹⁰² Mike Kastellec, "Practical Limits to the Scope of Digital Preservation," *Information Technology and Libraries* 31, no. 2 (2012): 63-71.

¹⁰³ Robert Browning, "Creating an Online Television Archive, 1987-2013," *International Journal of Digital Curation* 9, no. 1 (2014): 1-11.

¹⁰⁴ Ken Freedman, "The Future of Digital Radio Archives," *From the Editor* (blog), *Radio World*, August 3, 2016, <http://www.radioworld.com/article/the-future-of-digital-radio-archives/279351>.

¹⁰⁵ David Deacon, "Yesterday's Papers and Today's Technology: Digital Newspaper Archives and 'Push Button' Content Analysis," *European Journal of Communication* 22, no. 1 (2007): 6.

adaptable to the classroom.¹⁰⁶ Use of the website was helped by the spread of personal computing in the 1990s and especially in the 2000s, as it enabled teachers to depend more on their student's home computer instead of arranging time in the school computer labs.¹⁰⁷ Yet, one 2007 thesis observed the CBC Digital Archives has "virtually no penetration in the school system."¹⁰⁸ Hurdles included lacking software requirements in classrooms and an unwillingness of teachers to adapt the CBC Digital Archive's lesson plans. While the website is officially for all Canadians, the website's project manager, Mark Mietkiewicz, specifically references school children when remarking on the archival content's power to take users into the historical moment.¹⁰⁹ A section for teachers has also been maintained from 2002 to the present, suggesting the continued relevance of the CBC Digital Archives as an educational tool. Yet, the website was barely present in the school systems or curriculums according to a 2007 report.¹¹⁰ Teachers were reluctant to modify their lesson plans even if their school had the necessary broadband accessibility and computer hardware.

As with many of the CBC archives discussed in Chapter Two, CBC journalists are also a primary target audience of the CBC Digital Archives. While the World Wide Web provides journalists with greater interaction with their audiences through social media, there are challenges in verifying online sources, in addition to the traditional verification of other sources.¹¹¹ While the CBC Digital Archives cannot replicate the reactions of

¹⁰⁶ Dennis Smith and Noni Maté, "Personalizing the Abstract with Online Video," *Education Canada* 46, no.2 (2010), 51.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁰⁸ Evaluation of the CCOS, 48.

¹⁰⁹ CBC Canada. "A Vision for the Archives Online."

¹¹⁰ Evaluation of the CCOS, 48.

¹¹¹ Sophie Lecheler and Sanne Kruikemeier, "Re-evaluating journalistic routines in a digital age: A review of research on the use of online sources," *new media & society* 18, no. 1 (2016): 157

citizens to a particular event on Twitter, it is a trusted database for CBC journalists requiring minimal or any verification that simultaneously advertises the parent company. The fact the CBC Digital Archives is composed of clips instead of complete broadcasts is also beneficial for journalists. A team of Dutch scholars studying the transaction logs of media professionals in a digital broadcast archive discovered that journalists prefer accessing short pieces.¹¹² Otherwise, those journalists would need to budget additional resources editing the clip out of a complete broadcast before it could be integrated into a newscast. While this may be the ideal practice, in 2006 the one full-time staff member responsible for marketing the CBC Digital Archives often had to remind other CBC employees to link their archival records to relevant programming because “they don’t always think of us.”¹¹³ Interviewees also referenced a “big fight for real estate on [the] main website.”¹¹⁴ The CBC Digital Archives is now listed on the bottom of CBC’s English homepage, while Radio-Canada links to Les Archives de Radio-Canada and the Archives Sales webpage.

Beyond journalists and educators, the CBC Digital Archives is also another method of reaching the wider Canadian population. When speaking to archivists, the founder of the Internet Archive Brewster Kahle urged boldness in making audio and video collections available online, as the minimal cost is offset by the popularity of “injecting the past into the present in an interesting and accessible way to millions of

¹¹² Bouke Huurnink et al., "Search behavior of media professionals at an audiovisual archive: A transaction log analysis." *Journal of the American society for Information Science and Technology* 61, no. 6 (2010): 1180-1197.

¹¹³ Trehearne, 55.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

people.”¹¹⁵ Archival records of the CBC are initially a bit of a niche market for those interested in Canadian or broadcasting history, but within its collections the wide array of subjects or clips appeals to a more general audience. By actively linking current events to historical records and featuring popular content like interviews with hockey greats, users are attracted to the content and then lead down the long tail with more niche audio and video clips.¹¹⁶ The CBC Digital Archives also directly engages with current events through its Twitter feed.¹¹⁷ In defence of its response to the October 2014 attack on the Centre Block Parliament building, the administrator of the Twitter feed stated that “we often post relevant items from the past amid daily news events. [It] contrasts how [the] CBC covered things then and how we do now.”¹¹⁸

International and National Comparisons

Like the other two chapters, the international context that the CBC Digital Archives is part of was examined. Once again, comparisons will be drawn to other public broadcasters such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), in addition to the digital archives produced in the United States of America where public broadcasting is not as prominent. Upon this backdrop, several unique or smaller digital archives of media organizations will be examined.

Broadcasters’ digital archives are often their most visible and sourced collections, even if it is just a sliver of their overall institutional holdings. The digital archives of

¹¹⁵ Brewster Kahle, “Universal Access to All Knowledge,” *The American Archivist* 70, no. 1 (2007): 27-29.

¹¹⁶ Chris Anderson, “The long tail,” *Wired* 12.10 (Oct 2004).
<http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/12.10/tail.html>

¹¹⁷ CBC Digital Archives, Twitter feed, https://twitter.com/cbc_archives.

¹¹⁸ CBC Digital Archives, Twitter post, October 22, 2014, 10:11 a.m.,
https://twitter.com/cbc_archives/status/524941093922930689?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw.

Zaman, a widely-read newspaper in Turkey emphasizes the societal and political importance of such websites. On March 4, 2016, the Turkish government seized the newspaper to quiet opposition to its reign.¹¹⁹ Not only was the newspaper shuttered, the government deleted the entirety of *Zaman*'s digital archive, which dated back to 1989.¹²⁰ The blog post did not indicate what became of *Zaman*'s corporate records, but the deletion of the digital records ensured Turkey's future understanding of this political conflict is narrowed to the current government's position.

On the other hand, the visibility and attraction of digital archives has been an advantage for many public broadcasters. For example, the BBC has invested considerably in its digital presence. Dutch scholar Andra Leurdijk studied the public broadcaster's pilot project entitled Creative Archive, which offered free access to selected and legally cleared BBC television and radio programmes,¹²¹ in order to discuss how digital television and the Internet are challenging traditional media markets.¹²² She observed that broadcasters are increasingly exploiting their in-house audiovisual archives on digital platforms in order to engage audiences, build brand loyalty and develop new, innovative services, even though such archives do not make money or attract huge audiences.¹²³ As part of a larger offering of digital services, the Creative Archive has helped cement BBC's cultural revenue and legitimacy as a public-funded venture. The BBC's positive

¹¹⁹ "Do Newspaper Archives Need a 'Dead Man's Switch,'" *Research Buzz* (blog), March 16, 2016, <https://researchbuzz.me/2016/03/16/do-newspaper-archives-need-a-dead-mans-switch/>.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ BBC, "Creative Archive License Group," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/creativearchive/>.

¹²² Andra Leurdijk, "Will Broadcasters Survive in the Online and Digital Domain?" (paper presented at the 5th European Conference, EuroITV 2007, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, May 24-25, 2007).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

reputation was also aided by the moral bankruptcy of its commercial broadcasting competitors, as indicative by the phone-hacking scandal in 2011.¹²⁴

While the BBC's Creative Archive is an unique example of a broadcaster embracing Stanfill's "creative remixing," it was unfortunately disbanded in 2006. From 2006 to 2011, the BBC practised a model of digital archiving equivalent to the CBC Digital Archives with audiovisual clips arranged by thematic subjects.¹²⁵ In 2011, this digital archive was itself "archived and no longer updated,"¹²⁶ and replaced with a BBC Archives webpage prioritizing its institutional history instead of the content in its audiovisual collections.¹²⁷ This new model of digital archives was amalgamated into the "About the BBC" website and features clear instructions on how to access its analogue or digital holdings for both external researchers¹²⁸ and internal BBC staff and independent media producers.¹²⁹ Digitized audio and video footage is now utilized to attract audiences on social media¹³⁰ and on related websites that do not feature the word archive such as BBC Worldwide Learning.¹³¹

The ABC has similarly organized its digitized content as projects that are part of a larger ABC Archives webpage prioritizing ABC's corporate records.¹³² In celebration of its 80th anniversary, historian and ABC producer Catherine Freyne spent four months in the ABC archives selecting audiovisual content that best represent eighty memorable

¹²⁴ David Hendy, *Public Service Broadcasting* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 128-129.

¹²⁵ BBC's Creative Archive.

¹²⁶ BBC, "BBC Archives," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/index.shtml>.

¹²⁷ BBC Archives, "About the BBC – BBC Archives," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/informationandarchives>.

¹²⁸ BBC Archives, "Access Archives," http://www.bbc.co.uk/informationandarchives/access_archives.

¹²⁹ BBC Archives, "Services for Independent Production Houses," http://www.bbc.co.uk/informationandarchives/services_ext.html.

¹³⁰ BBC Archives, Twitter feed, <https://twitter.com/bbcarchive>.

¹³¹ BBC Worldwide Learning, "Bring Learning to Life,"

<http://www.bbcworldwidelearning.com/marketing/#>.

¹³² ABC Archives, "80 days that Changed Our Life," <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/80days/>.

moments in Australia's history.¹³³ Another ABC archival website with digitized content is Moments in Time, which features a movable timeline with broadcast records on specific dates and is also searchable by topic.¹³⁴ The ABC have also released certain archival material under creative commons licenses for sharing and remixing.¹³⁵

Once again, American broadcasting examples are more difficult to pinpoint since commercial broadcasters often service a specific region or group and the few public broadcasters are not as well funded. While the popularization of podcasting reinvigorated National Public Radio (NPR) in the digital age, the non-profit membership media organization has not invested in a distinct website for its archival holdings. The UCLA Film and Television Archive's website is similar to the BBC Archives as it provides finding aids and other resources to its physical holdings while utilizing digitized content to attract users on social networking sites including YouTube.¹³⁶

The World Wide Web has also afforded archivists, hobbyists and other interested parties an opportunity to collate records as diverse and separate as those CBC archives analyzed in Chapter Two. The American Archive of Public Broadcasting¹³⁷ and the Directory of UK Sound Collections¹³⁸ are two examples. The former is an ambitious project to digitize nearly 40,000 hours of programs selected by more than 100 public broadcasting stations in the nation dating from the 1940s to the twenty first century. The

¹³³ ABC Archives, "80 Days that Changed Our Life – About this Site," <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/80days/about.htm>.

¹³⁴ ABC Archives, "Moments in Time," <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/moments/>

¹³⁵ ABC Archives, "Open Archives," <http://www.abc.net.au/archives/openarchives.htm>.

¹³⁶ *UCLA Film TV Archive*, Youtube Channel, <https://www.youtube.com/user/UCLAFTVArchive/featured>.

¹³⁷ American Archive of Public Broadcasting, "About the AAPB," <http://americanarchive.org/about-the-american-archive>.

¹³⁸ Adam Tovell and James Knight, "Directory of UK Sound Collections," BBC Library, October 2015, [https://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~media/subjects%20images/sound/directory%20of%20uk%20sound%20collections.pdf](https://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~/media/subjects%20images/sound/directory%20of%20uk%20sound%20collections.pdf).

British Library is similarly focused on preserving its sound recordings, but instead launched a national audit of recorded sound collections held all over the United Kingdom.¹³⁹

Conclusion

In 2008, the Society of American Archivists recognized the CBC Digital Archives with an award for its “outstanding efforts to promote the use of its radio and television collections.”¹⁴⁰ This was the same year that the CBC Digital Archives launched a website redesign, which better met Mel Stanfill’s definition of good design with simplified menu systems and increased “visibility, legibility or audibility.”¹⁴¹ Regardless, the CBC Digital Archives could easily inject more social media technologies into its design and take advantage of how adaptable its content is for ubiquitous computing and other forms of user interaction. The search function also presents difficulties for researchers, teachers and other members of the general public. Users can only search the CBC Digital Archives via a keyword search, without any additional option to filter by tag, broadcast date, individuals, program, or medium even though that metadata is attached to most, if not all records. The search result page even includes lesson plans and other education resources for teachers alongside broadcast records.

The CBC Digital Archives also undervalues its business records by only providing hyperlinks to its Image Research Library or Program Sales website on a buried frequently asked questions webpage.¹⁴² The physical collections housed at Library and

¹³⁹ Tovell and Knight, “Directory of UK Sound Collections.”

¹⁴⁰ Society of American Archivists, “Philip M. Hamer and Elizabeth Hamer Kegan Award,” *Archival Outlook* (September/October 2008), 18-19.

¹⁴¹ Stanfill, 1065.

¹⁴² CBC Digital Archives, “About Us,” <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/about/>.

Archives Canada or even the corporation's production facilities are not referenced at all. Among the oft-cited 12,000 broadcast records uploaded to the CBC Digital Archives, the tag CBC is only attached to approximately one hundred entries,¹⁴³ and the corporation has only curated one collection on its leading role in radio and television broadcasting in Canada.¹⁴⁴

The first chapter began with an examination of CBC's oldest record on the CBC Digital Archives: the broadcast of Canada's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1927. The precursors to CBC were then responsible for spreading the Ottawa event to as many Canadians as possible, in addition to the international community. In 2017, the CBC is an organizational member for Canada's 150th celebrations and instead of broadcasting one program, is now trusted to develop a dialogue with Canadians through original programming and digital platforms in order to discover and share diverse perspectives on Canada's history today and for the next century.¹⁴⁵ As of the date of this thesis submission in 2017, the CBC Digital Archives has not explicitly referenced Canada's 150th celebration but it does appear to be preparing for the event. As previously stated, the website's design was updated in 2015 with a sleek interface and greater integration with social media networking.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, audiovisual records on Canadian historical events predating radio broadcasting have been recently uploaded to better present the entirety of Canada's 150 years as a nation. For example, Sir John A. Macdonald passed away before radio technology was invented but the CBC Digital Archives still has fifteen

¹⁴³ CBC Digital Archives, "Tag: CBC," <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/tag/cbc>.

¹⁴⁴ CBC Digital Archives, "Canada Tunes In: The Early Years of Radio and TV," <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/topic/canada-tunes-in-the-early-years-of-radio-and-tv>.

¹⁴⁵ 150 Alliance Organizational Listings, "CBC/Radio-Canada."

¹⁴⁶ CBC Canada. "CBC Digital Archives." April 10, 2015. Internet Archive Wayback Machine. Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150410011715/http://www.cbc.ca/archives/>. Accessed September 3, 2016.

broadcast records and five educational packets on Canada's first prime minister.¹⁴⁷ The CBC Digital Archives collated this collection from broadcast records on the 50th anniversary of his death, an interview with Macdonald's great-grandson, a dramatic re-enactment of Macdonald's argument for a national railroad, and even a newscast on the Sir John A. Macdonald action figure.¹⁴⁸

In review, this chapter traced the evolution of the CBC Digital Archives alongside the CBC's wider embrace of digital technologies and the Internet, as well as international examples of the progress of other public broadcasters and media organizations. Throughout this analysis, the CBC Digital Archives emerged as an audiovisual tool attracting audiences to the parent CBC website and inspiring brand loyalty in the increasingly competitive environment of the World Wide Web. The website design also constrained creative use of CBC records with limited opportunities for remixing the records into a new product or even sharing the original on social media. The CBC Digital Archives was also uniquely divorced from its corporate records examined in Chapter Two. The digital archives of the BBC, ABC and even smaller media organizations like the UCLA Film and Television Archive give equal or even greater attention to their institutional histories.

¹⁴⁷ CBC Digital Archives, "Tag: Sir John A. Macdonald," <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/tag/sir%20john%20a.%20macdonald>.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

On November 24, 2013, private broadcaster Rogers Media acquired the rights to *Hockey Night in Canada (HNIC)*, ending CBC's sixty years with the prized program.¹ CBC's *Hockey Night in Canada* began airing in 1952 with on-air announcer Foster Hewitt, famous for "he shoots, he scores!"² The tradition of Saturday night hockey predated the CBC, however, with General Motors Products credited with the first radio broadcast.³ The corporation also did not own the brand until 1994, when it purchased the rights from Molstar Communications.⁴ Many Canadians felt the loss however, as they had grown up with the shared experience of watching *Hockey Night in Canada* even when rooting for different teams. Despite its importance to Canadian identity, the closest thing to a *Hockey Night in Canada* archive is the CBC Digital Archive's tag "hockey" and the *HNIC*'s 60th anniversary webpage that links back to the CBC Digital Archives.⁵ As evidenced throughout this thesis, the CBC archival record is revelatory of not only the corporation's history, but Canada's as well. That history is also dispersed throughout multiple archival institutions each with its own notion of what is worth keeping.

This thesis has explored the tension and co-existence between primary production centres or archival holdings and regional outposts. In the first chapter, radio broadcasting technology was initially the domain of local entrepreneurs and that regional preference

¹ Simon Houpt, "A new chapter for iconic brand Hockey Night in Canada," *The Globe and Mail*, November 26, 2013, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/a-new-chapter-for-iconic-brand-hockey-night-in-canada/article15625191/>.

² "Hockey broadcaster Foster Hewitt looks back," CBC Digital Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/hockey-broadcaster-foster-hewitt-looks-back>.

³ "Saturday Night Hockey / Hockey Night in Canada," Canadian Communication foundation, last modified March 2014, accessed December 15, 2016, http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/sportsonradioandtv/Early_Hockey.html

⁴ Simon Houpt, "A new chapter for HNIC."

⁵ "Celebrating Sixty Years of Hockey," CBC Sports, accessed December 16, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/sports-content/hockey/hockeynightincanada60/>.

continued after technology improved. The precursor to the CBC, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission was bitterly opposed by a conglomerate of those regional radio stations that felt their audiences would be ill-served by a public broadcaster. Within the same era, the Canadian National Railway's radio network was harnessed to broadcast the 1927 Jubilee Celebration of Canadian Confederation throughout Canada and the world. While the Ottawa festivities were the focus, Canada's first national broadcast also provided space to the celebrations in twelve other Canadian cities whose choral performances were shared nationally. The pattern of bolstering CBC's national broadcasts with regional flavour continued in the television environment. Yet, the CBC's prominence in the lives of Canadians has been fading for several decades now due to increasing competition, funding limitations and even indifference by Canadians whose parents or grandparents were resolute listeners and viewers of the CBC.

As evidenced by Chapter Two, the dispersal of a parent organization's records throughout numerous organizations confuses or diminishes understanding of the CBC and its contribution to Canada's shared national consciousness. Canada's archival record was divided between CBC's internal archival network, Library and Archives Canada, and collections external to both the CBC and LAC. The external collections predominantly consist of CBC's regional records and were donated or curated by employees or regional production centres that felt CBC's regional archival record should be preserved where it was created. CBC's central internal holdings in Toronto or Montréal were reputed to be poorly managed and those regional records may have had a better chance of survival outside of CBC headquarters. Internally, the CBC's archival impetus evolved from minimal records management to internal reference resources and finally external

branding with the CBC Digital Archives. Overwhelmed by the number of records, the CBC depended on organizations like Library and Archives Canada to preserve its heritage even though the CBC was not subject to the LAC Act until recently.

Finally, Chapter Three examined the CBC's creation of a central website for its archival resources with the CBC Digital Archives. The initial digitization of the broadcast records and later financial support was provided through the Canadian Memory Fund, which in combination with the CBC's mandate, stressed the importance of serving all Canadians, not just those in Toronto or Montréal. Staff members leading the formation of the CBC Digital Archives made a concerted effort to include regional broadcast records. Given that one fifth of Canadians were not connected to the Internet in 2010 and even less had broadband Internet access and a computer capable of high speed processing and display, the CBC Digital Archives never did reach all Canadians. While this chapter's research did not explicitly answer why the CBC Digital Archives is the only institution advertised by the CBC, it likely is due to the website's staff pushing for prominence on the CBC.ca website. The corporation was also pleasantly surprised to discover the CBC Digital Archives doubled as a marketing tool inspiring brand loyalty and likely saw the logic in furthering its position on the "Resources and Archives" webpage.

This thesis endeavored to be an initial survey of CBC's archival landscape as the only previous sources were Ernest Dick's 1990 report and Radio-Canada's virtual tour of its various archival operations in 2008. The former is unavailable to the general public and the latter was a simplistic introduction presented without critique. Through an examination of the CBC's history and the CBC Digital Archives, the CBC's valuation of its own history is better understood.

Given the broad overview of CBC's archival holdings presented in this thesis, further research can be built upon this foundation. For example, it was beyond the scope of this thesis to closely analyze the type of CBC records held by the archives external to both the CBC and LAC. It is possible that a detailed review of CBC records held in Manitoba archives would provide further insight to CBC's regional operations. Other research can be conducted into the digital technologies underpinning the CBC Digital Archives or use the website as an example in a study of archives comprised of publications instead of the unpublished materials more traditionally understood as archival records.

Evaluating the CBC's archival network not only benefits historians seeking an explanation on the scattered CBC record, as this thesis also contributes to archival studies literature. As a case study, the CBC provides a strong and impactful example on the consequences of a weak recordkeeping culture. To be fair, other corporate organizations may not face challenges such as records created in various media formats or a mandated responsibility to the citizenry. Yet, those challenges are born from the CBC's centrality to the development of Canadian identity and history. That importance can only be properly understood with clear and consistent archival policies and practices.

As seen in Chapter Two, the CBC's chaotic and undervalued recordkeeping environment resulted in a multiplicity of archives each with its own conception of what was worth keeping. LAC prioritized CBC records of national significance while the Archives of Manitoba, for example, preferred regional records from CBC Manitoba. Moreover, regional interests often salvaged whatever CBC records entered their institutions knowing that neither LAC or the CBC could be depended on to preserve

them. While the CBC is a national institution, the corporation fulfilled its mandate of reaching all Canadians through regional radio and television stations. The CBC is not fully captured through either collecting model.

Competing archival interests have confused the existing CBC record not only by geographic divisions, but by subject concerns as well. As observed by VanderBurgh, the corporation's own archival network valued those broadcast records that could be repurposed or monetized through sources like the CBC Digital Archives. LAC acquired CBC records that were nationally significant. While Concordia and other university archives often targeted a specific type of record such as radio drama scripts. Private fonds of former CBC staff were often acquired because the individual was valued in some way, not necessarily because of the individual's impact on CBC's history. Duplication of records assuredly exists throughout Canada, just as there are significant and continuing gaps in the CBC record.

The most problematic gap is the lack of any concerted effort to archive the CBC's institutional history, as the broadcast records and papers of staff members are instead prioritized by the various parties. For several decades, the CBC has been facing increasing criticism and budget cuts with portions of the Canadian populace calling for its complete defunding. As evidenced in Chapter Three, the CBC Digital Archives evolved into a form of corporate memory online that educates or reminds Canadians of the CBC's value through curriculum resources and nostalgic social media posts. Yet, the complete absence of corporate records on the CBC Digital Archives reduces understanding on the CBC's importance to Canadians.

The nostalgic memories rebroadcast by the CBC Digital Archives have little impact on movements attacking the CBC.⁶ Their petitions or complaints often acknowledge CBC's previous importance in connecting Canadians through radio or television before dismissing it as historic with no current value for Canadians. Instead, the CBC is criticized for their unwillingness to share salaries and other budgetary information, as well as their perceived lack of accountability or neutrality. The CBC's alleged unpopularity is only magnified by the perceived inaccessibility of its corporate records.

In conclusion, the CBC Digital Archives grew from a tangled web of CBC archives, which in turn were informed by the corporation's wider policies and practices. The CBC's distributed content creation practices and broadcasting network produced scattered, and often duplicated, CBC records. Beginning in the 1990s, increased budgetary pressures amidst a rapidly changing media landscape provided additional challenges. As the only archival resource explicitly acknowledged by the CBC on its website, the CBC Digital Archives is perceived as the primary CBC archive. The weaknesses inherent in the confused CBC archival landscape are therefore disguised. The CBC claims "Canada Lives Here," but locating the "here" is not always that simple.

⁶ For example, see Michele Walsh, "Stop the taxpayers funding of the CBC Network," change.org, accessed March 15, 2017, <https://www.change.org/p/federal-government-of-canada-stop-the-taxpayers-funding-of-the-cbc-network>; CBC Exposed, "CBC Exposed," last modified March 15, 2017, accessed March 15, 2017, <http://cbcexposed.blogspot.ca/>.

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