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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CRITIQUE IN MUSIC VIDEOS
BROADCAST ON MUCHMUSIC

BY

STEVEN D. WILLIAMS



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Edmonton, Alberta
SPRING 1993



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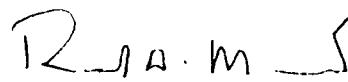
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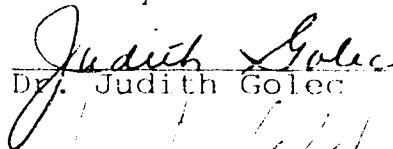
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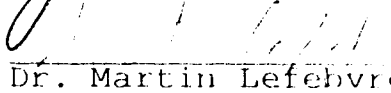
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March 29, 1993

ABSTRACT

This study takes as its basic premise the idea that music videos represent a new and unique form of cultural expression, not reducible to the formal properties of those expressions it most closely resembles: cinema, broadcast television and recorded popular music. A sociological approach informed by the theoretical diversity and methodological flexibility of cultural studies is suggested as the most appropriate means of identifying and analyzing the presence of social critique in this new cultural form. Music videos are conceptualized as cultural products which exist at three interrelated levels: production, text-in-itself, and reception. In order to bring these levels together while simultaneously maintaining an understanding of the processes at work at each level, seven distinct theoretical and methodological perspectives are applied separately, then integrated. The principles of political economy are employed at the level of production, while social semiotics is appropriated as a loose methodological framework. Audience reception research is acknowledged as a 'final gatekeeper' on reception, but is judged inappropriate to such large sample sizes as that studied here. In order to approximate probable audience reactions and interpretations, the perspectives of film studies (in particular Screen theory), psychoanalysis, feminist theory and postmodernism are applied.

The most readily accessible and widespread source of music videos in Canada is the 24-hour cable channel "MuchMusic". A one week sample of all videos broadcast on MuchMusic was videotaped, coded, and categorized according to the characteristics of each separate video text. Demographic characteristics of performers and musicians were recorded as well as the musical genre of each video. The visual component or sub-text of each video was then categorized across two dimensions - performance images and all other images. Finally, through application of the various theoretical and methodological perspectives reviewed, each text was placed in one or more of six categories reflecting the essential 'message' of each video, as they relate to the presence or lack of social critique. Once categorized, several quasi-statistical tables were constructed in search of patterns to various critical modes across demographic, musical genre, and visual sub-text lines. Results and conclusions are then presented, along with suggestions for future research.

This thesis is respectfully and affectionately dedicated to
Catherine Krull
a friend the likes of whom I shall not find again.

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11. INTERTEXTION

A. Cultural Studies and Music Video

Cultural studies, as essentially a hybrid of the humanities and the social sciences, seeks to understand the various uses to which cultural manifestations are put and the means by which they are created, distributed and interpreted. As Patrick Brantlinger explains in his recent study of American and British cultural studies, *Crucefs: Footprints*:

...in accord with [Raymond] Williams's dictum that "culture is ordinary," the focus of British cultural studies has been on "everyday life" or the structures and practices within and through which modern society constructs and circulates meanings and values. (1990: 37)

It is an interdisciplinary perspective that recognizes an inherent lack of objectivity or closure in its subject matter: culture. The term culture itself has not as yet and perhaps will never achieve a universally agreed upon definition. In *Keywords* Raymond Williams points out the source of this disagreement as intrinsic to the nature of culture as not only a collective 'state of being' but a complex set of historically shifting activities:

These variations, of whatever kind, necessarily involve alternative views of the activities, relationships and processes which this complex word indicates. The complexity, that is to say, is not finally in the word but in the problems which its variations of use significantly indicate. (1985:92)

One of the crucial historical developments in the emergence of cultural studies has been the continuing

breakdown of the dichotomy between 'high' and 'low' culture and art. While this term has not always been greeted with enthusiasm by many social theorists, it is a process that has led to the recognition of 'everyday' cultural expressions as authentic and important forces in the shaping of societal attitudes and values. Culture, that is, whether part of the accepted canons of high art or not, is inherently ideological and political even when it does not overtly appear so. As John Fiske argues:

...the attempt of the dominant classes to naturalize their meanings is rarely, if ever, the result of a conscious intention of the individual members of those classes... Rather, it must be understood as the work of ideology inscribed in the cultural and social practices of a class and therefore of the members of that class. And this brings us to another basic assumption: culture is ideological. (1987:255-56)

One of the more influential essays exploring the high/low breakdown is Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". While Benjamin's Frankfurt School colleagues and such conservative critics as F.R. Leavis were virtually unanimous in their condemnation of popular culture as a force for a distasteful social levelling (conservative critique) or an atomising distraction attenuating social criticism (Frankfurt School critique), Benjamin saw the potential for a type of cultural 'democratization' associated with the evaporation of the "aura" of art:

To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose "sense of

the universal equality of things" has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction. (1936/1986: 32)

Benjamin also understood that popular culture products were likely to represent more than a vacuous 'lowest common denominator' of culture and that the placement of cultural production in the hands of an increasingly large strata of society meant an expansion of the platform for political commentary and critique:

...the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice - politics. (1936/1986: 33)

The question of popular culture's use in political and ideological critique, however, is not simply one of an increasing democratization. The issues addressed by such Frankfurt School theorists as Adorno, Horkheimer and Lowenthal go beyond a somewhat dismissive attitude towards the content of popular culture products to a concern with the political control of its production. Artistic creation may no longer be the exclusive province of recognized geniuses, but it is certainly not accessible to all societal members on an equal basis. The production of culture is interwoven with capitalist modes of production, perhaps inextricably bound up in the very ideology of capitalism. As Simon Frith, echoing the Frankfurt School concerns of a half century ago, has recently argued:

Pop is a classic case of alienation: something human is taken from us and returned in the form of a commodity. Songs and singers are fetishized, made magical, and we can only reclaim them through possession, via a cash transaction in the market place. (1988:12)

These are the questions and concerns that cultural studies has taken up in the past three decades. The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, under the direction of such well-known figures as Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall was established in 1963 and has drawn on such diverse fields of inquiry as film studies, literary criticism, sociology, ethnography and psychoanalysis. While the influence of the Centre itself may have declined somewhat, its function as a catalyst was performed admirably, with interdisciplinary cultural studies departments dispersed throughout Europe, North America and Australia.

One of the fields of inquiry that cultural studies has helped to render 'acceptable' to mainstream academia is the study of the production and influence of popular music. With the rise of the popular music form known as rock and roll in the mid 1950s came one of the first widespread societal reactions to what was believed to be the 'subversive' influence of pop music. Compared to the Tin Pan Alley song styles of the preceding decades, rock and roll was considered frenzied, vulgar and a source of moral corruption. The history of popular music over the last four

decades has been the subject of innumerable books, articles and academic analyses, to the point where something of an 'official' history may now be recounted. In aid of providing historical context, then, this history will be reviewed briefly.

Rock and roll is in essence African-American blues played with the benefit of electricity; a musical form that can trace its ancestry back to the songs of African slaves brought to the Western hemisphere in the centuries of European colonialism. In the twentieth century blues became most closely associated with the southern United States, most particularly the 'Mississippi Delta' region. Rock and roll was derived from this music, coupled with the influence of country/rockabilly, and to a lesser extent, jazz. As mentioned, the first few years of rock and roll's mass popularity were a strange and alarming phenomenon for much of American society, although by 1959 it seemed the 'fad' had died out and the popular music industry turned again to the production of safe, clean teen idols. However, the peculiarly American genre of rock and roll was returned to its country of origin in a revitalized and repackaged form with the 'British Invasion' of the early to mid 1960s. Bands such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones and the Who represented the unique idea of self-contained musical groups that wrote their own songs and played all their own instruments. Together with the influence of American folk

music, popularized primarily by Bob Dylan, the world of rock lyrics now allowed room for the exploration of virtually any subject, including social critique. There is a tendency in much writing on this period to romanticize the extent of the 'youth culture' that emerged in the late 1960s, but suffice to say that at least the perception of a unified, cohesive community of Western youth centring on popular music did exist.

As the 'official' history of pop music would have it, rock music suffered a creative decline in the 1970s, with the formerly vital and socially conscious groups of the sixties transforming into wealthy, complacent 'dinosaur' bands. In the summer of 1976 in London, and in 1977 for the rest of Britain and North America, came another movement designed to revitalize rock and pop music. Punk rock was not only defiant and angry music, it was performed by musicians whose musical skills were often little better than those of their audience. The point was to put popular music back into 'the hands of the people'. It took very little time, however, before the majority of the new independent record labels were taken over by the larger corporations and punk/new wave became more a fashion statement than the fusion of a political and musical movement it ostensibly began as.¹ Since the early 1980s popular music has

¹ In Subculture: The Meaning of Style Dick Hebdige explores the subversive elements of the English punk subculture through a combined ethnographic and semiotic/textual reading technique. Style

manifested a number of interesting but short-lived 'movements', particularly in Britain. There have been rockabilly, mod and ska revivals, a consistent flirtation with Jamaican reggae styles, the dark and nihilistic 'post-punk death rock' genre centred primarily in Manchester, the technopop variation on late seventies disco and several others.

North American pop, by contrast, has remained closer to a blues-based rock and its relatively linear evolution into present day pop rock stylings. Perhaps the most anomalous development in American pop music has been the recent rise of 'rap' music; a socially conscious musical style developing from the black inner-city areas of large American metropolises, and distinguished from other genres in its unique 'conversational' style of lyric presentation. At present, then, there is no overriding 'youth culture' or mainstream musical style capable of galvanizing a coherent cultural community, but rather a diverse collection of pseudo-subcultures characterized by widely varying degrees

is seen as the site where ideological contestation visibly occurs. Recognized mundane objects are given new meanings through their 'inappropriate' use: "These 'humble objects' can be magically appropriated; 'stolen' by subordinate groups and made to carry 'secret' meanings: meanings which express, in code, a form of resistance to the order which guarantees their continued subordination." (p.18) Published at a time (1979) when punk rock was still relatively vital, Hebdige later has serious reservations in asserting the connection between musical subculture styles and ideological resistance. In 1988's Hiding in the Light he bluntly states that "...the idea of subculture-as-negation grew up alongside punk, remained inextricably linked to it, and died when it died..." (p.8).

of cohesion. This does not, however, dissuade such groups as the Parent's Music Resource Center from claiming the lyrical content of rock and rap songs to be a destructive influence on the morality of North American youth.'

To the records, concerts and radio air play of pop stars has recently been added a new medium for the recording artist: that of music videos. Originally designed as a promotional tool, videos have now become an integral part of the popular music industry and a recognized form of cultural expression in themselves. The addition of image to music greatly expands the range of possible messages that may be conveyed by a pop song. Standing as it does at the intersection between popular music, cinema and television, music video is a unique manifestation of popular culture that demands a corresponding flexibility of approach in its analysis. As Peter Wollen has argued:

The polarised distinction between avant-garde and kitsch, high and low art; the doctrine of the purity of genres; the cluster of aesthetic concepts around the idea of artistic originality - all these are useless for any serious engagement with a hybrid and technologically sophisticated form such as music video. The whole apparatus of levels, standards, hierarchies, boundaries, limits, centres and sources needs to be re-thought. (1986:169)

The PMRC is an American special interest group consisting largely of influential senators's and congressmen's wives (hence their nickname "the Washington Wives") who have convened senate hearings on such subjects as 'backwards masking' (the reversed recording of music and lyrics that can only be deciphered when a untable is spun backwards, but which apparently incite listeners to irresponsible or delinquent behaviour) and the explicit lyrics found primarily in hard rock/heavy metal and rap records.

To this task the field of cultural studies seems particularly well suited. As a discipline that purposefully draws from a wide variety of knowledge fields, cultural studies is not bound by the occasionally restrictive methodologies or theoretical assumptions of any one particular paradigm, and may engage itself with the project of 're-thinking' these artistic and cultural assumptions.

B. Purpose of Analysis

In short, the purpose of this study is to gain insight into the degree to and manner in which music videos avail themselves of their ability to constitute a platform for social critique. That is, to what extent do music videos transmit messages of ideological acceptance, ideological challenge, or messages that do not take up these issues at all? Ultimately this study may be characterized as a content analysis and a series of textual readings, informed by the theoretical and methodological flexibility of a cultural studies perspective. The units of analysis are of a type that resist the closure of 'texts-in-themselves,' yet do exhibit identifiable spatial-temporal boundaries. The analysis will be conducted on two manifest levels: each video as text, and the particular medium in which they are broadcast - music television - as text. However, since no text exists as a self-contained unit, but implies a wide range of other texts as its horizon, attention will also be paid to the economic and social conditions of production and the manner in which audiences are likely to receive or 'read' these texts. In essence, music videos are conceptualized as polyglot in themselves and reflective of a wider cultural heteroglossia.¹

¹ Heteroglossia is an idea explored by, among others, M.M. Bakhtin and will be elaborated upon later in this text. It is a reference to the idea that individual authorship of any text is a misunderstanding of artistic/cultural creation, since all such 'authorship' is in fact a reflection of the myriad social "speech

This analysis will be undertaken in accordance with the perspective that sees cultural expression as the arena of ideological (re)production and contestation. As the vast majority of videos under consideration here are either American, Canadian or British in origin, a wider ideological backdrop may be seen as the general milieu in which these cultural manifestations are produced - late capitalism. The more particular ideological assumptions and orientations that accompany this economic and cultural condition will be taken up shortly.

In Canada the cable television network MuchMusic is the best known and most widely viewed forum for music video. It is from this network that the videos in this study are culled, and a brief overview of its structure and programming will be presented. This is followed by an examination of the production-text-reception framework. Several theoretical perspectives and methodological orientations are then considered, followed by a limited integration of these ideas and a discussion of 'ideology' as it relates to the form and content of music video. The remainder of the thesis is taken up by an explanation of method and the presentation of video analyses. It is expected that, given the heterogeneous, fragmented state of the popular music industry and audience, the prevalence of social critique will vary widely between, but less so

genres" which already exist.

within the various mineral species.

C. MuchMusic

1. General Description

MuchMusic is a 24-hour Canadian cable television channel available as part of most basic cable services. It is a network devoted almost exclusively to popular music and the broadcast of music videos. MuchMusic is based loosely on the American station MTV (Music Television), and began broadcasting August 31, 1984 (MTV began broadcasting in August of 1981). MuchMusic is based in Toronto, and broadcasts live from a downtown 'studio'.⁴ The network makes use of the Canadian communications satellite Anik D, and is seen in approximately five million Canadian cabled households as well as private and public facilities in the United States and Latin America equipped with satellite dishes. From 1986 to 1989 MuchMusic was also seen by approximately 26 million people in 19 European countries through an agreement with England's SKY Channel. Although a limited number of Québécois videos in the French language are broadcast on MuchMusic, the network has also initiated "the world's first and only" French language video channel

⁴ MuchMusic's live broadcasts are not shot in a studio as such, but from a variety of locations in and around their production facilities. The following excerpt from the MuchMusic 1992 press kit explains the principle: "The world's first television facility without studios, 299 Queen Street West was renovated specifically to accommodate the different way we produce television. Office, hallway and lobby - even the rooftop, parking lot and sidewalks outside - can be quickly transformed into shooting 'sets'. The high concept is of a building that can literally 'shoot itself'; thereby facilitating and reflecting our emphasis on speed, flexibility, high energy and high volume."

available on a pay-per-view basis or a pay-TV option. The number of subscribers to MusiquePlus and now to MusiquePlus 2 is approximately 1.7 million Quebec households.

The basic format of MuchMusic is that of an AM or FM radio station; vee-jays (video jockeys) rather than deejays (disc jockeys) are employed, and programming concentrates on current hit singles. The obvious crucial distinction is the addition of image. Like other Canadian media, MuchMusic is subject to CRPC regulations, including a minimum amount of 'Canadian content.' Also in common with commercial radio and television, MuchMusic broadcasts include a significant amount of advertising. Products, services and organizations sponsoring MuchMusic correspond roughly to those of commercial television in general, with some degree of demographic research indicated by the inclusion of products specifically targeted at an adolescent population.

2. Programming, Scheduling and Pacing

In recent years MuchMusic programming has increasingly moved away from a radio-styled format and towards that of television (although arguably not quite as far as its American counterpart MTV). There currently exist 21 different 'programs' ranging from a daily 1/2 hour entertainment news feature ("FAX") to syndicated features like "The Monkees." The majority of these specialized

¹ MusiquePlus began broadcasting in September of 1986; since September of 1988 it has adopted the 24-hour format and is available in Quebec on basic cable service.

programs, however, are variations on the basic veejay display format of a pleasant looking individual chatting to a vast audience and introducing the next video clip. "The Power Power 90" for example, deviates from the format only in its specific subject matter: hard rock and heavy metal music rather than general pop.

The MuchMusic broadcast day begins at 12:00 noon Eastern time and runs to 8:00 in the evening. The entire eight hour cycle is then repeated twice, and the next live broadcast begins. The only exceptions to this format currently occur on Mondays and Fridays when a few extra programs are scheduled. The live broadcast day runs slightly longer and certain programs are therefore repeated only once. (see appendix A).

On weekdays the first four hours of each day's broadcast are taken up by the less rigidly structured basic format of a single veejay introducing a variety of videos from any musical genre. MuchMusic refers to this broadcast segment as "video flow". It includes advertisements, occasional live interviews and impromptu performances with/by recording artists, and veejay 'chatter', including interaction with co-workers and curious observers. The average number of videos seen each hour in this format is

¹ The eight hour cycle is not simply repeated in an identical chronological order. The various programs are shuffled somewhat, reflecting an awareness of 'prime time' and late night viewing hours.

approximately four days (Friday and Saturday). This segment aired daily, rather than four hours, the program slot is cut to three, and the videos that are broadcast fall into the musical genres of rock and hard rock. For one half hour every weekday, the broadcast location shifts to Vancouver for 'MuchWest', a 'branch office' where the Vancouver veejay introduces general pop videos from a variety of locations in and around Vancouver. (For a complete listing and brief description of the remaining specialized programs see appendix B).

3. The VeeJays

Since the crucial, overriding characteristic of music television is image, the criteria for veejay selection are by no means restricted to voice quality and musical knowledge. Veejays must know how to behave in front of a camera, they must project their own individual styles both visually and in the content of their monologues. It may also be speculated that physical attractiveness would not be considered a liability. There are basically ten regular veejays and a few supporting cast members. Four of these ten handle the general "video flow" portion of the broadcast day as well as certain specialized programs, the remaining six appear only in the shorter features. Of these ten most often seen individuals, six are male and four female, eight are white and two black, nine speak English as their mother tongue while one (Natalie Richard) is French Canadian with

an adequate understanding of English. The ten individuals are listed with a brief summary of the above demographic characteristics:

1. Michael Williams	male/black/English
2. Erica Ehm	female/white/English
3. Steve Anthony	male/white/English
4. Natalie Richard	female/white/French
5. Simon Evans	male/white/English
6. Teresa Roncon	female/white/English
7. Terry David Mulligan	male/white/English
8. Master - T	male/black/English
9. Ziggy Lorenc	female/white/English
10. Bill Welychka	male/white/English

It should be noted that veejay styles often reflect the subject matter with which they are dealing. Teresa Roncon, for example, appears on "The Pepsi Power 30" hard rock program; she is probably the youngest of the veejays, usually dresses in a black leather jacket, and seems to reflect her audience's mannerisms to some degree in her syntax and body language.⁷ Michael Williams and "Master-T", the two black veejays, handle all programs dealing with black music (Soul in the City, RapCity and X-Tendmix). Terry David Mulligan may be seen as the 'elder statesman' of the MuchMusic veejays. Far from ancient, at perhaps 40 to 45 years of age he is nonetheless easily the oldest member of the cast. In addition to MuchWest, Mulligan is the veejay for "Backtrax", the one-hour program dedicated to the

⁷ This is something of a speculation regarding the typical viewer of "The Pepsi Power 30". It is assumed that hard rock and heavy metal listeners tend to be younger, male and of slightly 'lower' than average socio-economic status. Thus, a younger, attractive female with a 'street smart' attitude might be assumed to appeal to such an audience.

history of rock music. The ten main veejays differ in the seriousness of their approaches. Generally, of the four primary personalities, Steve Anthony and Natalie Richard adopt rather playful attitudes while Erica Ehm and Michael Williams are more subdued. It is likely that such distinctions are by design so that viewers might better identify with the veejays that best reflect their own attitudes.

D. Levels of Analysis

Virtually all tangible manifestations of popular culture exist on three interdependent levels: the original motivations, intentions and structural conditions surrounding the product's genesis; the product itself as a quasi-independent text; and the particular range of probable and possible interpretations of its meanings or message. Each of these levels, seen in isolation, suggest certain respective theories and methods best suited to their analysis. However, both the product levels and corresponding means of analysis cannot be studied in isolation without sacrificing integral information and contextual groundings. It is preferable, therefore, to adopt a more holistic approach to cultural product analysis. Yet any attempt to exhaustively catalogue all influences on a product's creation, as well as all possible interpretations of that product is unrealistic, especially while maintaining such a holistic outlook. The division of cultural creation and reception into these three general areas is a means of rendering the task manageable, requiring only the caveat that these distinctions are permeable boundaries and that a rigid separation is an artificial one. This section will break down these levels, briefly examine the best suited theories and methods, then demonstrate the need to integrate the three domains.

1. Production

Popular music products - record albums, cassettes, compact discs and videos - are not created as direct expressive communication between artist and audience. Recording artists rely on large complex organizations, and their work is subjected to a wide variety of interrelated economic and structural contingencies, all of which have some influence on the form and content of the finished product. The first readily apparent structural influence on the creation of popular music products is that of the well-entrenched capitalist mode of production. If the guiding principles of capitalism are the maximization of profit and the expansion of markets, popular music products must take on the forms that best reflect the realization of these goals. Such decisions are seldom left entirely in the hands of recording artists themselves. Record producers, recording engineers, and record company personnel work to maximize profits as in any large-scale economic endeavour, and hold positions that entail a great deal of specialized and technical knowledge.

Generally the recording artist deals with two potentially intimidating organizations: the record company, responsible for promotion and distribution; and the recording studio, responsible for the transformation of the

" For the remainder of this text, vinyl records, analog cassettes, compact discs and digital audio tapes will be referred to collectively as "discs".

recording artist's ideas into commercially viable product. Co-operation, as well as the congruence of artistic and commercial goals between recording artist and organizational personnel vary widely. Some pop stars are simply well-packaged figureheads, singing songs written by a record company's stable of songwriters and employing the session musicians of the recording studio. Others may constitute tight knit self-contained bands demanding a great deal of autonomy or 'artistic freedom.' After repeated recording sessions, many artists reach the point of functioning as their own producers (although recording engineers are almost always necessary), and with commercial success are able to negotiate more flexible contracts with their record companies, perhaps even forming their own labels. This, however, is relatively rare. If, then, artistic control is at best less than complete regarding the production of discs, it is even further removed with the production of videos. The necessity of video production as a promotional vehicle has also necessitated the introduction of a new specialized knowledge form; that of film-making. While few recording artists are trained in these methods, neither are the traditional production and distribution personnel associated with record companies and recording studios. Video production is an arena more alien to many recording artists than the complexities of the studio mixing board or the demographics of market research.

There are, then, two sets of interacting variables for analysis in the production stage of music videos: the artistic and economic intentions of the individuals and organizations involved, and the structural constraints and enablements of technological innovations and specialized knowledge that set (elastic) boundaries on the range of possible products. In short, the production of popular music videos is embedded in the ideological grounding of contemporary capitalism, structured by the particular specialized institutions and organizations established in accordance with this ideology, and rendered somewhat more flexible by the volatile and unpredictable nature of its subject matter. At this level of analysis, then, the theoretical orientations which suggest themselves reflect these concerns and include certain aspects of political economy, the field of organizational sociology, and its cultural permutation, the "production of culture" perspective.

2. Product

Between producers' intentions and audiences' reception falls the product itself. It would not exist without the former, and is virtually meaningless without the latter. Yet there is a seductive sense of closure to a popular music product, either video or disc; it is temporally brief but complete, spatially portable, and seemingly self-contained. Once the productive process is complete and the product

becomes 'public property', it may be appropriated as a disembodied artifact, available for scrutiny through a number of micro tools of analysis. Treating the individual video clip as a discrete unit of analysis yields these advantages, and it is tempting to treat the text-in-itself as a microcosm of the productive and receptive forces surrounding it, but a recognition of the artificiality of this separation and the need for context must be retained.

Analysis at this level concerns the interacting axes of form and content. With regard to the latter, the most obvious methodological framework for application is that of content analysis. But content analysis may mean many things, and the rigidity of this method has softened (if not evaporated) over the years. This, of course, is a necessary development when applied to cultural studies, as cultural products are replete with ambiguities and subjective interpretations. Content analysis is in a sense an inescapable method inherent in any study of cultural products, austere or polemic, and perhaps best conceptualized as a loose and general framework becoming more or less rigorous with each particular application.

Many other theoretical and methodological orientations span the boundaries between production, product and reception. Those to be applied to the analysis of music videos in this study include social semiotics, certain principles of film studies (particularly the insights

gleaned from 1970s Screen theory), limited application of Lacanian psychoanalysis, feminist theory and postmodernism. Criteria for the identification of postmodern cultural texts are rather ill-defined, but certain indications of this orientation can be found by noting such video features as an opposition to linear narrative and the use of such techniques as visual pastiche.

3. Reception

Analysis at this level concerns the application of techniques designed to reduce a potentially infinite number of possible interpretations to a finite number of probable ones. This involves the use of the more traditional methods associated with audience reception research: surveys, questionnaires and interviews, more or less structured or open-ended. The typical form of this research has traditionally involved survey questionnaires designed to elicit causal connections between musical preferences and a variety of demographic control variables. However, some progress toward research on subjective audience interpretation has been made recently.

This method is of course dependent on the appropriate application of whatever theoretical perspective drives the research. In the present study, the orientations discussed above are suggested as potential complements to audience reception research. It may be useful, for example, to consider probable patterns of non-cognitive apprehension

through the use of psychoanalytic principles; allowing for more informed speculations on the likely effects of different visual representation techniques. The areas of film studies, postmodernism and feminist theory all provide complementary insights into the probable range of meanings transmitted to and interpreted by the music video audience. A more detailed discussion of the perspectives outlined thus far and their applications to music video analysis now follows.

II. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The analysis of popular culture products has been approached from a wide variety of perspectives, from vehement condemnation as either vacuous or dangerous (both conservative and earlier Marxist critiques), to a romanticism of 'authentic' working class culture (Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson and to a lesser extent Raymond Williams), to a valorization of youth subcultures as the site of political resistance and ideological transformation. In "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms" Stuart Hall categorizes the basic distinction in cultural studies as that between "structuralism" and "culturalism." The former is influenced by Althusser and is interested in overarching transhistorical constitutive structures such as language, while the latter takes a more 'humanist' approach defending the possibility of meaningful human agency and concentrating on more individualistic subtleties and subjective interpretations of meaning. Bennett (1986) and Turner (1992) suggest that the recent renewed interest in Gramscian theories of hegemony within cultural studies bridges this distinction and renders the split redundant. The general orientation, however, has produced distinct contributions to the study of popular culture products/texts and their relative ideological importance that are usefully reviewed as a set of insights informing the present study.

Although a generalization, the structuralist orientation may be considered to include most strands of political economy, formalist (classical) semiotics and the 'subject positioning' perspectives associated with the film studies ideas presented in the influential journal *Screen*. The culturalist camp includes not only the earlier 'romantic' working-class studies of Roggart and Thompson, but later ethnographic studies such as Paul Willis's Learning to Labour and Dick Hebdige's Subculture: The Meaning of Style. A culturalist orientation is also evident in diachronic or "social" semiotics and in the concerns of many feminist commentators. In terms of audiences, the distinction is clearly evident in the differing approaches of audience reception (structuralist) and reader response (culturalist) research.

All of the above perspectives will be explored in the following sections of this text in order to provide a backdrop against which the subsequent study may be placed. Some attention will also be paid to the ideas associated with postmodernism, a perspective which resists placement in either the structuralist or culturalist paradigm. At present there is no single agreed upon method of analyzing music video. It has received less attention than cinema, television or literary texts not only because of its short history, but because it is typically seen as ambiguous, polysemic, narratively fragmented and thus exceptionally

different methods.³ Nevertheless, the perspective most often applied is that of a semantic textual reading and it is hoped that a sensitivity to this wide array of viewpoints will lend balance to a method attained by the tension between the subjectivity of textual reading and the formality of content analysis.

A. Political Economy and Cultural Industrial Ideology

Popular music is a multi-billion dollar a year industry, and arguably the most popular form of entertainment in the world. This is certainly true in such popular music producing countries as Great Britain, Canada and the United States, where by the mid 1970s "sales on records or tapes easily outgrossed the returns on movies or sports." (Frith, 1981:5) Record companies are quite often huge conglomerate corporations with diverse interests. The production of popular music is firmly entrenched in capitalist modes of production and relies heavily on economies of scale. The basic principle of 'Fordism' has not as yet been extinguished: it is far more profitable, that is, to sell ten million copies of one disc than one million of ten different discs. Many principles of Marxian economics are inappropriate to this industry (the labour theory of value, for example, is a moot point), but certain later Marxist critiques of capitalist production still hold true, particularly many of the ideas advanced by such Frankfurt School theorists as Adorno, Horkheimer, Lowenthal and Marcuse. The recording industry does, for example, attempt the creation of 'false' needs. These 'needs', however, ultimately are better understood as tastes or preferences, which are never completely under the control of corporate manipulation. Certainly these are 'best available' choices rather than selections from a completely open cultural

field, and the parameters of these choices are in no small degree established by production and distribution systems. Somewhere between radical 'free choice' and homogenous monopoly control stands the actual condition of the popular music industry, and it is the identification of this position to which the principles of political economy and organizational sociology may be applied.

Frankfurt School theorists, particularly Theodor Adorno, were concerned with what they perceived to be the 'atomizing' effect of mass produced popular culture, which reduced participation to mundane, alienated consumer selection in essence no different from any other marketplace decisions. The connection between composer and appreciative listener had been supplanted by that of producer and consumer. Thus was the audience for popular music 'at the mercy' of monolithic culture producing institutions and their own ideological agendas.' The capitalist mode of production was also held to destroy popular culture's inherent potential for social criticism by standardizing cultural expression at a 'lowest common denominator'. Leo Lowenthal asserted that popular culture has "...its own genuine characteristics: standardization, stereotypy, conservatism, mundacity, manipulated consumer goods"

¹ The potential for state, and perhaps totalitarian, control of culture producing institutions was a keenly felt danger to Adorno et al during the time (and place) of these writings: early to mid century continental Europe.

(1957:55). If this view seems overly pessimistic today, one need only remember the formulated, ideologically assertive nature of popular music in the Tin Pan Alley pre-rock era and the former monopoly of ASCAP.

Culture producing organizations, however, continue to strive towards just those conditions of standardization that Frankfurt School theorists found so distasteful. That they have had little success for approximately forty years is less the fault of their efficient and powerful organizational structure, and more the result of popular music's transformation from seamless professional precision to youth-oriented emphases on energy and expressiveness. From the first perplexing appearance of rock and roll in the 1950s and the youth and drug 'counter-cultures' of the late 1960s, to the nihilism of punk in the late 1970s and the 'subversive' lyrical content of present day heavy metal and rap music, the recording industry has ignored, accepted, tolerated and tamed a wide variety of ideologically and politically oppositional cultural expressions. The result has been a realization on the part of culture producing organizations that while the recording industry is certainly too profitable to abandon, it is inherently unstable and unpredictable. A great deal of energy and capital is therefore expended on strategies to stabilize the market. Small, independent record companies are absorbed by larger corporations as soon as they are perceived to be making

inroads into the mainstream, leading to the market situation known as oligopolistic control (i.e. where a small number of firms control a disproportionately large share of the market). Other 'coping strategies' include overproduction and differential promotion, the co-optation of mass-media gatekeepers, and the ongoing attempts at homogenizing the entire industry.¹⁰

All of this, of course, has consequences for the form and content of popular music products. Each product must be distinct enough to lend the impression of novelty, but not so different as to exclude a 'mainstream' audience. Products which challenge established musical, lyrical or ideological assumptions may not be promoted or distributed to the same extent as those deemed commercially viable. Recording artists realize this, and it is a powerful incentive to exceed to the creative/commercial wishes of industry 'experts'.

Music videos, it may be argued, are even more constrained than discs in terms of what may be produced for public consumption. Music videos are seen almost exclusively on television cable networks that are (potentially)

¹⁰ For detailed explanations of how these processes operate, see: Richard A. Peterson and David Berger, "Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music", American Sociological Review 40:158-73, 1975; Richard A. Peterson, "Five Constraints on the Production of Culture: Law, Technology, Market, Organizational Structure and Occupational Careers", Journal of Popular Culture 16(2):143-53, 1982; Joseph Turow, Media Industries: The Production of News and Entertainment. New York: Longman, 1984.

accessible to every segment of society. They must, therefore, be subject to the same regulations as network television with regard to profanity and acceptable subject matter. As will be seen later, however, sophisticated editing and post-production techniques allow for many 'questionable' images to slip past censors and regulators.

The range of social and political commentary found in music videos as compared to discs may also be constrained by the nature of the productive process. Like discs, videos are produced with the economic interests of large corporations in mind, and are made with the aid of complex, largely inaccessible technology. Unlike discs, however, videos are produced not to be 'consumed' in themselves (other than in the same manner as radio air play), but to entice greater sales of the discs from which they are culled. Music videos, that is, serve an even more overtly commercial function than discs, their genesis embedded in a purely promotional purpose, a product in aid of another product. This purely promotional function, however, now coincides with the emergence of music video as an 'art form' in itself. With the present lack of video production knowledge in the hands and minds of musicians, it is an art form controlled to a large degree by 'outsiders', producers and directors with specialized knowledge in film-making, but not necessarily with a great deal of affinity for the artistic sensibilities of musicians and songwriters.

The principles of political economy and the production of culture strain of organizational sociology suggest a rather pessimistic outlook on the possibilities of ideologically challenging cultural expression (assuming one views cultural diversity as preferable to homogenization). But such a judgement is tempered by the knowledge that there is something inherently unpredictable in the popular music industry, as witnessed by mainstream society's consistent preoccupation with popular music's deleterious effects on the moral sensibilities of the English speaking world's youth. It may be predicted, nonetheless, that music television is a more homogenous representation of the available range of musical product.

B. Screen Theory and Subject Positioning

In the mid to late 1970s the British film studies journal Screen gained notoriety as a forum for the sociological and psychological critique of Western filmmaking, particularly the mainstream form of realist narrative cinema. Screen theorists questioned the ideological grounding of cinema and exposed its operation as one of 'positioning' audiences as relatively powerless subjects imbedded in a naturalized hegemonic flow of discourse. Meanings were not constructed by viewers, they were already in the cinematic text, and were imposed upon audiences by subtle techniques that disguised ideological biases. As Brantlinger describes the process:

The realistic narrative or image masks contradictions, including...the contradictions between the illusion of the free, unified, rationally knowing bourgeois individual on the one hand, and the 'interpellated,' thoroughly 'subjected' subject of ideology on the other. (1990:167)

This conception of text over subject, denying the negotiation of meanings on the part of the viewer/reader has been extensively critiqued and its extreme formulations have not retained wide acceptance. However, the techniques of the cinematic apparatus in this regard still exist, and their power is considerable. It is worth reviewing these techniques, then, and salvaging from them what is relevant for the analysis of the quasi-cinematic form of music video.

In "A Lecture on Realism", Raymond Williams discusses the form's rise in 18th century English bourgeoisie drama, identifying it as an important tool of ideological persuasion. Rendering morality plays contemporary, secular, and involved with 'the common folk' disguised their messages as natural (1977:64-68). A similar function is performed by such simple devices as the use of camera point of view. Since the audience has no choice but to follow the gaze of the camera, its viewpoint is fused with his or her own: "...specific uses of method and technique are in the end inseparable from fundamental conscious or unconscious positions, viewpoints and intentions." (p.71) In "The Imaginary Signifier", Christian Metz takes this point even further, seeing spectator consciousness as simply a reflection of applied cinematic technique:

The outer machine (the cinema as industry) and the inner machine (the spectator's psychology) are not just metaphorically related, the latter is a facsimile of the former, 'internalising' it as a reversed π l... (1975:19)

The implication of spectator into the imaginary/realistic world of the film requires more than a simple identification with camera view or likeable protagonist. The technique of shot and counter-shot, for example, lets the viewer 'see' from each character's eyes, but one cannot leap from consciousness to consciousness without experiencing some form of psychological dissonance or distancing one's self from the flow of discourse. To

maintain an unquestioning involvement with the film's narrative requires the employment of a technique described in Screen as "suture." As its name implies, suturing 'stitches' the viewer into the imaginary landscape of the film, into a seamless temporal progression that appears natural and correct.

Suture as a concept was first introduced to Screen readers by Jacques-Alain Miller in 1977. In "Suture (elements of the logic of the signifier)", Miller derives the idea from the disparate sources of Lacanian psychoanalysis and the formal logic properties of mathematics (modified from Gottlob Frege's work on the foundations of arithmetic). The mathematical origins are rather complex, dealing with the logical inconsistency of zero as a number ("The first non-real thing in thought" [1977:30]), and Miller makes no overt attempt to tie the concept to cinematic analysis. His definition of the term, however, is revealing in its potential for such analysis:

Suture names the relation of the subject to the chain of its discourse; we shall see that it figures there as the element which is lacking, in the form of a stand-in. (pp.25-26)

It is interesting to compare this definition to that of Jean-Pierre Oudart, writing in the same issue of Screen:

Suture represents the closure of the cinematic énoncé in line with its relationship with its subject (the filmic subject or rather, the cinematic subject), which is recognised, and then put in its place as the spectator... Every filmic field is echoed by an absent field, the place of a character who is put there by the viewer's

imaginary,¹¹ and which we shall call the Absent One. (1977:35-36)

Miller's "stand-in" and Oudart's "Absent One" represent both the technique of suture and the subject thus constituted. The Absent One is the viewer, or at least the space he¹² inhabits in the world of the film, sometimes omniscient, sometimes as a character, but never entirely as either. The logical impossibility of this position is overlooked and never questioned, unless the conventions of realist cinema are violated. Realist cinema represents a self-contained universe that no other mass medium recreates in quite so perfect a manner. It satisfies, at least temporarily, the human need for a sense of closure or completeness. As Stephen Heath explains:

Suture closes cinematic discourse (the articulation of cinema as discourse), closes the spectator-subject in that process, ceaselessly, throughout the time of the film which then sets out a constant repetition of the subject as difference in the passage across the spectator from Absent One to some one. (1977:59)

To be sutured into the cinematic text and constituted as subject in this process is to be implicated in a flow of discourse. It should be noted that the physical arrangements

¹¹ Even this account suggests a more active role for the spectator's imaginary than some Screen theorists are willing to accept. Heath, for example, stresses that "...it is not the spectator's imaginary, as Oudart at times appears to state, which sutures the discourse; rather, the suturing function includes the spectator as part of an imaginary production." (1977:60)

¹² The masculine pronoun is used here deliberately, for reasons to be explained in the following discussions of psychoanalysis and feminist theory.

associated with cinema (i.e. theatre) viewing also contribute to this process. Theatre audiences sit in silent darkness, dwarfed by an enormous screen and surrounded by the stereo soundtrack. At home, the situation is less structured, and the potential for distractions which puncture one's suspension of disbelief abound. More important, however, are the conventions of the various visual media themselves. This is the issue of flow versus segmentation, and it occurs across two axes; the flow or lack thereof of the visual text itself, and the segmentation imposed by commercial interruption in the medium of broadcast television. Visual texts might be placed on a continuum representing the psychological force of suture as follows:

1. narrative cinema in theatre
2. narrative cinema on VCR
3. "pay TV" narrative films
4. "timeshifted" narrative films¹³
5. broadcast television films - dramas - comedies
6. music videos
7. non-narrative broadcast television (news, talk shows, etc.)

Transferring the ideas of suture and Screen theory to television is at best an imperfect exercise, but the principles, in a fractured form, remain. Music videos rarely, if ever, follow all the conventions of realist

¹³ "Timeshift" is a term borrowed from Sean Cubitt's book Timeshift on video culture, New York: Routledge, 1991, and refers simply to the removal of broadcast television programs from their original presentation in time and space by recording them for later viewing.

narrative cinema; they are more spectacle than story. The inability of videos to stitch viewers into an unquestioning imaginary landscape suggests the absence of a powerful tool for ideological influence. It should not be assumed, however, that the principle of suture has no 'situating' power at all with regard to music videos. When reading these texts, it is still necessary to ask such Screen-inspired questions as whose 'gaze' structures each shot or with whom the viewer is meant to identify. The techniques that establish the answers to these questions are as subtle in music video as they are in cinema. They are heavily influenced, for example, by what has been called the 'patriarchal unconscious', and the use of segmentation implies its own peculiar psychological effects. These issues will now be taken up in a discussion of Lacanian psychoanalysis, feminist theory and their intersections with visual media.

C. Music Video and Psychoanalysis

Psychological analysis of the effects of watching music videos is a (necessarily) new and underdeveloped area. Issues that have been addressed thus far include the influence of a rather persistent sexism in gender portrayals, the effects of a peculiarly segmented mode of visual display that denies the possibility of closure, the tension between such processes as scopophilia and voyeurism and the nature of viewer identification with pop stars displayed as 'ego ideals'. If music video is nothing more than spectacle and display, it serves a cathartic 'bread and circuses' function in distracting its viewers from social criticism. Yet the content of these 'displays' is not always vacuous, and the potential for receiving subversive messages does exist - if the mode of presentation allows for the psychological internalization of these messages.

One of the persistent characteristics of the popular music industry has been the 'manufacture' of the pop star. Singers and musicians are often idolized to extremes by pop music fans, and the image of these stars is of great significance in terms of marketing and sales. Music videos extend this principle; in videos 'image is everything'. The extent and nature of viewer identification with video stars is a complex process that is perhaps best understood in psychological and psychoanalytic terms.

One of the best-known means of addressing this process

has been the identification of a crucial developmental moment in the Lacanian view of ego development. Jacques Lacan describes the "mirror phase" as a child's first recognition of the separation of self from environment, occurring between the ages of six to eighteen months (1968:72). At this stage the child recognizes his or her reflection in the mirror, but appropriates this reflection as a superior, 'more perfect' version of self.¹⁴ Thus the child's first meaningful recognition of self is a misrecognition, a fundamental self-alienation that unconsciously persists into adult life.

But the important point is that this form situates the instance of the ego, before its social determination, in a fictional direction, which will always remain irreducible for the individual alone, or rather, which will only rejoin the development of the subject asymptotically, whatever the success of the dialectical syntheses by which he must resolve as I his discordance with his own reality. (Lacan, 1968:72-73)

It may also be assumed that this unconscious self-alienation provides a predisposition towards identification with other better, 'more perfect' versions of self, displayed in such 'mirrors' as cinema and television screens. According to Kaplan there is a certain 'healing power' to this identification, however illusory and temporary it may be (1987:236). The identification with ego

¹⁴ This is due in part to the child's limited motor coordination at this stage of physical development. His or her physical aspirations are greater than actual abilities. The mirror image, however, is more fluid and graceful.

ideals is something like returning to the ego 'womb'. It is "...nostalgically reminiscent of that pre-subjective moment of image recognition." (Mulvey, 1989:18) This view suggests the function of escapism, the catharsis that attenuates social critique. However, the degree to which the video viewer 'regresses' to the mirror phase is difficult to determine. Certainly the process does not operate as effectively as in realist narrative cinema. Music videos make little effort to disguise what they are - they are manifestly 'unreal' even when they are not surreal. According to Kaplan, mirror phase identification "...depends on sustained identification with a central figure in a prolonged narrative." (1987:235) It is possible to see music video as a sort of antithesis to narrative cinema in its persistent segmentation and proud display of its own artificiality. Thus, rather than 'healing', "...MTV produces the decenteredness that is our actual condition." (Kaplan, 1987:236)

Segmentation, the sense of viewing discrete 'blocks' of images, implies in itself certain psychological effects. In music video, particularly the 24-hour cable networks, there is a unique 'flow' of segments, a continuous cycle of discrete elements that never completes itself:

...the very rapid flow of comparatively short segments...produces an experience of fragmentation in the spectator, who is not called upon to concentrate on any particular material for very long. (Kaplan, 1987:234)

Aside from this induced "fragmentation", there is a peculiar process of 'seduction and rejection' that accompanies such a segmented flow. Music television networks, like all television networks, advertise themselves by informing their viewers of what is "coming up next". Music television employs this tactic to a far greater degree, and the structure of segmented flow reinforces this strategy. Thus, there is a tension created between the promise of fulfilment and closure, and the refusal to accomplish the feat. The implicit promise is that the next set of images will somehow satisfy the viewer. When this does not occur, the promise is simply repeated. As Kaplan explains:

MTV is, more obviously than other programs, one nearly continuous advertisement, the flow merely being broken down into different kinds of ads, More than other programs, then, MTV positions the spectator in the mode of constantly hoping that the next ad-segment (of whatever kind) will satisfy the desire for plentitude -the channel keeps the spectator in the consuming mode more intensely because its items are all so short.
(1987:246)

Like a television soap opera, the cycle never ends and according to Cubitt, pop videos "roll between the dialogic and the dialectical" as they represent "an imaginary desire, one built from the circuit of self-image." (1991:84)

In "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (originally a 1975 Screen article) Laura Mulvey delineates the psychological processes involved in "scopophilia", that is, "pleasure in looking." It depends, Mulvey asserts, in terms of its ability to provide pleasure, on "...taking other

people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze." (1989:16) In extreme forms, scopophilia becomes the erotic fetish of voyeurism, and the scopophilia presented in many music videos may be judged as having moved into this realm. It is almost unnecessary to point out that scopophilia/voyeurism is virtually always that of the active male gaze directed towards the passive female body. Early in this article Mulvey explains that "[p]sychoanalytic theory is thus appropriated here as a political weapon, demonstrating the way the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured film form." (1989:14) This statement demonstrates in exemplary fashion the meeting of film studies, psychoanalysis and feminist theory, and in the following section, devoted primarily to the last of these fields, the three will be integrated.

D. Feminist Theory

As previously mentioned, feminist theory interacts and complements most of the theoretical orientations reviewed thus far. At the production level, the organizational structure of culture-producing institutions is largely male dominated. Men virtually monopolize such positions as record company executives, record producers and recording engineers, video producers and directors, and to a lesser degree the performance/artistic positions themselves. For the matrix of intersection between semiotics, film studies and psychoanalysis, feminist theory adds much to an understanding of gender representations. Mulvey, for example, uses Freud and Lacan to demonstrate the existence of a "phallogocentric" ideology in realist narrative cinema. Woman is conceived of as symbolic of lack or absence (i.e. by lack of a penis) and thus also as representative of an unconscious castration anxiety (1989:14). This feature of the "patriarchal unconscious" is largely responsible, in this view, for the modes of female representation in mainstream film. Women must be made non-threatening, either by symbolic punishment (actual harm or degradation) or by reducing them to hollow images, meaningless outside of their role in motivating the male protagonist.

Music videos very often structure camera viewpoint to coincide with the 'male gaze', and in this area do succeed in achieving certain realist narrative cinema goals in the

space of a non-narrative three minute 'film.' The scopophilia accompanying an objectifying gaze is masculine, "...their gaze carries with it the power of action and of possession which is lacking in the female gaze. Women receive and return a gaze, but cannot act upon it." (Kaplan, 1983:31) There is, then, an underlying assumption regarding the 'typical' cinema spectator: he is male. The masculine point of view is the baseline from which all cinematic constructions of pleasure are built, taking "...the male as the basis for defining the female..." (Lesage, 1975:78)

That the objectifying male gaze exists in music videos is obvious to even the casual viewer, but as expected, its operation does not perfectly mirror the situation of narrative cinema. According to Mulvey, a crucial component in the pleasure of scopophilia is "...the surreptitious observation of an unknowing and unwilling victim." (1989:17) The illusion of 'secret' observation is maintained in cinema through the conventions of realism and the positioning of the audience such that films:

...portray a hermetically sealed world which unwinds magically, indifferent to the presence of the audience, producing for them a sense of separation and playing on their voyeuristic fantasy. ...conditions of screening and narrative conventions give the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world. Among other things, the position of the spectators in the cinema is blatantly one of repression of their exhibitionism and projection of the repressed desire onto the performer. (Mulvey, 1989:17)

By contrast, music videos seldom allow for the illusion

of scopophilia in a voyeuristic sense. The majority of characters and performers in videos are manifestly 'on display', not inhabiting a sealed, indifferent world. This is not to suggest that there is no 'pleasure in looking' at the young, physically attractive and provocatively dressed video performer, but according to these psychoanalytic principles this pleasure is tempered (particularly for males) by the knowledge that one cannot easily objectify an individual aware of one's gaze.¹⁵

Brief passages of objectifying gaze situations do occur in music videos, however. The typical example sees a male singer or musician performing, then presents a scene displaying the female object of his desire. She is invariably young and attractive, usually dressed in a provocative manner, often shown dressing or undressing, and is 'unaware' of the camera/male gaze. The reversal of this situation, the objectified male body under the scrutiny of the female gaze, is virtually nonexistent. Mulvey asserts that "[a]ccording to the principles of the ruling ideology and the psychical structures that back it up, the male figure cannot bear the burden of sexual objectification." (1989:20) Yet male bodies are often put on display in music videos, not only in such common scenes as rock band front men ripping off their shirts, but in such situations as

¹⁵ Consider, for example, the effect of merely looking directly at the camera while being filmed; a common video occurrence, while virtually taboo in realist cinema.

dancers subordinated to the female video star. As in the female display situation, they are young, attractive, and scantily clothed. It is at present still uncommon, but a few videos featuring female stars do skirt the idea of the objectified male body, suggesting the video apparatus is not inherently patriarchal, but reflective of a patriarchal ideology that may yet be dereified.

Kaplan, in fact, postulates the existence of 'multiple gazes' and a 'genderless address' in many recent music videos. Kaplan cites the ambiguity of video's modes of visual presentation and the androgyny of many performers as indicative of these possibilities:

It is possible that there is frequently a kind of genderless address, and also that people of both genders are able to undertake multiple identification, depending of course on the program involved. What this lack of gender specificity implies is that the television Imaginary [ideal type viewer] is more complex than the cinematic one... (1987:235)

In order to assess the probable effects of gender portrayals in the socialization process, it is useful to consider a post-structuralist feminism that combines feminist assumptions with the insights of symbolic interactionism in general and semiotics in particular. Young men and women learn much of what it takes to become and what it means to be 'male' and 'female' through the symbolic

signposts advanced in mass media representations.¹⁰ To employ semiotic terminology, the metasigns that function as markers for each gender do not always consist of transparent signifier-signified chains; the result being a certain ambiguity regarding 'proper' gender role differentiation. These signs require an analysis that not only recognizes the underlying influence of a patriarchal ideology, but its modifications in a cultural arena that includes "...the sophisticated, self-conscious, and skewed stance that the arts take toward their own subject matter." (Kaplan, 1987:236)

¹⁰ Image and style are principle concerns for virtually all video performers, but women, to a far greater extent than men, are trapped by what Naomi Wolf (1991) has called "the tyranny of the beauty myth". One result is that the chances of an 'unattractive' female recording artist producing a successful video are far below those of her unattractive male counterpart.

E. Semiotics

Semiotics is a discipline derived from linguistics, and it was the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure who moved the study of language out of the realm of austere syntactical and semantical analysis. Saussure is considered the founder of what is now often referred to as structuralist semiotics. For although he asserted the need for a contextual grounding in language study, that context has shown itself to be rather constraining, emphasizing "structures and codes at the expense of functions and social uses" (Hodge & Kress, 1988:1). Following the lead of Russian semiotician V.N. Voloshinov's earlier insights, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress propose a 'social' semiotics that greatly expands the idea of context. In their 1988 work Social Semiotics the authors methodically deconstruct Saussure's relatively static or fixed orientation to reintroduce the aspects of symbolic communication he either minimized or rejected. They suggest a semiotics that engages itself with the political and ideological production and reception of messages, that reincorporates questions of history, change and process, and that considers all forms of symbolic communication, not simply 'language' in the conventional sense (1988:18).

Semiotics is a field that employs very specific terminology, and although "...semiotics has not arrived at a single agreed set of terms and concepts" (1988:5), it is

useful to review at least a few of the main terms that can be translated to other theoretical orientations without significant distortion. For Hodge and Kress, then, the smallest semiotic unit that has concrete, 'independent' existence is the 'message'. It is significant that this smallest unit must, by definition, imply not only a recognizable word or symbol, but a producer and receiver, that is, "a social context and a purpose" (1988:5). Messages are composed of signs, which are in turn composed of signifiers (symbolic carriers of meaning) and signifieds (corresponding mental concepts). Signifiers and signifieds are neither objective nor completely arbitrary; they carry varying degrees of intersubjectivity (placing signs on a continuum from 'transparent' to 'opaque') and are vulnerable to reinterpretation, misinterpretation and purposeful 'disruption.' The terms 'message', 'sign', 'signifier' and 'signified' may be profitably employed in such areas as psychoanalysis, audience reception research, feminist theory and postmodernism. The terms 'text' and 'discourse' are used in slightly different manners from paradigm to paradigm.¹⁷ The remaining terms to be reviewed will be considered here as more specific to semiotics or more properly addressed in the terminology of other disciplines.

¹⁷ Certain terms will not be discussed in detail here. See Hodge and Kress, 1988:261-68 for a detailed explanation of such terms as the semiotic and mimetic planes, synchronic and diachronic orientations, syntagms, and macro, meso and micro levels of analysis.

Hodge and Kress present a view of semiotics that mirrors the general observation that messages exist on three interrelated levels: production, text and reception. Texts themselves (collections of related messages) may be seen as microcosms of the social forces which create them. That is, "...every system of signs is the product of processes of semiosis, and documents the history of its own constitution" (1988:6). The context of a text is always a plurality, a collection of other texts in a social process: discourse. Hodge and Kress establish the link between discourse and ideology by pointing to the existence of what they call 'logonomic systems'. These are the necessary underlying structures of intersubjective understanding regarding the (flexible) rules of communication. They are open to negotiation, but dominant groups attempt to impose or naturalize their form in production and reception 'regimes'. As the authors explain:

A logonomic system is a set of rules prescribing the conditions for production and receptions of meaning; which specify who can claim to initiate (produce, communicate) or know (receive, understand) meanings about what topics under what circumstances and with what modalities (how, when, why) (1988:4).

Texts, then, are imbedded in a necessarily ideological flow of discourse that is structured by a more or less stable logonomic system (where hegemonic control is in jeopardy, logonomic systems are more flexible). Social semiotics attempts to trace this flow in relation to the

constitution of selected texts. Since each text "documents the history of its own constitution", it should be possible to reveal the ideological process of the creation of specific symbolic cultural products. However, the flow of discourse is an amorphous process, 'evaporating' as it is conducted. All texts imply other texts, in fact a potentially infinite number of texts stretching back through time and expanding laterally through the wide array of potential influences on any process of creation. Hodge and Kress acknowledge this problem when discussing the transformational stages that all texts pass through:

...most of the time we do not have available to us all of the texts that went towards the final text. We have to guess, to construct the history that makes sense of this text. Our judgement of the text includes our sense of this history, and what transformational work its author seems to have done. [...] Because we have to guess so extensively, we are liable to be deceived.
(1988:164)

In this passage, the authors are addressing only the transformations that occur from original idea to finished product. How much easier to be "deceived", then, when considering the factors influencing a text's original genesis. There are, however, strategies by which 'guesses' may be rendered more informed.

One manner by which text may be linked with ideological orientations through the logonomic system is in the identification of signs that indicate particular boundaries. Most texts have some form of unity beyond readily apparent

spatial and temporal parameters, and this unity is a result of choices regarding inclusion and exclusion. Styles and genres, for example, depend on the existence of what Hodge and Kress call 'metasigns'. Metasigns are collections of transparent signs (i.e. signs with relatively unambiguous signifier/signified links) that function as 'markers' of difference. "Any group of any size needs markers of group membership to give it identity and cohesion, and to differentiate it from other groups" (1988:79). Such markers indicate styles and differentiate genres, implying corresponding logonomic constraints/enablements and ideological orientations. In the world of popular culture and especially music video, style is of crucial importance. Markers that designate such simple boundaries as musical genres are generally quite transparent to industry 'insiders', less so to those uninvolved with popular music knowledge regimes. Such knowledge is crucial since genres are inherently social creations that can and do change over time.

So the social semiotic project, as it applies to the analysis of individual texts¹⁸ involves not only a specialized form of 'content analysis' but allows for the

¹⁸ One of the central tenets of social semiotics is the assertion that texts cannot be considered in isolation, yet for practical purposes textual analysis must begin with the selection of a relatively unified set of messages that exhibit recognizable spatial and/or temporal parameters: a book, film, conversation, advertisement, etc.

systematic deconstruction of texts into recognizable constituent parts without sacrificing historical or ideological content. However, semiotics is less useful in terms of providing a fundamental theoretical grounding to the operation of logonomic systems and their particular manifestations in various texts. Hodge and Kress, early in their text, present a typical analysis of an advertising text: a billboard for Marlboro cigarettes. In this example the authors make a number of astute and reasonable observations regarding the existence of "institutional legitimation", "gendered reading positions", and intertextuality (1988:8-12). Yet none of these observations are generated by semiotics, merely structured and rendered more coherent. Social semiotics suggests a method of reading and a framework for placing such readings in a format for analysis.

Social semiotics works from texts and expands outwards to ideological groundings and subjective individual readings, all dependent on the flow of discourse. To better understand both these aspects, imbedded in this flow, one needs more than their manifestations in representative texts:

The notion of text needs to be retained and contrasted to the notion of discourse as process, precisely because a text is so limited and partial an object of analysis. Text is only a trace of discourses, frozen and preserved, more or less reliable or misleading (1988:12).

For the purposes of this study, social semiotics will

be treated as a methodological orientation rather than a self-contained fusion of theory and method. It is also the source of several useful concepts expressed in a reasonable terminology. Finally, semiotics also draws attention to the complexity of texts, the polyglot nature of such forms as music video and thus provides a point of intersection between this conception of texts and the wide corresponding range of possible interpretations that individual viewers might construct.

F. Audience Reception/Reader Response Research

Audience reception research is, methodologically, the most traditional of the sociological perspectives used in the analysis of popular music. Studies in this field usually attempt to demonstrate causal relationships between basic demographic control variables (age, sex, race, class) and musical taste, or between musical taste and such dependent variables as juvenile delinquency or political orientation. The greatest limitations on the utility of these studies have been a disregard by researchers of respondents' subjective reasons for their musical preferences, and a lack of techniques designed to investigate patterns of respondent interpretations of lyrical/symbolic content. Denisoff and Levine (1971) conducted one of the few early studies addressing the latter of these limitations. In their survey of undergraduate respondents, it was found that only 14% of their sample interpreted the lyrical content of Barry McGuire's 1965 record "The Eve of Destruction" in a manner intended by the song's composer. In short, sociologists cannot assume a congruence between the intentions of producers and the interpretations of the audience. There are basically two means of bridging the 'gap' between production and interpretation: detailed study of the social psychological processes of symbolic interpretation as a method of constructing more realistic content analyses; and more imaginative audience reception research. It should be

stressed that by no means are these two strategies mutually exclusive; they inform each other reciprocally.

Music videos seem very well suited to such interpretive reception research formats, perhaps more so than audio discs alone. A recent study by Brown and Schulze (1990) exposed respondents to two Madonna videos and administered open-ended questionnaires asking for respondents' reactions (after collecting the necessary control variable information) through such queries as "How did this video make you feel?" and "What do you think this video is about?" (1990:93). Researchers found an extremely wide variety of interpretations and interesting demographic patterns. Perhaps most significantly, it was found that very few respondents (between 5 and 14 per cent, depending on gender/race category) were in agreement with the dominant interpretation proposed by "social critics" (1990:95). Such an open-ended method is the marker of distinction between an "audience reception" and a "reader-response" orientation. The placement of the audience along a continuum from passive positioned subject to active interpreting reader is a debate that has preoccupied a great deal of cultural studies research. A central contribution to this debate, and one that has done much to undermine the more extreme versions of Screen theory, is Stuart Hall's essay "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse." Hall's conception of "preferred readings" asserts that messages imposed by a dominant

ideology may be resisted or rejected by individuals whose social situation is at odds with the acceptance of such a message. According to Hall one may construct a "dominant" (accepting), oppositional (rejecting) or "negotiated" reading in the process of "decoding" a particular media message. Although it has proven difficult to predict the type of reading likely to be made by members of different social classes, or indeed virtually any demographic variable (Morley, 1980), Hall's typology does expose the inherent polysemy of mass media texts and does much to bring human agency back into popular culture studies. The logical extension of regarding viewers as readers who are free to construct their own meanings, however, is a radical subjectivity and relativity that in the last instance negates the possibility of systematic sociological analysis altogether. What limits the probable range of interpretations of any particular text, according to Hall, are the initial "encoding" strategies of producers themselves:

Unless they are wildly aberrant, encoding will have the effect of constructing some of the limits and parameters within which decodings will operate. If there were no limits, audiences could simply read whatever they liked into any message. ...the vast range must contain some degree of reciprocity between encoding and decoding moments, otherwise we could not speak of an effective communicative exchange at all. (1981:135-136)

The perspective of reader response research, then, resembles a microcosm of cultural studies concerns in

general, and implicates the three-tiered production-product/text-reception/interpretation model. The subjective interpretations of individual readers are crucial for an understanding of any cultural manifestation's meanings, and these interpretations are open to investigation. The range of probable interpretations is limited by the 'encoding' strategies of producers, which are in turn conditioned by the economic and social conditions of production. Finally, since these production conditions and subjective interpretations are not always readily accessible, the text-in-itself serves as a critical unit of analysis, the site where these forces meet.

G. Postmodernism

Postmodernism is not so much a theory as a perceived condition, more or less accepted according to one's views regarding the state of our cultural/economic life in late capitalism. The term has been given a number of definitions, many of which exist in opposition to each other, and there is much disagreement as to what the essential characteristics of postmodernism are.¹¹ In a wider, philosophical context it is almost always defined in contrast to modernism and the 'failure of the Enlightenment', that is, the lack of faith in positivistic science and human rationality as inevitable forces for the higher development of human society. Accepted as such, postmodernism signals the end of modernism, not an anomalous extension of the same process. As Fredric Jameson asserts in his influential paper "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism":

The case for its existence depends on the hypothesis of some radical break or coupure, generally traced back to the end of the 1950s or the early 1960s. As the word itself suggests, this break is most often related to notions of the waning or extinction of the hundred-year-old modern movement... (1984:53)

¹¹ It should be noted that not all social theorists accept the idea of postmodernism at all, dismissing it as a theoretical invention or considering it a misrecognized moment in the continuing progression of modernism. See, for example, George E. Marcus, "The Modernist Sensibility in Recent Ethnographic Writing and the Cinematic Metaphor of Montage", SVA Review Spring 1990:2-12, 21, 44.

This "radical break", if it can be identified as event, is suggested by Jameson to coincide with the canonization of modernist's cultural expressions, "...since the younger generation of the 1960s will now confront the formerly oppositional modern movement as a set of dead classics..." (p.56). Yet this is to set up something of a false parallel, since the canonization of postmodern cultural manifestations, from architecture to popular music, does not signal a subsequent movement to an historical period 'beyond' postmodernity. An acceptance of the postmodern condition in fact negates the idea of progress or movement in this manner. As another of the main proponents of postmodernism Jean Baudrillard has argued, even the practice of representation in the widely-accepted sense of Saussurian semiotics, has broken down:

Reality itself founders in hyperrealism, the meticulous reduplication of the real, preferably through another, reproductive medium, such as photography. [...] Hyper-realism is...beyond representation because it functions within the realm of simulation. (1988:145,146)

Jameson is even blunter in this regard when listing the "fundamental depth models" abandoned with the advent of

^ We might consider Fredric Jameson, Jean Baudrillard and Jean-Francois Lyotard as the 'fathers of postmodernism,' but this is a label all three would most probably reject. It is something of a misnomer to refer to Baudrillard or Jameson as proponents of postmodernism, since this implies not only an identification with the perspective, but an assertion of its value. Suffice to understand the above as astute commentators recognizing the existence of certain processes and characteristics in contemporary western society that relate to the condition of postmodernity.

postmodernism, including "the great semiotic opposition between signifier and signified..." (1984:62) This is not to say that the signifiers of postmodern culture signify nothing, but rather that the intersubjective consensus regarding signifieds is no longer possible, and that the overwhelming perception is of signifiers ultimately referring only to themselves, with no underlying 'authentic' reality to be discovered. The world of images is appropriated as one of "simulacra", a term popularized by Baudrillard, indicating that "...throughout its 'lived' dimension, consumption can be historically and structurally defined as the exaltation of signs based on the denial of the reality of things." (1990:63)

The 'postmodern condition' has grown out of the excesses of capitalism, the entrenchment of the 'consumer society', and the cultural 'levelling' inherent in the mass production of cultural expression. As Jon Stratton states in "Beyond Art: Postmodernism and the Case of Popular Music",

From the inter-war period on in America and from the 1950s onwards in the rest of the world, capitalism has shifted from a production capitalism based on reason and the organization of resources to a consumption capitalism (sometimes called 'late capitalism') based on affective pleasure. [...] This shift has had the effect of beginning the dispersal of the category of art, a change which has produced the theoretical formulations, both radical and conservative, of postmodernism. (1989:31-32)

Commentators on postmodernism often point to television as the most representative medium of simulacra, and further,

to music television as the quintessential postmodern cultural expression:

The particular appeal of music video here is the extent to which it appears to magnify the characteristic functioning of television in general, itself now regarded as the medium most typical of post-modern culture. (Straw, 1988:247)

Not only do music videos inhabit a universe of images, they can trace their origins to the purely commercial function of advertising other cultural products; the perfect marriage of commerce and culture in one inherently capitalistic package:

Sharing, as it does, an immediate relation with commerce, advertising and the art of media manipulation, the pop video might also be taken to prefigure - in an extreme but exemplary manner - the encroaching commodification that haunts a significant aspect of postmodern representation. (Bode, 1988:68)

But as music video has emerged from this state to function as a mode of artistic/cultural expression in itself, its commercial 'essence' and mere medium of transmission are insufficient to define it as postmodern. Although expressed in different manners and with varying terminology, many commentators identify the dissolving of genre barriers, the radicalization of the high/low culture dichotomy breakdown, the lack of a clearly enunciated ideological stance, and a certain cultural 'cannibalism' as the markers of postmodern video.

[music video] ...exemplifies in capsule many of the cultural traits which have given currency to the idea of post-modernism. ...music video itself challenges the distinction between television and video art, which had already grown up by analogy

with the avant-garde/kitsch, fine art/graphics and literature/pulp polarities. (Wollen, 1986:167)

Since postmodern expression has an inherent artificiality and does not recognize the sanctity of cultural boundaries, it is often identified in videos that employ the technique of "pastiche." It is in this area that a great deal of disagreement and confusion arises. Distinctions between related techniques - montage, melange, collage, bricolage - become entangled and it is difficult to determine which technique best describes each text. Collage, for example, refers simply to the act of 'pasting' and is most often associated with two-dimensional visual arts. The technique, however, may also be applied to such media as film and music video. The advantage of this term over that of "montage" is in its freedom from the baggage of 'unity.' As David Harvey comments:

Collage, though pioneered by the modernists, is a technique that postmodernism has very much made its own. The juxtaposition of diverse and seemingly incongruous elements can be fun and occasionally instructive. (1990:338)

In this brief 'definition' Harvey raises three important points, two supportive of collage as a credible postmodern 'yardstick' and one problematic. The principle of juxtaposition can be crucial in a postmodern artistic manifestation. Juxtaposition reflects fragmentation and resists unity, unless the particular juxtaposed elements share a connection in aid of an overarching metanarrative.

If the "seemingly incongruous elements" in fact constitute a specific critique or social commentary, they posit an 'Archimedean point' that postmodernity denies. The collage becomes another modernist illusion of progressive prescription. This is the potentially problematic portion of Harvey's assertion. The postmodern collage has no need, intention or, most probably, ability to be "instructive" in a traditional sense of either ethics/morality or pedagogy. This does not imply that there cannot be anything instructive about postmodern texts, only that the instruction is not imbedded in the texts themselves, awaiting hermeneutic discovery. The instruction, if it exists, is tied to all other texts employing a similar technique. Taken together, they may be appropriated as unwitting examples of the inherent relativity of sign construction. The third point alluded to in the Harvey comment concerns the 'value' of fun. The collage as an art form depends not on artistic skill per se, but on imagination and, in certain spheres, a certain technical competence. In the production of a collage, the entire cultural horizon is a smorgasbord of material. The sanctity of many genre boundaries is ignored; virtually anything is permitted. As Lyotard asserts in his introduction to The Postmodern Condition, "Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives."

(1984:xxiv) The condition of "incredulity" is of course a

perspective, an attitude. Freedom from narrative and metanarrative can be a liberating experience, unhindered by concerns regarding the coherence of the 'story' or the profundity of the 'message.' This is not a philosophy of nihilism or a cultural anarchy as these imply a specific stance towards societal values, if only a negative one. It more closely resembles an aesthetic of fun; a celebration of surfaces and symbol games.

This brings us now to the terms most often employed in connection to postmodern popular culture: pastiche and bricolage. There are in fact two distinct meanings to the word pastiche, one roughly analogous to parody, the other closer to collage. Often the two become confused, but the traditional sense of parody has little currency for the identification of postmodern texts. Parody implies a particular relationship to its subject matter, that of critique. By contrast, pastiche is identified more closely with the aesthetic of fun or 'playfulness' (Cooke, 1990: 104). Pastiche is a more specific type of collage, one that accepts a certain postmodern abandonment of history, seeing only recombination of the past rather than new opportunities for unique creations (Jameson, 1990: 82-83). It is the cultural 'cannibalism' Wollen refers to when discussing postmodern art:

Its characteristic modes are those of appropriation, simulation and replication. It plunders the image-bank and the word-hoard for the material of parody, pastiche and, in extreme

cases, plagiarism. (1986:168)

Pastiche makes an art of plagiarism and evokes the Bakhtinian concept of "heteroglossia," that is, the idea that single authorship of any text is a myth and all texts are necessarily a reflection of the surrounding culture's heterogeneity of "speech genres" and symbol systems (Gardiner, 1992:33-44). Such a practice also reflects the postmodern theme of the 'death' or stagnation of the avant-garde (Dunn, 1991:111) which relates directly to the underlying assumption of the end of modernist 'progress.'

The term bricolage is rarely found in English language dictionaries. In French it is generally defined in terms of an activity similar to 'tinkering' or 'puttering about.' This makes it more logical to connect bricolage with pastiche rather than montage or collage, as there is an implication of directionlessness or a lack of specific agenda. It might also be argued that bricolage maintains the pastiche emphasis on fun. Bricolage, then, might best be understood as the activity which results in the product of pastiche. This understanding of bricolage, however, is by no means universal. Steven Bode, for one, sees the activity as far more purposeful and structured:

...a line needs to be drawn between astute and conscious bricolage as a practice and a merely superficial stylistic melange; though, to a degree, such a line depends on a critical distance from one's object that postmodern structuralist thinking might be said to have undermined. (1988:68)

In this passage Bode invokes the classic high/low art dichotomy in his implication that the "merely superficial stylistic melange" is an inferior cultural manifestation. Moreover, an "astute and conscious" approach to the mixing of visual texts suggests a clearly defined purpose and implies a political or ideological stance. While it is difficult to imagine any cultural endeavour undertaken for no reason at all, pastiche is distinguished by criteria including the lack of a clear social/political/ideological standpoint and the seemingly haphazard mixing of past and present cultural signs. Neither of the two positions outlined by Bode capture the essence of the postmodern video, the former being too purposeful, the latter too generic.

The signs that make up the "image-bank and the word-board", in the case of music video, are shared signposts of our recent cultural past removed from their accepted historical placements. They are recontextualised, often in a gleefully irreverent manner, but not from an unrestricted field of material. There is an implicit boundary to the range of images to be plundered; that of recognizable cultural and political images and, crucially, often those relating to the history of popular music itself. This self-consciousness is itself something of a postmodern trait; a sense of looking inwards that runs counter to modernism's emphasis on 'progress.' This practice also lends at least a

semblance of closure to the postmodern video text, setting up the peculiar situation of a text with spatial/temporal closure, imbedded in a medium that denies closure, relating to a cultural field with elastic but finite boundaries. As Will Straw comments:

Within the post-modern text...the space of closure is that of the surrounding cultural context, now reduced to the existing repertory of historical styles and pre-texts which provide, in a sense, the text's horizon. (1988:258)

It is possible, then, to now delineate the characteristics which define that 'most postmodern' of mass media popular culture forms, the music video. Ideally, the music which accompanies such a video should have no lyrics at all, since they invite the hermeneutic process, but since the essence of the video is its images, it is they that must be focused upon. First, the music video is imbedded in a 'hyperreal' medium - television. Moreover, since the most common appropriation of videos is through specialized cable networks (MTV, MuchMusic), this sense of hyperreality is magnified by the peculiarly segmented flow of the channel (discrete segments of short duration melting into each other through clever visual segues). It has been suggested that this mode of presentation contributes to the postmodern sense of fragmentation (Cubitt,1991; Kaplan,1987). The quintessential postmodern video must employ the techniques that produce pastiche in the sense discussed earlier: a 'playful' recombination of images from the immediate

cultural past with no apparent overall purpose in mind. It should also make no attempt to hide its status as cultural commodity through any appeals to 'authenticity,' but should not overtly draw attention to its commodity status for fear of interpretation as critique of consumerism. Ideally, some sense of the blurring of genres should also be present. This has been a common feature of mass produced popular music for decades now, and does not exist only when very strenuous efforts at genre purity are undertaken. The pastiche of the music video may also heighten a postmodern fragmentary perception by presenting its images in rapid-fire succession. This is in fact a reasonably common practice and the images of many music videos progress at a speed that approaches the subliminal. Finally, in an activity closely related to the 'fun' of pastiche, the quintessential postmodern video engages in a playful recontextualization of signifiers. That is, the disruption of recognizable signs by the separation of signifier and signified, and the attachment of the former to a new, often incongruous form of the latter.

It is in this last activity that something of the hidden concerns of postmodern video might be brought to light. It has been suggested throughout this text that a defining characteristic of the postmodern video is an apolitical or ideologically unconcerned stance. While this assertion will be maintained as true, there is a certain

'emergent' epistemological commentary in such representations. That is, the act of signifier recontextualization constitutes a commentary on the inherently arbitrary construction of all signifier-signified chains. As Will Straw points out:

"Recontextualisation" now describes an activity which is subversive, less because of the specific signs involved and shifts in their meanings, than because the very activity of recontextualisation opens up a realm of freedom within (and dependent upon) practices of consumption. In political terms, the intrinsic aspects of artifacts themselves have thus become less important than the simple gesture of mixing (or recontextualising) them. (1988:264)

So although the postmodern video adopts no outward political position, there are certain implicit ideological commentaries to be uncovered in its general mode of presentation. These lie basically in two areas, both based on the principle of inward-looking self-commentary. First, the postmodern pastiche video draws the critical viewer's attention to the arbitrary nature of sign construction through the recontextualization of either individual signifiers or integrated signs. To place formerly 'sacred' symbols in what appear to be inappropriate contexts is to make conspicuous their placement in contexts of any sort.²¹

²¹ A common example is the use of the cross or crucifix in secular or decadent situations. See John Fiske, "British Cultural Studies and Television", in Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism, Robert C. Allen, ed. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 254-89.

The second 'subversive' possibility of postmodern video is deceptive in its simplicity and involves the distinction between what may be called "presentation" and "display". If presentation is defined as the advancement of a position - any position that indicates any manner of preference or judgement - display will be defined as the use of pastiche to simply indicate the postmodern world of simulacra. This includes, most importantly, a refusal to either critique or celebrate this world; judgement is left to the individual reader. What renders this practice 'subversive' is its ultimate purpose of consciousness-raising in a mode of presentation not expected to be 'political' in any manner. What keeps it postmodern is its complete lack of political direction at the points of production and individual appearance.

Before moving on to an integration of the seven theoretical and methodological orientations discussed thus far, it should be noted that the identification of thoroughly postmodern videos is extremely problematic. Extended viewing of music videos, particularly those that employ a barrage of rapid-fire images and ambiguous lyrics, leads to an overall 'sensation' of a world composed of simulacra. Identifying quintessential postmodern texts is far more difficult. Many videos contain passages that fit 'established' definitions of postmodernism but few sustain the criteria for the text's entire duration.

H. Notes on Theoretical Integration

Political economy, semiotics, film studies, psychoanalysis, feminist theory and postmodernism are unlikely to be integrated into a single workable theory. As Fred Inglis comments in Media Theory, any attempted synthesis of such a wide range of perspectives is likely to produce "a rather lumpy, home-made and awkward creature" (1990:173). It is possible, however, to extract the useful portions of each perspective in aid of an analysis that functionally engages the questions of ideological support and resistance as well as telling something of the 'effects' music videos are likely to engender. Social semiotics provides form and methodological orientation to the open definition of content analysis adopted here. Music videos are composed of symbolic communication - visual and auditory - and semiotic analysis lends a structure based on identifying the functions of different symbolic units of analysis. Fashion choices are exposed as genre markers, attention is drawn to the "transparency" or "opacity" of signs, and semiotic terminology itself provides a functional means of conceptualizing symbolic content.

The intersection of semiotic principles with the five other theoretical perspectives is more coherent than might at first be expected. Psychoanalysis, film studies and feminist theory have already been integrated to an extent in

several Steegh articles. The 'sign' of the female body, for example, may be viewed as constituted by the signifier of the body itself and the signified of absence/lack. This, however, is a rather specific and narrow employment of certain psychoanalytic assumptions, and reveals the necessity of insights gleaned from other perspectives. Political economy is implicated in that male domination of the cinema/video production apparatus leads to the phallogentric 'patriarchal unconscious' structuring this sign appropriation.

Postmodernism sees the manipulation of signifier-signified chains as a strategy in sign recontextualisation and a potentially subversive activity. It may also be suggested that a preponderance of ambiguous or "opaque" signs is an indicator of texts reflective of the postmodern condition. The unique 'segmented flow' of music video ties psychoanalysis to film studies and postmodernism in an analysis of the 'fragmenting' effects (fragmentation taken as a postmodern antithesis to linearity) on consciousness, appreciated when compared to the 'suturing' effects of realist narrative cinema. One conclusion suggested by psychoanalytic principles is that this fragmentation is more 'realistic' in the end than traditional narrative. Not allowing for a suspension of disbelief, a sutured attitude of unquestioning acceptance, or a mirror phase regression to ego ideals suggests a state of consciousness in the video

viewer that remains open to questions of political/ideological engagement.

Thus far, the persons constituting the music video audience have been referred to as viewers, readers, subjects and spectators, in line with each respective theoretical viewpoint. Henceforth they shall be termed "readers", the assumption being that they are capable of some degree of meaning negotiation. The term reader also suggests that music videos be referred to as "texts". This term is adopted with the semiotic caveat that texts always imply other texts and the flow of discourse in which they are imbedded. Meanings, if not located within texts, may at least be imputed from them. Any meanings, however, are not immutable; they are best understood as a range of probable meanings, some of which may be contradictory or at least not perfectly complementary. Videos as texts will be conceptualized as composed of three sub-texts: the visual images presented on screen; the song's lyrics; and the music which reinforces those lyrics. It should be stressed that these sub-texts usually function as an integrated whole. (Although there are instances where the visual sub-text seems to move across the lyrical/musical sub-texts rather than flowing forward with them.) Occasionally a fourth sub-text is added, that of written messages on the screen that are not part of the 'natural' visual sub-text surroundings. (i.e. added during post-production rather than, for example, the depiction of a

billboard or graffiti as part of the video's narrative) The visual sub-text is further divided along two axes: images of performance; and all other narrative/pseudo-narrative images. Details of this categorization scheme appear in section III B. Terms adopted from social semiotics include those that have already been translated without significant distortion to such perspectives as postmodernism and feminist theory. These include: "sign", composed of "signifier" and "signified"; "metasign"; and "marker". The term "discourse" will be used in a specific sense to refer to the flow of text creation and appropriation. The video text is simultaneously an imperfect reflection of this discourse and its creator. That is, the 'history' of a text is one of the discourse surrounding its initial conceptualization, the assumptions influencing its material production, and the thoughts and attitudes engendered by its reading. Before embarking on the analysis itself, however, some clarification of the sense in which "ideology" is to be conceived is required.

I. The Ideological Context

Defining any particular ideology is invariably a problematic exercise due primarily to the wide variations in definitions of the term itself. Two very general orientations serve as a reasonable point of departure, however: ideology as a set of beliefs determined by and serving the interests of a ruling class or elite, and ideology as a process in flux, a set of shifting beliefs constantly modified with historical exigencies and intellectual/political insights. The former of these two can be identified more with Marxist perspectives and their later permutations, while the latter might be connected more closely with a cultural studies approach. As another generalization, the two viewpoints may be respectively tied to conceptions of structure or agency as primary forces in social life. When Marx asserts (in The German Ideology) that "the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (McLellan, 1984:184) he encapsulates what has become known as the "Dominant Ideology Thesis" (Abercrombie et al, 1980). This perspective sees a specific ideology imposed 'from above' on those who generally lack the means to resist its assumptions and prescriptions, and thereby live in 'false consciousness.' In this model the mass media of popular culture are often seen as a means of ideological domination, a concern explored by many of the theorists of the Frankfurt

School. One problem in this formulation, however, is in the identification of the specific forces and sites of this domination. Althusser's 'structural Marxism' engages this problem and points to the interlocking, "overdetermining" forces of "ideological state apparatuses" (Althusser, 1971). By this point, however, human agency has all but disappeared, and the last decade has seen (at least in cultural studies) something of a movement from Althusser towards Gramscian theories of hegemony (Brantlinger, 1990:85; Turner, 1992:197-199).

Hegemony is the struggle for ideological legitimation, not its imposition as a ready-made form from above. The mass production of popular culture may then be seen as one of the sites of this struggle, a site where ideologies are constituted, challenged, reproduced or changed. But this process does not exist in a self-contained universe specific to each text. A larger, surrounding ideological context must exist, it simply does not need to be seen as a static, monolithic structure.

If we begin with the premise that cultural manifestations are not completely autonomous, it is reasonable to postulate a connection between such manifestations and their own ideological context, rather than that of a more distanced cultural tradition. Therefore, since the vast majority of music videos broadcast on MuchMusic are created in the United States (50%), Canada

(30%) and the United Kingdom (14%), the general framework of western industrial capitalism serves as well as any orientation for the identification of relevant ideological assumptions. An exhaustive cataloguing of all aspects of British and North American ideology in the 1990s is unrealistic, perhaps even impossible, but at least two identifiable aspects seem predominant: the capitalist mode of production and the ideology of patriarchy. The more specific results of these far-reaching and well-entrenched belief sets include the values of lawfulness, competition, a faith in meritocracy, heterosexual marriage and the nuclear family, the supremacy of western culture, male dominance and superiority, geographic and social mobility, a preoccupation with youth and beauty, western-style 'democracy', the secular vestiges of the Protestant 'work ethic', and the still-present Enlightenment faith in rationality and scientific progress. Even as short and general a list as the above is contentious and is itself influenced by the very ideological assumptions it identifies. As is the case with social norms, however, they are intangible themselves, only their effects are visible. It is perhaps more insurmountable, then, to turn to the actual intersections of ideology and cultural manifestation. Several illustrative examples will be examined in the upcoming sections of this text, but at least a few comments on the process may be made here.

The ideology of patriarchy is overtly displayed in a

large proportion of music videos. It may be identified through application of not only feminist theory (which serves primarily as orientation) but through the specific techniques of physical placement of females in videos (i.e. in submissive and/or subservient positions), the display of female bodies, particularly when this display serves no apparent narrative function, and the voyeuristic objectification of women under the male gaze. To be judged resistant to this ideology, a video must not simply reject these techniques (which only brings the video up to a baseline) but either 'comment' on these practices by such techniques as parody or reversing the gender roles involved, or present women in authoritative/assertive roles without such sexist trappings as provocative clothing and pelvic gyrations. While it might be speculated that the portrayal of women in a non-sexist manner is simply a 'neutral' depiction rather than resistant, such portrayals shall be judged resistant here by consideration of the video context. Non-sexist female portrayal is not the norm from which music videos may be judged; it is an exception and is conspicuous by its very existence.

The degree to which music video as a whole is subsumed by capitalist production philosophies is manifested in the number of high and low budget videos. If only the former are broadcast, the organizational structure of video production may be characterized as exclusionary, precluding cultural

expression from less powerful and marginalized groups. A high proportion of low budget videos affiliated with small independent record labels suggests a more open 'democratic' structure. The degree to which individual videos may be judged as reflective of the artistic sensibilities or attitudes of the performers themselves may also be taken as an indicator of the rigidity of video production organizational structure. It is indicative, that is, of the amount of artistic control retained by performers, and it may be assumed that for the majority of groups/artists this control is inversely related to organizational power and inflexibility. Individual videos may be judged resistant to capitalist ideology when or if they present characters or situations that reject consumer society or generally accepted facets of the attitudes associated with the present state of the Protestant work ethic. (A comparison of two videos dealing with these questions will be conducted in section III C.) An informed 'reading' of music videos connects the various texts to their flow of discourse imbedded in the above ideological context. As Gunther Kress suggests:

Ideological significance can be "read off" from the linguistic items in a text: The linguistic feature appears as the sign of a term in an ideological system and this term has a quite precise meaning deriving from its place in a system of other terms. However, beyond this, texts can also be read for their ideological content because of the iconic nature of linguistic forms. (1985:30-31)

It should be added that the above formulation remains applicable to the 'language' of video images, but that the somewhat assertive nature of this model will be examined in the following section.

III. THE ANALYSIS OF MUCHMUSIC VIDEO CONTENT

A. Textual Readings and Content Analysis

In situations where direct investigation of viewer interpretations is impractical (such as soliciting reader responses on a sample of 369 different music videos), attention must be refocused, at least partially, on texts themselves. Any such perspective is necessarily some form of content analysis. Yet a traditional content analysis is constraining in its insistence on rigid objectivity, as such definitions of the method from past years demonstrate:

...a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. (Berelson, 1952:18)

...a research technique for making inferences by systematical and objectively identifying specified characteristics within a text. (Stone et al, 1966:5)

...any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages. (Holsti, 1969:601)

Fortunately, more recent advances in content analysis have resulted in formulations that move beyond the borders of texts-in-themselves. Krippendorff, for example, offers the following concise definition:

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. (1980:21)

Krippendorff critiques the classic Berelson definition as overly-restrictive in its focus on "manifest" content,

noting that "[h]is definition has led many scholars to believe that latent contents are excluded from the analysis." (p.21) The criterion of objectivity has also been dropped with Krippendorff asserting that "messages do not have a single meaning that needs to be 'unwrapped'," and thus "...the claim to have analyzed the content of communication reflects an untenable position." (p.22, emphases in original)

Krippendorff, however, still speaks of a single context, not a heteroglot cultural set of influences or an inherently unstable flow of discourse. Moreover, although the notion of a single perfect reading is rejected, little is said about the manners in which the different interpretations of active readers are implicated into content analysis techniques. In a definition offered by Robert Weber the tri-levelled nature of cultural texts is at least recognized:

Content analysis is a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator...
(1985:9)

Although the majority of content analyses continue to rely heavily on mathematical formulae, statistical procedures, and justifications of reliability and validity, Weber insists that:

The best content analytic studies utilize both qualitative and quantitative operations on texts. Thus, content analysis methodology combines what are usually thought to be antithetical modes of analysis. (p.10)

At this point, Weber's conception of content analysis has moved very close to the cultural studies technique of textual readings. This is a perspective which takes as its starting point the impossibility of perfect validity and, more often than not, conceives of texts only in relation to their surrounding flow of inherently ideological discourse. Growing out of literary studies and influenced by such figures as Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco, cultural studies' textual readings also incorporated post-Saussurian semiotics and, to varying degrees, the theoretical perspectives reviewed in section II above. Hall's model of encoding/decoding was adopted at a point when Althusserian structuralism was very much in vogue, and was often utilized in aid of revealing the overdetermining forces of ideological state apparatuses. Its general orientation, however, and the questions it raises remain central to a more active conception of textual readings. What, for example, do the various cues and strategies employed within a music video text to persuade a reader to construct a preferred reading refer to - the intentions of the artist, those of the video director or producer, the record label, or the video network? In a model of ideology that rejects the strict interpellating power of structuralism but

acknowledges the influence of a 'dominant' (if not monolithic) ideological context as a part of the hegemonic struggle, it is this influence itself that may be seen as the primary source of the codes. As Fiske and Hartley suggest in Reading Television:

The internal psychological state of the individual is not the prime determinant in the communication of television messages. These are decoded according to individually learnt but culturally generated codes and conventions, which of course impose similar constraints of perception on the encoders of the messages. (1978:85)

The techniques of both content analysis and textual reading are rendered more difficult and subjective in a medium as fiercely polysemic and resistant to single interpretations as music television. Andrew Goodwin, however, brings in two important elements to video readings in his recent study Dancing in the Distraction Factory. In constructing his textual readings Goodwin critiques recent video analyses for marginalizing the effects of the music, that is, the song itself, which he sees as often lost in the "visual bias" of critics overly influenced by film studies assumptions. He also sees in many studies an inadequate understanding of the dynamic and constant changes in the state of popular music itself:

...because most consumers of music video are music fans, the best route to outlining contemporary reading formations lies in an engagement with the shifting aesthetics of rock and pop music. [...] I argue for the superiority of this hermeneutic on the grounds that it more accurately corresponds to the actual reading formations of the audience for music television. (1992:22)

The first of these concerns, the "visual bias", might in part be ascribed to a perception that specific and rigorous training in musicology is necessary to adequately theorize the role of the musical sub-text in video analysis. Research in this area has in fact been conducted (see Shepherd, 1991), but the functioning of a music video as an integrated set of musical, lyrical and imagery sub-texts need not rely on notions of functional tonality or strategic meter shifts. These may be engaged with at relatively the same level as actual viewers experience them, as forces that underline, punctuate or undermine visual messages to constitute an integrated text.²²

The second of Goodwin's concerns is somewhat surprising given the relatively long history (by cultural studies standards) of ethnographic subculture resistance studies that recognize the often sophisticated readings that young persons are capable of making. Phil Cohen (1980) and Dick Hebdige (1979) have both presented compelling arguments that suggest young readers of cultural texts are quite capable of understanding and using resistant codes in such rapidly changing areas as fashion and music styles. What Goodwin seems to be arguing for is a fine tuning of our understanding of video readers' cultural horizon. He

²² It will be maintained in this thesis, however, that since the addition of visual imagery is what transforms a song to a video and that television itself is a image-based medium, that if a hierarchy of sub-texts does exist, it is the imagery sub-text that occupies its highest position.

criticizes Kaplan (1987) for concentrating so heavily on the intertextuality between Madonna's "Material Girl" video and the Marilyn Monroe film Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, pointing out that many, if not most of the video's viewers are unfamiliar with the latter text and the connection is therefore meaningless for these readers (Goodwin, 1992:22-23). Yet an understanding of the cultural forms that readers are likely to be familiar with - trends and styles specific to popular music - does seem critical to the construction of readings more in tune with those of the medium's audience.

In his comprehensive survey of the history of British cultural studies, Graeme Turner asserts:

The most recognizable and possibly the most important theoretical strategy cultural studies has developed is that of "reading" cultural products, social practices, even institutions, as "texts." (1992:87)

Even accepting this statement at face value, however, leaves some room for the utility of certain content analysis procedures. Virtually all cultural texts, regardless of extra-textual concerns, exhibit both manifest and latent features. While it is an oversimplification to suggest the former be studied with content analysis procedures and the latter be engaged as a textual reading, the manifest content of music videos are amenable to quantification and a degree of statistical analysis. In the following study, the two methods will be treated as compatible and complementary. The relatively large sample size under investigation (369 texts)

benefits from the quantification of such 'demographic' features as the language used in lyric sub-texts, the gender and race of the performers and characters inhabiting each video and the country in which each text is produced. Readings of each text's message(s) and their relation to the ideological context are undertaken utilizing the general semiotic framework, informed by the theoretical perspectives reviewed in section II and undertaken (following Goodwin's suggestion) with the assumption that the typical music video reader is also reasonably well-informed on the contemporary state of popular music. Once these readings are conducted, categorization schema will be compared, contrasted and combined in various ways in order to explore the present relationship between music videos broadcast on MuchMusic and their degree and manner of societal critique.

B. Preliminary Method and Sub-text Categorization

The first step in this study's method was to choose an appropriate sample size. It was decided that a one-week period of MuchMusic broadcast be recorded for analysis. This allows for all 21 different programs to be viewed at least once, and for a suitable number of different videos to be recorded. The period recorded was Monday, April 6 to Sunday, April 12, 1992 inclusive. This was judged a 'typical' week in that no major holidays or music industry events occurred in this time which might have influenced programming form or content. A weekly template was constructed (as in appendix A) from a prior week's observation (local television listings were incomplete) so that all information was recorded with no repetition. One week's broadcasting translates to exactly 60.5 hours, during which 525 videos were broadcast 'live.' Eliminating the repetition of videos broadcast more than once through the week reduced the number of different videos to 369.

Aside from videos and non-video features (The Monkees, FAX, syndicated feature "The Golden Age of Rock 'N' Roll," and one concert movie), the week's broadcast includes: repeated advertisements for 43 different products; advertisements for current films; public service messages; advertisements for several different sponsored contests; MuchMusic self-advertisements of varying length; brief information messages such as the "Canada Concert Listings";

brief 'mini-videos' as part of an ongoing but rarely-appearing feature called "Canadian Artist Series" and occasional taped discussions with video directors called "The Video Jungle." Each distinctive segment of broadcast was assigned its own three-letter code and chronologically recorded (see appendices C and D).

Undoubtedly there are insights to be gained by careful content analysis of these 'peripheral' messages. One might speculate, for example, on why the "Canada Concert Listings" concentrate so heavily on the province of Ontario and the cities of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Halifax, or on the demographic assumptions underlying sponsor selection. For the sake of focus and brevity, however, the videos themselves will constitute the bulk of the analysis. Each video exhibits certain characteristics that may be coded with differing degrees of objectivity. Recorded characteristics include:

1. Language of lyrics (English, French, Spanish, combinations). This variable is not problematic in terms of coding. Distinguishing between the English, French and Spanish languages is a relatively simple endeavour. These three languages and their resultant combinations were the only ones evident in the sample.

2. Gender of video's central performer or character (male, female or shared). Also a relatively simple variable to identify and code, as no videos were broadcast in which

the gender of the main character was disguised or rendered ambiguous. In several videos both male and female performers and characters are depicted. In this instance it must be determined on whom the main focus of the video resides. A number of rock groups, for example, feature female lead vocalists and male musicians. If the majority of camera time includes the lead vocalist 'front and centre' with musicians in a background, supportive role, the video is categorized as female. If camera time and physical arrangements are relatively equal, the video is categorized accordingly. It should be noted that extra 'weight' is attributed to performers over characters, as they more often structure/create the narrative space of the video, while characters only inhabit that space. If, for example, the camera time is split relatively equally between a male performer and the female 'object' of his desire, this does not necessarily imply an equality of presentation. The male performer creates the narrative, is likely the only 'speaker' in the video (thus it is his point of view, lyrically and visually that is presented) and thus such a video is categorized as male.

3. Race of video's central performer or character (white, black, Hispanic, combinations). This variable is only slightly more difficult to identify than the previous two. The difficulty comes with videos shot on black and white film featuring central performers/characters of

ambiguous racial characteristics.²³ These situations, however, are relatively rare and it is believed the margin of error in this categorization scheme is no more than 5%. The category "white" refers to caucasians whose ancestry is ultimately European; "black" refers primarily to African-Americans and includes performers from any country whose ancestry is ultimately African. The only remaining category includes performers of Latin American decent, in this sample composed almost entirely of musicians from East Los Angeles whose shared cultural history is manifested in the musical and visual content of their videos. This relatively small group (five of 369 videos) is categorized as Hispanic.²⁴ A limited number of videos also featured both black and white characters/performers in relatively equal measure.

4. Nationality of performer or group (American, Canadian, British, etc.). This variable is somewhat more difficult than the preceding categorizations. The ability to place performers in nationality categories requires a significant amount of knowledge of popular music groups and artists before the fact. In the present study, four years as

²³ Consider, for example, the case of Michael Jackson, a black American performer who has undergone several cosmetic surgery procedures to have his skin colour lightened and the facial features that might identify him as African-American altered so that he appears almost caucasian.

²⁴ This category also includes one video by a Cuban artist. Although the Hispanic ancestry, like the white, may be traced back to Europe (Spain or Portugal), the category is differentiated by the native Latin American influence and its distinct cultural tradition.

a disc jockey, approximately 15 years of reading music industry trade journals and magazines, frequent viewing of music videos and a continuous general interest in popular music on the part of the researcher allowed for the instant identification of approximately 70% of the performers featured in the sample. Categorizing the remainder requires the identification of several different 'clues', some more specific than others:

- i) MuchMusic veejays occasionally reveal the nationality of performers when introducing their videos. In such cases, the veejays were taken at their word.
- ii) Certain record labels are indicative of performer's nationality. At the beginning and end of each video, the song title, artist's/group's name and record label are displayed. Although many record companies are multi-national, some are more specific to a particular country. Mushroom records, for example, is a Vancouver based record label whose clientele is primarily, if not exclusively, Canadian.
- iii) Videos by Canadian performers are often shown in blocks of three to six consecutively. If, then, videos one, two, four and five of a series are all by Canadian artists, video three is also likely to be so.
- iv) Performers occasionally sing with identifiable accents. It is sometimes remarked that accents seem to disappear when a performer sings, but this is not always the case. This

criterion was used to identify primarily videos by British artists.

v) Certain fashion tendencies function as nationality markers. This means of identification does not operate as well today as it did in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but certain 'alternative' fashion styles may be associated with British artists more often than with their North American counterparts. There was, for example, a British movement in the early 1980s known as "New Romanticism" in which artists took great care in presenting a rather flamboyant but precise style only slightly reminiscent of 18th century European fashion and included, among other things, the use of facial make-up for males.

vi) Certain musical genres and visual settings are indicative of American performers. At the simplest level, since the majority of black performers in popular music reside in the United States, many musical styles associated with black musicians may be assumed to be performed by American artists. This is a generalization that may be narrowed by reference to such video features as the depiction of inner city urban street scenes. In many rap videos, for example, the performance occurs in a setting of urban decay strongly suggestive of the inner city areas of such large American cities as New York, Detroit, Los Angeles or Chicago. It is also not uncommon for certain overt indications of the particular city of filming to be shown

(Statue of Liberty, "Hollywood" hill side sign, Golden Gate Bridge, etc.)

vii) Certain videos have an implicit national 'feel' to them. This is, admittedly, a highly subjective means of categorization, but nevertheless, prolonged exposure to music videos allows the viewer to eventually pick up on subtle differences of approach or lyrical orientation. An occasional colloquialism may be mentioned, the cultural film snippets constituting a collage or pastiche technique may have a British or American bias, or the specific clues may be appropriated at an almost unconscious level such that a video simply 'feels' British or 'feels' American. It may be noted that for this researcher this means of identification has been effective only in differentiating British or American videos; there has been no corresponding Canadian or Australian 'feel' to a video.²⁵

²⁵ An example of a small visual clue for nationality identification is found in the video "Heart in Danger" by Southern Sons. This is a pop rock video shot in colour featuring white males singing in English. The visual sub-text is categorized as PERF 4/IMAGE 1; musicians performing on a sparse stage with no audience evident, combined with the narrative imagery of a young woman arriving home with suitcases in hand, then engaging in such mundane activities as unpacking, undressing, reading newspapers and magazines and attempting to cool herself off with water and an electric fan. There was no indication of nationality from the veejay's introduction, the record label was not obviously of any particular country, the video was not surrounded by other Canadian videos or part of a particular feature program that could provide a nationality clue. The musicians sing with no apparent accent, their clothing and mode of presentation seemed rather generic. The temptation in this case was to place the performers in the category of American, the only possible clue being the name of the band itself, suggestive of

It is probable that the occasional mis-categorization of video artist nationality has occurred in this sample. It is suggested, however, that this source of error is minimal and will not seriously effect the subsequent analysis. Estimated error in this regard is plus/minus 6-8% for American videos, 4-6% for Canadian and British videos, and negligible for remaining nationalities.

5. Colour of film (colour, black & white, monochrome or combinations thereof). This variable was categorized with the assumption that it may provide a means of identifying either lower budgeted videos or videos that reflect a certain artistic sensibility corresponding to a self-consciousness of film-making technique. (i.e. black and white filming is considered by some as inherently more 'artistic' than colour). Unfortunately, the two potential motivations for the use of black and white footage are difficult to distinguish from each other and information from this coding was not used in the subsequent analysis. It should be noted that a limited number of videos were shot in a monochrome (one colour) manner, but the sample size of

the southern United States. In one brief scene, however, a folded newspaper is thrown on top of a magazine, the headline reading "LOVERS". On closer inspection, and with the aid of the VCR pause button, the half-observed top portion of the headline, as well as the smaller print beneath is visible. The headline actually reads: "BONDI'S LOVERS" and beneath "Tycoon's sex life exposed..." Bondi is the last name of a wealthy and well-known Australian businessman, suggesting that the "Southern" portion of the band's name be understood in a global rather than American context and that the band is in fact Australian.

this category was far too small (four of 369) to draw any conclusions vis-a-vis artistic sensibilities. It is assumed that this categorization scheme is self evident.

The remaining sub-text categorizations are more complex and require more detailed explanation. These include musical 'genre' and the categorization of the visual sub-text along its 'performance' and 'imagery' axes. Musical genres include but are not limited to the following: heavy metal; hard rock; rock; blues-based rock; pop rock; MOR (Middle Of the Road) pop; dance pop; R&B (Rhythm and Blues); rap; reggae; country; folk and certain combinations, crossovers or hybrids that require more detailed individual descriptions. Judgements as to which category each video best suits are partially intuitive; certain songs/videos simply have the sound and the 'feel' of a particular genre. For a categorization scheme that strives for intersubjective consensus, however, the following criteria are employed:

1. Instruments used. The basic instruments for a rock/hard rock/heavy metal band include six-string electric guitar, four-string electric bass, relatively large drum kit and microphones. Generally speaking, the more additions to this list, the closer to pop the music is rendered. Certain instruments are relatively clear indications of musical styles; steel guitars imply country music, orchestral strings suggest MOR pop, and synthesizers often accompany dance pop. The presence or absence of instruments themselves

is often indicative of musical genres as well. MOR pop and dance pop artists, for example, tend to appear without instruments, while hard rock and especially blues-based rock videos often highlight the skill with which guitars are played.

2. Manner in which instruments are played. In blues-based rock the guitar is almost always the focal point of the song. It is usually played with earnestness and a certain reverence. Harder rock bands tend towards a reckless abandon, while folk and country artists often adopt a more distanced stance, concentrating primarily on their lyrics. Certain genres are quite specific in this regard, clearly marking the boundaries of musical style. Reggae, for example, has a distinctive beat that is virtually unmistakable. The same is true for blues and rap, though the latter is easier to identify by its distinctive vocal style.

3. Lyrical content. The vast majority of popular music is composed of love songs, which are present in every genre. To employ this variable as a genre marker is to note the prevalence of departures from this baseline concern. It might be speculated that MOR pop, country and blues deviate to a lesser degree than heavy metal/hard rock or reggae. The former, for example, often ventures into such tangential areas as apocalyptic visions of the future and the adolescent masculine concerns of 'sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll'. Reggae, by contrast, is often a more 'spiritual'

music concerned with aspects of the Rastafarian belief system.

4. Fashion and visual style. Although fashion is a strategy by which individual groups and performers differentiate themselves, it is also often an indicator of genre. Certain very particular fashion markers indicate country artists (hats, boots, etc.) and rap groups (oversize shirts, reversed baseball caps, etc.). While rock and hard rock bands often use flamboyant and extravagant costumes, heavy metal bands tend towards darker and simpler clothing. Tattoos seem more prevalent among heavy metal musicians as well, while virtually nonexistent for MOR pop artists. The visual style of a video is not a particularly strong indicator of genre, although it may be stated that the genres of country, blues, MOR pop and folk tend towards more coherent and linear imagery.

Visual sub-texts may be categorized across two axes: performance display and non-performance imagery. Virtually all videos feature or at least include the actual artists performing in some capacity. Yet relatively few videos are limited to performance alone, just as few employ imagery without performance. Most combine the two axes as elements that interact and blur together to varying degrees. The two axes will be categorized along the following lines and using the following rather prosaic codes:

1. PERFORMANCE 0 (no performance): videos which employ

only the imagery axis of the visual sub-text. No instruments are played, no lip-syncing occurs and no performers are seen dancing.

Example: video 047, "Everything Reminds Me of My Dog" by Jane Siberry shows only images of a variety of domestic dogs in different settings; Jane Siberry herself appears nowhere in the video and no other human characters 'perform' in any manner.

2. PERFORMANCE 1 (authentic live performance): artists perform on stage before a live audience actually playing and singing, i.e. not lip-syncing. The song is not dubbed in afterwards, and it is relatively simple to distinguish a live rendition from a studio track. This is the rarest of performance categories and constitutes actual concert footage used as a video, not originally produced as such. Example: video 060, "Rumours of Glory" by Bruce Cockburn shows the singer in concert with the noise of the audience discernable, and a somewhat looser, 'dirtier' sound to the track than the studio version.

3. PERFORMANCE 2 (dubbed live performance): artists are in concert, but their performance has been treated with a number of post-production techniques. Among these are the dubbing of vocals with the actual album track, the use of more than one concert performance edited together and the occasional use of such visual techniques as soft focus or the superimposing of related concert footage on the 'live'

performance.

Example: video 097, "Paradise City" by Guns and Roses uses footage of the band playing the same song from several different concerts, shows the audience(s) involved, and results in the interesting spectacle of band members seeming to change clothes in mid-sentence. Sound of the song, as in the remaining performance categories, is identical to studio track.

4. PERFORMANCE 3 (choreographed stage performance): similar to PERFORMANCE 2, but with the use of an artificial audience, that is, one specifically assembled for the video, not taken from an actual concert performance. In this category, the audience usually has a specific role to play and is often composed of 'actors' in the sense of movie extras.

Example: video 158, "Wake Up Dead" by Megadeth features the band performing on a stage surrounded by a chain metal fence. The 'audience' is shown shaking the fence, climbing it, rushing the stage and finally overwhelming the band, who never miss a beat or note of their song.

5. PERFORMANCE 4 (stage performance without audience): artists perform in a setting that does not always attempt to create the illusion of a live performance, but does suggest a stage setting.

Example: video 185, "Ain't it Heavy" by Melissa Etheridge features the singer and her band performing in a stage-like

setting suggestive of an older country and western venue, but no audience is in evidence, and Etheridge displays more awareness of the camera than the space an audience would normally inhabit.

6. PERFORMANCE 5 (setting performance without audience): Musicians perform in such settings as a field or abandoned building, and are seldom concerned with such details as plugging their guitars into amplifiers or singing directly into a microphone. Post-production visual effects tend to increase in this category.

Example: video 217, "Inside Out" by Crash Vegas sees singer and her band performing in a woodland setting. Instruments are used but microphones are not, and nowhere is there evidence of a generator/power source for their electric guitars.

7. PERFORMANCE 6 (dance performance): instruments and microphones are seldom seen, performers engage in choreographed dance routines, usually lip-syncing simultaneously. Often employs a number of background dancers not normally part of the group.

Example: video 354, "Feel Your Love" by Alanis features the singer dancing and lip-syncing in a street setting, surrounded by a group of male background dancers. No instruments or microphones are in evidence.

8. PERFORMANCE 7 (lip-sync performance only): usually associated with pop/MOR pop, commonly involves one central

figure lip-syncing lyrics in a variety of settings.

Example: video 365, "Sara" by Starship features a central singer involved in a memory narrative about a past love. He wanders about the grounds surrounding a farm house while singing to no one in particular. Again, no instruments or microphones are in evidence, the only 'performance' being the actual lip-syncing.

9. IMAGERY 0 (no non-performance images): videos that present only the performers themselves, either in concert, lip-syncing or performing in recognizable surroundings, or conducting choreographed dance routines.

Example: video 022, "Covered" by PIL displays the band on stage but employs no images not directly involved with the performance (audience is considered a part of the performance category unless their actions become tangential to that performance) and uses no special effects.

10. IMAGERY 1 (narrative): images that tell a story, present characters and events that reach some form of conclusion or suggest a resolution to a problem or conflict. Seldom if ever follows all the rules of realist narrative cinema, but does allow viewer to follow temporal developments with little effort.

Example: video 027, "The Wild Life" by Slaughter, follows the adventure of a young woman who becomes bored with television and embarks on a night on the town. She encounters a number of frightening characters and

situations, inadvertently sets fire to a bizarre 'nightclub' and finally is seen boarding her morning school bus.

11. IMAGERY 2 (pseudo-narrative): images that suggest temporal progressions or social interaction but disregards many of the rules of narrative structure. Requires viewer to assemble the 'missing pieces' with his or her own imagination and thus becomes more subjective. In general there is still a sense of cohesion and logic.

Example: video 111, "Motorcrash" by The Sugarcubes opens with the aftermath of a car accident with a crowd gathered, a woman faints and the bands lead singer helps her into her own car. Several other car crashes are shown, another band member assumes the role of policeman and a young woman on a bicycle inspecting crash sites is shown periodically. There is not a perfect sense of linearity, but the reader can construct a coherent narrative from the images presented.

12. IMAGERY 3 (thematic and loosely-connected imagery): images that may at first glance appear random, but have some manner of guiding thematic thread that becomes apparent as video progresses and/or is mirrored in lyrical content. Also includes videos that employ very simple 'supportive' images such as the recurring image of the object of affection in a love song.

Example: video 157, "Brother's Eyes" by Kill for Thrills opens with an image of a bald eagle in flight, shifts to the band performing in the ruins of an old stone house in the

desert (PERFORMANCE 5) and presents recurring images of a young woman standing alone in the desert. She is wearing a long black dress with a large crucifix around her neck. In one scene she is holding an old, smashed television set, in another a second woman stands beside her, holding her hands over the eyes of the first. The song's lyrics suggest a theme of caring and responsibility, but expressed in a cynical, bitter fashion: "You never cry through your brother's eyes, you ain't got no heart."

13. IMAGERY 4 (surreal imagery): settings, characters and objects that could not occur in reality. Laws of society and nature break down and post-production techniques make anything possible in the video's imaginary universe. Often concentrates on the macabre and the bizarre.

Example: video 084, "Thought I'd Died and Gone to Heaven" by Bryan Adams features Adams and his band performing in a wheat field bathed in an unearthly blue moonlight. Glowing dolphins leap from below the 'surface' of the field and disappear again while animated glowing birds circle overhead.

14. IMAGERY 5 (collage): similar to IMAGERY 3, but with a greater sense of segmentation over flow. Often employs images pulled from different cultural milieux and 'pasted' together for the video's purposes. Images are occasionally presented in a rapid-fire, almost subliminal manner, but retain a sense of discreteness. Images are not random, but

support lyrical sub-text and/or a recognizable theme.

Example: video 148, "Little Wing" by Stevie Ray Vaughan presents a collage of famous blues guitarists and blues guitar iconography. The video contains no lyrics, but runs through a wide variety of blues related images from Memphis guitar stores to Jimi Hendrix burning his guitar on stage.

15. IMAGERY 6 (pastiche): often very difficult to distinguish from collage, pastiche is reputed to be the most representative postmodern video technique. Pastiche employs many of the formal strategies of collage, but is purposefully anti-narrative and often lacks the recognizable thematic thread of IMAGERY 3. It is distinguished from surrealism in its lack of linearity and its use of past cultural images without a recognizable ideological stance towards them.

Example: video 282, "Blow at High Dough" by The Tragically Hip displays a bewildering variety of images with no discernable thematic thread. Images include: brief scene from 1950s monster movie; crawling ants; old television exercise program; a variety of different plant life; astronauts (both real and animated); a turtle; television colour bars; trains; lightning; snippet from a 1950s beauty contest; a volcano and several others.

16. IMAGERY 7 (film images): use of scenes from a particular film to complement a song from its soundtrack. In effect, both the film and song function as each other's

advertisements.

Example: video 163, "Colors" by Ice - T, splits camera time approximately equally between singer rapping on street and scenes from the movie "Colors" (both song and movie deal with the subject of gang violence).

As mentioned previously, very few videos may be categorized by any of these criteria exclusively. Typically, a video will contain elements of two to four of these characteristics, with varying degrees of emphasis on each facet of the visual sub-text. If a prototype for a music video broadcast on MuchMusic in early 1992 were to be constructed, it would take the form of PERFORMANCE 5/IMAGERY 3; a combination of performance with instruments but without stage or audience, and images that are loosely connected but not entirely surreal or bizarre.

C. Categorization of Integrated Video Texts

Determining the appropriate categories for classifying the ideological and political content of video messages is accomplished through the application of the theoretical and methodological perspectives reviewed earlier. The process is perhaps best illustrated with a brief example:

324. "Hold Her Down" - Toad the Wet Sprocket

A rock song performed in English by white American males, shot on colour film. Visual sub-text is coded PERF 4/IMAGE 2 (stage performance without audience, combined with pseudo-narrative imagery). The video was introduced by veejay Erica Ehm as "a song about the horrors of men's stupidity about rape", although it is doubtful this informative introduction precedes every broadcast of the video.

A content analysis of the lyrics alone would suggest the video is advocating rape, or perhaps murder. In the song's refrain the singer offers advice on how to accomplish either crime: "Take her arms and hold her down, and hold her down, and hold her down, and hold her down - until she stops kicking." Application of semiotics and film studies principles, however, reveal that the video's symbolic content, use of camera angles/viewpoints and other visual cues indicate an oppositional attitude towards rape. Images include a young woman repeatedly, perhaps obsessively, washing her hands in a sink and crying with her head held in

her hands. Following these images (consistently spliced with shots of the band performing) are brief glimpses of the rape in progress, although all that is shown are male hands roughly and firmly grasping female arms. Shortly thereafter the camera follows a man's legs walking through a doorway and closing it as the video fades to black. If there is any doubt about the band's position vis-a-vis rape, it is clarified by the video's final message: written in large block capitals that fill the black screen at the video's conclusion are the words "TAKE BACK THE NIGHT".

Political economy and Frankfurt School insights suggest this message is supportive of a dominant ideology of submitting to the hegemonic influence of established laws, and that such a 'politically correct' message is a natural byproduct of the constraints implied by capitalist production modes. Feminist theory might argue that accordance with codified mores/laws is not the point at all; that the message is directed at the underlying ideology of patriarchy and that the video is challenging and in a sense subversive. The question then becomes one of orientation; either towards the political/institutional concerns of crime and sanctions or the ideological concerns of patriarchy and male 'abuse of power'. If the former, the video would be placed in category "MESSAGE 2, conservative"; if the latter it is categorized as "MESSAGE 4, oppositional". Judgement in this case falls in the oppositional category; the essence of

the video implicating the psychological damage of rape, as supported by the presented images, not the legal sanctions (never suggested in the video) that accompany a conviction for this crime.

It is important to note in this example the interplay of the various sub-texts, a feature not easily replicated on the printed page. The repetition in the refrain of the words "hold her down" reflects the violence of the act itself and suggests the degree of resistance/struggle on the part of the victim. The tone of voice of the singer and the 'mood' of the musical sub-text are important influences on interpretation as well, implicating admittedly subjective but certainly not arbitrary psychological effects in the listener/reader.

It is hoped that by taking all these perspectives into consideration a categorization scheme of reasonable 'face validity' or consensus may be constructed. Video messages are placed, then, in one or more of the following categories:

MESSAGE 1 (limited social relevance): videos that make only 'personal' statements in both visual and lyrical sub-texts. This includes basic love songs that make no overt commentary either in opposition or support of patriarchy, and pure performance videos that incorporate mundane/personal lyrical sub-texts.

Examples:

047. "Everything Reminds Me of My Dog" - Jane Siberry

PERF 0/IMAGE 3 - A litany of people, things, places and situations that remind the singer of her dog.

050. "Tears in Heaven" - Eric Clapton

PERF 5/IMAGE 0 - A basic love song of doubt and longing featuring only the singer and his acoustic guitar.

169. "Life is a Highway" - Tom Cochrane

PERF 5/IMAGE 2 - Somewhat cliched celebration of travelling and life on the open road.

MESSAGE 2 (conservative): videos that support entrenched values of the dominant Western ideology by adopting unquestioning attitudes towards them. This category includes patriarchal/sexist visual and lyrical sub-texts, depictions of idyllic middle class domestic life, and any related prescriptions for ideologically assertive behaviours and attitudes.

Examples:

016. "Baby Doll" - Big House

PERF 7/IMAGE 2 - A love song that includes an assertive attitude toward the patriarchal view of female passivity and her object-like status. Lyrics include the refrain: "Be my baby doll, or don't be anything at all".

035. "Summer of '69" - Bryan Adams

PERF 5/IMAGE 1 - Song of nostalgia for the carefree days of youth that presents an empty, romanticized view of 'rebellion'. Also includes a rather disturbing unfinished narrative scene suggestive of male psychological dominance over females and the potential for violence against women.

302. "Life is What You Make It" - Frighty and Colonel Mite

PERF 6/IMAGE 2 - An optimism so extreme and naive it could easily become parody, but is presented in a 'straight faced' manner. Judged conservative in that its logical extension is an unquestioning acquiescence.

MESSAGE 3 (acceptable social commentary): social messages that are in the process of mainstream entrenchment. Such messages as environmentalism, AIDS awareness, opposition to inner city problems of drug abuse and gang violence. This category is the pivot point between conservative messages and oppositional ones, and the placement of texts on this continuum depends to a large extent on their method of presentation. It means one thing, for example for Gerardo to simply state, in the video "Rico Suave" that "I don't drink or smoke", it means quite another for a 'street-wise' rapper to present the inner-city social situation leading to drug abuse. The continuum also shifts over time. For the gay vocalist Morrissey to sing "I am human and I need to be loved just like everybody else does" might be viewed as subversive or radical twenty years ago, in a state of flux at present, and perhaps quite commonplace or even unnecessary twenty years from now.

Examples:

029. "World Love" - Lisa Lougheed

PERF 6/IMAGE 0 - Promotes peace and racial harmony in lyrics ("world love not world war"), stage props (peace symbol and heart-shaped globe), and racial constitution of background dancers (wide variety of races dancing happily together).

105. "Keep it in Your Pants" - Young M.C.

PERF 6/IMAGE 3 - A warning of the dangers of casual sex; sexually transmitted diseases, confusion between love and lust, loss of self-respect. Is kept from placement in conservative category by its playful and risqué use of visual sexual 'double entendres'.

122. "Say it with Love" - Moody Blues

PERF 5/IMAGE 3 - Promotion of racial/global harmony through the shared appreciation of cultural diversity. Wide variety of peoples circle a large spinning globe and pass from hand to hand artifacts from different cultural traditions.

MESSAGE 4 (oppositional social commentary): videos that advocate controversial change and/or challenge agreed-upon social assumptions. There is no one particular political stance from which such messages originate. This category includes such ideas as feminism/resistance to patriarchy, autonomy from socially proscribed constraints on behaviour, tolerance/acceptance of homosexuality, the ambivalence towards middle class attitudes engendered by inner city life, or even violent activism.

Examples:

013. "Mistadobalina" - Del tha Funky Homosapien

PERF 7/IMAGE 2 - Uses parody to critique the dehumanizing power of capitalistic greed, depicting businessmen as mindless, wandering creatures responding to stimuli like Pavlovian dogs.

316. "La Raza" - Kid Frost

PERF 7/5/IMAGE 3 - Angrily speaks out against police harassment of Hispanic people, including an implied promise of retaliation. Invokes Aztec art as reminder of cultural past. Lyrics include the line "I'm brown and I'm proud".

335. "Janie's Got a Gun" - Aerosmith

PERF 4/IMAGE 1 - Presents a narrative of a young woman sexually abused by her father and killing him as a result. Judged oppositional not by its engagement with a controversial subject, but in its refusal to condemn, even its approval, of patricide.

MESSAGE 5 (irreverent): videos celebrating decadence,

hedonism, anarchy or nihilism. Not a 'call to arms', which would place such texts in category 4, but a side-step away from all particular political standpoints and a preoccupation with the excesses of the moment. The more extreme versions of rock's avowed philosophy of "sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll".

Examples:

027. "The Wild Life" - Slaughter

PERF 4/IMAGE 1 - Narrative in which a young woman is exposed to a wide variety of dangerous, decadent and sexually risqué situations, including brief flashes of implied sado-masochism.

241. "Decadence Dance" - Extreme

PERF 4/IMAGE 1 - Book-ended with brief narratives from fictional representative of "Parents for a Wholesome America" providing advice on achieving "a good clean way of life", contrasted to band's advice on "dancing to the decadence dance" and brief flashes of purposeful 'decadence'.

268. "Creature From the Black Leather Lagoon" - The Cramps

PERF 5/IMAGE 3 - Includes scenes of the band members destroying furniture with axes and simulated sex acts between female guitarist and lead singer dressed in leather and "Creature from the Black (Leather) Lagoon" costume.

MESSAGE 6 (postmodern): videos that are purposefully anti-narrative, often employing the technique of pastiche, and refuse to indicate any preferred direction for the future or specific attitude towards the images displayed. The quintessential postmodern video is not found, but several may be judged as especially representative of postmodernity.

Examples:

147. "Take 5" - Northside

PERF 4/IMAGE 6 - Band performs in front of a bank of video screens displaying a barrage of cultural and political images including: Mao Tse Tung, Margaret Thatcher, Marilyn Monroe, John F. Kennedy with superimposed gun sights, the wedding of Charles and Diana, and many more. Lyrical content reveals no particular stance towards the images except for the possible (and by no means certain) interpretation that the world needs to slow down, to "take 5".

258. "The Statue Got Me High" - They Might Be Giants

PERF 5/IMAGE 6 - Band performs in open concrete area, standing on large concrete blocks, each bearing the name of a planet in the solar system. Many 'inappropriate' image/sign recontextualisations including the Empire State Building as a rocket and skateboarding astronauts. The loose theme of outer space is not supported by lyrics, which although decipherable are very difficult to interpret.

282. "Blow at High Dough" - The Tragically Hip

PERF 4/IMAGE 6 - An extremely wide variety of disparate images (reviewed in section F) with lyrics expressing no stance other than one of being indiscriminate: "I can get behind anything".

It should be noted that none of these categories are mutually exclusive, and many videos contain 'mixed messages'. It is possible, in some cases, to determine a dominant essence to a particular video, but others must be categorized as exemplifying more than one orientation. It is also possible to categorize videos as containing contradictory messages; a text, that is, may contain both conservative and oppositional messages. An excellent example of such a situation occurs with the video "Right Now" by Van Halen. This text is a conglomerate of four rather than three sub-texts, as a series of 56 different written messages are displayed in the course of the video. These messages run the

full spectrum from limited relevance ("Right now a bowl of soup would be nice"), to oppositional ("Right now our government is doing things we think only other countries do"). This video, along with several others, cannot be placed in only one message category, thus such texts are placed in as many as necessary.²⁶

It is also worth considering in more detail the methods of determining placement of texts that are ambiguous or skirt categorization boundaries. Texts considered in this sample to be essentially ambiguous in both lyrical and visual sub-texts are placed in the MESSAGE 1 category, the assumption being that if repeated listening/reading and systematic application of a number of theories and methods cannot decipher lyrics or uncover messages, it is doubtful that a more casual reading on the part of MuchMusic listeners/readers will be successful either.

In considering the placement of texts that skirt boundaries, it is again useful to illustrate the process with examples. The videos "Ordinary Man" by Mark Korven and "Boomtown" by Andrew Cash both deal with the theme of rejecting materialism. However, the former is judged as acceptable social commentary while the latter is categorized as oppositional. In "Ordinary Man" (PERF 7/IMAGE 1), the singer lip-syncs through a narrative that complains of his

²⁶ Video 051. "Right Now" by Van Halen was in fact the only text to be placed in more than two message categories.

girlfriend's attempts to make him more fashion conscious and exude a sense of wealth and style. He is, however, "just an ordinary man" and has no desire to change his image or attitudes. In one scene he throws a handful of money back in the direction of his girlfriend, symbolic of his rejection of materialism. It is not clear, however, whether he is rejecting materialism as such or the overly-materialistic attitude of one individual. He is dressed rather conservatively but not in ragged clothing, and the pop rock musical sub-text does not contribute to a sense of defiant anger. So while a rejection of materialism or consumerism is in opposition to the ideology of capitalism, it is in this case an 'acceptable' opposition, being directed at a 'greedy' or insensitive individual, not at the more fundamental assumptions of the ideology.

In "Boomtown" (PERF 4/IMAGE 1), a narrative of working class real life problems is presented in an unromanticized manner. The lyrical sub-text reinforces the oppositional attitude towards the ideology of capitalism: "I don't want to judge my life by what I can afford". Within the narrative, the singer takes on the character of a taxi driver living with his wife in a small, run-down apartment. They receive an eviction notice and plead with their landlord to no avail. A passenger in the singer's cab is snorting cocaine in the back seat, setting up a contrast between the singer who needs every cent he can earn, and the

passenger who must spend a great deal of money on a powder that disappears up his nose. Other images include the singer 'drowning his sorrows' at a run down tavern and the depiction of a building being demolished. The overall effect is quite dark and pessimistic, and the refusal of the video to end with a positive resolution, coupled with the realism of the imagery make this text a far more effective critique of materialism/capitalism than the "Ordinary Man" video.

With the completion of these categorizations, an analysis of the degree and type of social commentary found in music videos may be conducted. The overall demographics and general characteristics of MuchMusic videos will be considered, as well as questions of social commentary patterns determined by gender, race, nationality, musical genre, etc. The relationship between form and content, that is, visual sub-texts and message categories, will also be considered. Any of the categorized characteristics of these texts may be appropriated as independent and dependent 'variables' for the construction of cross tabulations. This process will make no claims of statistical significance and will include no formal statistical manipulations, but should provide an interesting set of patterns and general tendencies.

D. Results of Analysis

The prototype for a MuchMusic video in April 1992 is shot in colour, performed in English, and features white American males. Basic demographic characteristics may be summarized as follows:

1. Language of lyrics

ENGLISH.....	335	(.901)
FRENCH.....	26	(.070)
FRENCH/ENGLISH.....	4	(.011)
SPANISH.....	2	(.005)
SPANISH/ENGLISH.....	2	(.005)

2. Race of central performer/character

WHITE.....	279	(.756)
BLACK.....	79	(.214)
HISPANIC/LATINO.....	5	(.014)
WHITE & BLACK.....	4	(.011)
n/a.....	2	(.005)

3. Gender of central performer/character

MALE.....	250	(.678)
FEMALE.....	96	(.260)
MALE & FEMALE.....	22	(.060)
n/a.....	1	(.003)

4. Film Colour

COLOUR.....	259	(.702)
BLACK & WHITE.....	53	(.144)
COLOUR & B&W.....	53	(.144)
MONOCHROME.....	4	(.011)

5. Nationality of performers

AMERICAN.....	185	(.501)
CANADIAN.....	110	(.298)
BRITISH.....	50	(.136)
ICELANDIC.....	6	(.016)
SWEDISH.....	5	(.014)
AUSTRALIAN.....	4	(.011)
IRISH.....	4	(.011)
CUBAN.....	1	(.003)
CANADIAN/AUSTRALIAN.....	1	(.003)
BRITISH/AMERICAN.....	1	(.003)
UNKNOWN.....	2	(.005)

The "unknown" and "n/a" categories exist through the influence of three videos: 101. "Happy Nightmare Baby" by Opal; 306. "A.K.I.K.O." by Emeline Michel; and 368. "History of the World in 3 Minutes Flat" by Michael Mills. In "Happy Nightmare Baby", no clear camera shot of the performers is presented and although the singer's voice is female, it is impossible to determine the race of her or the other band members. In "A.K.I.K.O." Emeline Michel sings in French, is black, and the song has a definite Caribbean influence. This suggests perhaps a Haitian nationality, but this is by no means certain and thus a new nationality category was not created for this one video. "History of the World in 3 Minutes Flat" is unique in this sample in that it is the only 'video' not accompanied by music. It is a humorous animated trip through human history from God's creation of the world to the post-war competitiveness of various nation-states. Although the limited dialogue involved is English, race, gender, nationality, and musical genre could not be categorized.

That the majority of videos broadcast should be in English is hardly surprising given the historical ties of Western pop music to English speaking countries and the predominantly English speaking market served by MuchMusic. It can be stated, however, that at 7%, videos in the French language are somewhat under represented given the proportion of French speaking persons in the Canadian population. The few videos containing Spanish lyrics represent the influence of American Hispanic artists and it may be speculated that on MTV the proportion of such videos is somewhat higher.

The high proportion of videos featuring white performers is related not only to the demographic structure of North American society but to the proportion of air play dedicated to each musical genre. The pop rock to metal continuum, as well as country and blues are almost exclusively white genres, while rap, R&B and reggae are dominated by black performers. The remainder are less race-specific. Since the most popular genres on MuchMusic centre on the intersection between pop and rock, the majority of videos feature white performers.

The 26% figure indicating videos featuring female performers is, of course, an under representation in terms of societal demographics, but not necessarily so when compared to the proportion of female recording artists. That is, while women are still not adequately represented in the industry as a whole, there is little evidence that videos by

female artists are systematically ignored by MuchMusic programmers. This figure also suggests that female representation in music videos may be increasing. Kaplan found, for example, that only 20% of MTV videos featured female performers in the mid-1980s. (1987:238)

In terms of nationality, Americans constitute the dominant group and at 50% are likely over-represented, if only slightly. At 30% Canadian performers are largely over-represented, but this is due to CRTC 'Canadian content' regulations and MuchMusic's expressed desire to promote Canadian artists. At 14% British performers are seriously under-represented, as are Australian artists at only 1%. Swedish and Icelandic videos are over-represented due to two specific programs broadcast during the period of study: a "Power 30" special on Swedish metal groups and a "Blue Spotlight" on the Icelandic band The Sugarcubes.

A total of 25 different musical genres and genre hybrids were identified in the sample. This includes the collapsing of certain obscure and specialized styles into 'umbrella' categories. The genre of metal, for example, originally marked off from rock by the title "heavy metal", has recently been 'diversified' into such precise headings as "speed metal", "death metal", and such closely related styles as "grunge rock" and the punk/metal crossover usually referred to as "hard core". Such over-specialization in musical classification becomes cumbersome and debilitating

for systematic categorization, and it is suggested here that the following genres and their resultant combinations form reasonably coherent groupings (N = 369):

POP ROCK.....	75	(.203)
ROCK.....	61	(.165)
HARD ROCK.....	49	(.133)
POP.....	37	(.100)
RAP.....	19	(.051)
DANCE.....	18	(.049)
COUNTRY.....	17	(.046)
MOR POP.....	14	(.038)
DANCE/POP.....	11	(.030)
BLUES BASED ROCK.....	10	(.027)
DANCE/RAP.....	8	(.022)
METAL.....	8	(.022)
RHYTHM & BLUES.....	8	(.022)
COUNTRY/POP.....	5	(.014)
DANCE/R&B.....	5	(.014)
FOLK/POP.....	5	(.014)
REGGAE/RAP.....	4	(.011)
ETHNIC.....	3	(.008)
R&B/POP.....	2	(.005)
COUNTRY/POP ROCK.....	2	(.005)
COUNTRY/ROCK.....	2	(.005)
REGGAE.....	2	(.005)
FOLK.....	1	(.003)
R&B/RAP.....	1	(.003)
ROCKABILLY.....	1	(.003)
n/a.....	1	(.003)

Results of visual sub-text categorization reveal a marked preference on the part of performers/producers for performance settings unencumbered by either stage or audience (PERF 5 = 32%) and thematic or loosely-connected imagery (IMAGE 3 = 31%). This categorization, divided along the performance and imagery axes is summarized as follows:

1. Performance Axis (N = 369)

PERFORMANCE 0 (no performance depicted).....	10	(.027)
PERFORMANCE 1 (authentic live).....	4	(.011)
PERFORMANCE 2 (dubbed live).....	31	(.084)
PERFORMANCE 3 (choreographed live).....	22	(.060)
PERFORMANCE 4 (stage, no audience).....	66	(.179)
PERFORMANCE 5 (setting, no audience).....	117	(.317)
PERFORMANCE 6 (dance).....	39	(.106)
PERFORMANCE 7 (lip sync only).....	69	(.187)

COMBINATIONS:

2/5.....	5	(.014)
3/6.....	1	(.003)
4/6.....	1	(.003)
5/1.....	1	(.003)
6/7.....	1	(.003)
7/5.....	1	(.003)
2/3/5.....	1	(.003)

2. Imagery Axis (N = 369)

IMAGERY 0 (performance only).....	66	(.179)
IMAGERY 1 (narrative).....	45	(.122)
IMAGERY 2 (pseudo-narrative).....	79	(.214)
IMAGERY 3 (thematic/loosely-connected).....	115	(.312)
IMAGERY 4 (surreal).....	30	(.081)
IMAGERY 5 (collage).....	11	(.030)
IMAGERY 6 (pastiche).....	9	(.024)
IMAGERY 7 (film images).....	9	(.024)

COMBINATIONS:

3/5.....	2	(.005)
1/3.....	1	(.003)
1/4.....	1	(.003)
7/2.....	1	(.003)

The 15 most prevalent performance/imagery combinations, or "integrated visual sub-texts" are summarized as follows:

¹¹ For a complete list of visual sub-text categorizations, see appendix F.

1. PERF 5/IMAGE 3.....42
(Setting performance without audience, thematic or loosely-connected imagery).
2. PERF 4/IMAGE 3.....24
(Stage performance without audience, thematic or loosely-connected imagery).
3. PERF 7/IMAGE 2.....24
(Lip-sync performance only, pseudo-narrative imagery).
4. PERF 5/IMAGE 2.....23
(Setting performance without audience, pseudo-narrative imagery).
5. PERF 4/IMAGE 2.....17
(Stage performance without audience, pseudo-narrative imagery).
6. PERF 5/IMAGE 4.....17
(Setting performance without audience, surreal imagery).
7. PERF 7/IMAGE 3.....15
(Lip-sync performance only, thematic or loosely-connected imagery).
8. PERF 5/IMAGE 0.....14
(Setting performance without audience, no additional images).
9. PERF 6/IMAGE 0.....14
(Dance performance, no additional images).
10. PERF 6/IMAGE 3.....14
(Dance performance, thematic or loosely-connected imagery).
11. PERF 7/IMAGE 1.....12
(Lip-sync performance only, narrative imagery).
12. PERF 2/IMAGE 3.....11
(Dubbed live performance, thematic or loosely-connected imagery).
13. PERF 4/IMAGE 0.....10
(Stage performance without audience, no additional images).
14. PERF 2/IMAGE 0.....9
(Dubbed live performance, no additional images).
15. PERF 5/IMAGE 1.....9
(Setting performance without audience, narrative imagery).

By far the most popular form is the PERF 5/IMAGE 3 combination, a mode of presentation that is extremely flexible, free from the constraints of stage performance expectations and the limitations of linear narrative. Presumably this allows for a wider range of themes to be explored in a more imaginative manner. Visual sub-texts will be cross-referenced with message categories shortly. Message categories themselves are summarized as follows (N = 369):

1. MESSAGE 1 (limited relevance).....	144	(.390)
2. MESSAGE 2 (conservative).....	65	(.176)
3. MESSAGE 3 (acceptable critique).....	33	(.089)
4. MESSAGE 4 (oppositional critique).....	34	(.092)
5. MESSAGE 5 (irreverent).....	7	(.019)
6. MESSAGE 6 (postmodern).....	8	(.022)

COMBINATIONS:

1/4 (limited oppositional).....	25	(.068)
1/2 (limited conservative).....	14	(.038)
1/5 (limited irreverent).....	10	(.027)
1/6 (limited postmodern).....	7	(.019)
1/3 (limited acceptable critique).....	4	(.011)
2/5 (conservative/irreverent).....	4	(.011)
4/6 (oppositional/postmodern).....	4	(.011)
4/5 (oppositional/irreverent).....	3	(.008)
2/3 (conservative/acceptable).....	2	(.005)
2/6 (conservative/postmodern).....	2	(.005)
2/4 (conservative/oppositional).....	1	(.003)
3/4 (acceptable/oppositional).....	1	(.003)
2/3/4 (conserv./accept./opposition.).....	1	(.003)

As is evident in the above summary, more music videos may be characterized as containing limited social relevance than any other category. The second highest proportion of videos fall in the conservative category, due primarily to

the support for patriarchy found in both visual and lyrical sub-texts. Only 34 of 369 videos (9%) were categorized as imparting a message of oppositional social commentary, although this figure nearly doubles when the message combinations that include oppositional components are considered.

Tables 1 to 4 detail the characteristics of oppositional videos (MESSAGE 4, N = 34); videos containing oppositional components (MESSAGE 4, 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, 4/5, 4/6, and 2/3/4, N = 69); videos containing acceptable commentary messages (MESSAGE 3, 1/3, 2/3, 3/4, and 2/3/4, N = 41); and conservative videos (MESSAGE 2, N = 65). The proportion of videos corresponding to each selected characteristic is compared to its proportion in the sample as a whole, and its subsequent over or under-representation is then expressed as a percentage. For example, 36 of 65 conservative videos are by American performers: .554 or 55.4%. In the sample as a whole, the proportion is .501 or 50.1%. Therefore there are 10.6% more American videos in the conservative category than expected. Over-representations corresponding to sample sizes of 2 or fewer were not calculated, as such occurrences were considered too likely a result of chance and therefore misleading. It should be remembered that all characteristics not recorded, that is, at frequency 0, are thus under-representations of '100%'. In reviewing the breakdown of oppositional videos, the most striking finding is the

extreme over-representation of the rap musical genre. Constituting only 5.1% of the total sample, rap videos account for 29.4% of all oppositional texts, nearly five times (+477%) the baseline rate for this genre. The genre of rock is also over-represented at 61% higher than expected, while pop rock videos appear 71% fewer times than their sample proportion would suggest. Video language did not exhibit any significant results other than a slight (-16%) under-representation of French texts. Videos featuring white performers occur at 34% below their baseline rate while those featuring black artists appear at twice the expected frequency (+106%). In terms of gender, males were only slightly over-represented (+4%) while females somewhat under-represented (-10%). The area of nationality shows American videos to be categorized as oppositional 53% more often than expected, while Canadian and British texts were under-represented at 60% and 35% respectively. When texts incorporating oppositional elements are added to the MESSAGE 4 category, these tendencies are modified

TABLE 1 CHARACTERISTICS OF OPPOSITIONAL SOCIAL COMMENTARY
VIDEOS
(MESSAGE 4; N = 34)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Prop./369</u>	<u>Δ %</u>
1. Language				
ENGLISH.....	31	(.912)	.901	+ 01.2%
FRENCH.....	2	(.059)	.070	- 15.7
SPANISH.....	1	(.029)	.005	----
2. Race				
WHITE.....	17	(.500)	.756	- 33.9%
BLACK.....	15	(.441)	.214	+ 106.1
HISPANIC.....	1	(.029)	.014	----
WHITE & BLACK.....	1	(.029)	.011	----
3. Gender				
MALE.....	24	(.706)	.678	+ 04.1%
FEMALE.....	8	(.235)	.260	- 09.6
MALE & FEMALE.....	2	(.059)	.060	- 01.7
4. Nationality				
AMERICAN.....	26	(.765)	.501	+ 52.7%
CANADIAN.....	4	(.118)	.298	- 60.4
BRITISH.....	3	(.088)	.136	- 35.3
AUSTRALIAN.....	1	(.029)	.011	----
5. Musical Genre				
RAP.....	10	(.294)	.051	+ 476.5%
ROCK.....	9	(.265)	.165	+ 60.6
HARD ROCK.....	4	(.118)	.133	- 11.3
POP.....	2	(.059)	.100	- 41.0
POP ROCK.....	2	(.059)	.203	- 70.9
COUNTRY/ROCK.....	1	(.029)	.005	----
ETHNIC.....	1	(.029)	.008	----
METAL.....	1	(.029)	.022	----
RAP/REGGAE.....	1	(.029)	.011	----
R&B.....	1	(.029)	.022	----
R&B/DANCE.....	1	(.029)	.014	----
R&B/POP.....	1	(.029)	.005	----

TABLE 2 CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL VIDEOS CONTAINING
OPPOSITIONAL SOCIAL COMMENTARY COMPONENTS
(MESSAGE 4, 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, 4/5, 4/6, 2/3/4; N = 69)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Prop./369</u>	<u>△</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Language					
ENGLISH.....	66	(.957)	.901	+	06.2%
FRENCH.....	2	(.029)	.070	-	58.6
SPANISH.....	1	(.014)	.005	-	----
2. Race					
WHITE.....	46	(.667)	.756	-	11.8%
BLACK.....	20	(.290)	.214	+	35.5
HISPANIC.....	2	(.029)	.014	-	----
WHITE & BLACK.....	1	(.014)	.011	-	----
3. Gender					
MALE.....	53	(.768)	.678	+	13.3%
FEMALE.....	13	(.188)	.260	-	27.7
MALE & FEMALE.....	3	(.043)	.060	-	28.3
4. Nationality					
AMERICAN.....	47	(.681)	.501	+	35.9%
CANADIAN.....	11	(.159)	.298	-	46.6
BRITISH....	8	(.116)	.136	-	14.7
AUSTRALIAN	1	(.014)	.011	-	----
IRISH.....	1	(.014)	.011	-	----
ICELANDIC.....	1	(.014)	.016	-	----
5. Musical Genre					
ROCK.....	20	(.290)	.165	+	75.8%
HARD ROCK.....	12	(.174)	.133	+	30.8
RAP.....	11	(.159)	.051	+	211.8
POP ROCK.....	7	(.101)	.203	-	50.2
METAL.....	4	(.058)	.022	+	163.6
POP.....	3	(.043)	.100	-	57.0
COUNTRY/ROCK.....	2	(.029)	.005	-	----
ETHNIC.....	2	(.029)	.008	-	----
RAP/REGGAE.....	2	(.029)	.011	-	----
DANCE.....	2	(.029)	.049	-	40.8
R&B.....	1	(.014)	.022	-	----
R&B/DANCE.....	1	(.014)	.014	-	----
R&B/POP.....	1	(.014)	.005	-	----
DANCE/RAP.....	1	(.014)	.022	-	----

TABLE 3 CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL VIDEOS CONTAINING ACCEPTABLE COMMENTARY COMPONENTS
(MESSAGE 3, 1/3, 2/3, 3/4, 2/3/4; N = 41)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Prop./369</u>	<u>Δ</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Language					
ENGLISH.....	37	(.902)	.901	+	00.1%
FRENCH.....	3	(.073)	.070	+	04.3
SPANISH/ENGLISH.....	1	(.024)	.005		----
2. Race					
WHITE.....	29	(.707)	.756	-	06.5%
BLACK.....	9	(.220)	.214	+	02.8
HISPANIC.....	1	(.024)	.014		----
WHITE & BLACK.....	1	(.024)	.011		----
n/a.....	1	(.024)	.005		----
3. Gender					
MALE.....	25	(.610)	.678	-	10.0%
FEMALE.....	11	(.268)	.260	+	03.1
MALE & FEMALE.....	4	(.098)	.060	+	63.3
n/a.....	1	(.024)	.003		----
4. Nationality					
AMERICAN.....	21	(.512)	.501	+	02.2%
CANADIAN.....	11	(.268)	.298	-	10.1
BRITISH.....	6	(.146)	.136	+	07.4
IRISH.....	2	(.049)	.011		----
n/a.....	1	(.024)	.003		----
5. Musical Genre					
POP.....	11	(.268)	.100	+	168.0%
POP ROCK.....	7	(.171)	.203	-	15.8
ROCK.....	5	(.122)	.165	-	26.1
HARD ROCK.....	4	(.098)	.133	-	26.3
DANCE.....	3	(.073)	.049	+	49.0
RAP.....	2	(.049)	.051	-	03.9
COUNTRY.....	1	(.024)	.046	-	47.8
DANCE/POP.....	1	(.024)	.030	-	20.0
BLUES BASED ROCK.....	1	(.024)	.027	-	11.1
DANCE/RAP.....	1	(.024)	.022		----
FOLK/POP.....	1	(.024)	.014		----
ETHNIC.....	1	(.024)	.008		----
REGGAE.....	1	(.024)	.005		----
R&B/RAP.....	1	(.024)	.003		----
n/a.....	1	(.024)	.003		----

TABLE 4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE VIDEOS
(MESSAGE 2; N = 65)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Prop./369</u>	<u>△ %</u>
1. Language				
ENGLISH.....	61	(.938)	.901	+ 04.1%
FRENCH.....	2	(.031)	.070	- 55.7
FRENCH/ENGLISH.....	1	(.015)	.011	----
SPANISH/ENGLISH.....	1	(.015)	.005	----
2. Race				
WHITE.....	46	(.708)	.756	- 06.3%
BLACK.....	18	(.277)	.214	+ 29.4
WHITE & BLACK.....	1	(.015)	.011	----
3. Gender				
MALE.....	49	(.754)	.678	+ 11.2%
FEMALE.....	16	(.246)	.260	- 05.4
4. Nationality				
AMERICAN.....	36	(.554)	.501	+ 10.6%
CANADIAN.....	19	(.292)	.298	- 02.0
BRITISH.....	7	(.108)	.136	- 20.6
ICELANDIC.....	1	(.015)	.016	- 06.3
IRISH.....	1	(.015)	.011	----
BRITISH/AMERICAN.....	1	(.015)	.003	----
5. Musical Genre				
POP ROCK.....	15	(.231)	.203	+ 13.8%
ROCK.....	10	(.154)	.165	- 06.7
POP.....	6	(.092)	.100	- 08.0
BLUES BASED ROCK.....	5	(.077)	.027	+ 185.2
COUNTRY.....	5	(.077)	.046	+ 67.4
HARD ROCK.....	5	(.077)	.133	- 42.1
DANCE/POP.....	4	(.062)	.030	+ 106.7
RHYTHM & BLUES.....	4	(.062)	.022	+ 181.8
MOR POP.....	3	(.046)	.038	+ 21.1
COUNTRY/POP.....	2	(.031)	.014	----
RAP.....	2	(.031)	.051	- 39.2
COUNTRY/POP ROCK.....	1	(.015)	.005	----
DANCE.....	1	(.015)	.049	- 69.4
REGGAE.....	1	(.015)	.005	----
R&B/POP.....	1	(.015)	.005	----

somewhat. The slight under-representation of French texts increases to 59% below its baseline rate. The discrepancy between videos featuring black and white performers narrows to +36% and -12% respectively, while the gender gap widens somewhat to +13% for males and -28% for females. The differences between the three main nationalities narrow slightly so that American videos appear 36% more often than expected while Canadian and British texts remain under-represented by 47% and 15% respectively. In terms of musical genres, rap and rock continue to be over-represented, but while the frequency of rock videos increases slightly to 76% over baseline, rap falls to +212%. Metal videos are over-represented by 164%, but at a sample size of 4, this figure should be interpreted cautiously. It is interesting to note that pop and pop rock are under-represented by 57% and 50% respectively, while MOR pop, country and blues based rock videos do not appear at all.

Corresponding figures regarding videos containing acceptable social commentary components exhibit a remarkable congruence to baseline expectations through all demographic categories. Of all categories with sample sizes greater than 4, only two show discrepancies of 10% or greater (-10% for both males and Canadians). In the musical genre categories, pop videos are over-represented by 168%, dance videos (sample size of 3) by 49%. Pop rock, rock and hard rock are all under-represented by marginal percentages (16% to 26%).

The genres of MOR pop and metal do not appear, perhaps representing two extremes of a continuum.

The breakdown of socially conservative videos also reveals a high congruence with expected rates through demographic categories. Notable exceptions include an under-representation of French videos (-56%), an over-representation of videos featuring black artists (+29%) and a moderate under-representation of British videos (-21%). The pop/rock intersection (pop, pop rock and rock) account for almost half of conservative videos (31 of 65) and all conform quite closely to expected frequencies/proportions. Blues based rock, R&B and dance/pop videos are all over-represented by more than 100%, although sample sizes are relatively small (4 to 5 occurrences). Hard rock and rap videos are both under-represented by approximately 40%, dance by 69%, while country is over-represented by 67%.

Since the greatest departures from baseline expectations appear to follow genre differences to a far greater degree than demographic variations, it is worth considering in more detail the breakdown of the various genres into corresponding message categories. Table 5 catalogues the 10 most popular genres according to each message category and their combinations.

The information imparted in Table 5 may be summarized fairly succinctly by identifying the overall characteristics

of each genre. The most popular genre, for example, that of pop rock, may be characterized as primarily one of limited social relevance and somewhat conservative, with the message categories corresponding to these characteristics accounting for two thirds of the total pop rock sample. Moreover, the MESSAGE 4 category, that of oppositional commentary, is significantly under-represented at -71%. Although

TABLE 5 MESSAGE CATEGORIES BY MUSICAL GENRE

1. Pop Rock N = 75

MESSAGE 1.....	36 (.480)	.390	+	23.1%
MESSAGE 2.....	15 (.200)	.176	+	13.6
MESSAGE 3.....	6 (.080)	.089	-	10.1
MESSAGE 4.....	2 (.027)	.092	-	70.7
MESSAGE 5.....	1 (.013)	.019	-	31.6
MESSAGE 6.....	2 (.027)	.022	+	22.7
1/4.....	5 (.067)	.068	-	1.5
1/6.....	3 (.040)	.019	+	110.5
1/5.....	2 (.027)	.027		0.0
1/2.....	1 (.013)	.038	-	65.8
1/3.....	1 (.013)	.011		----
2/5.....	1 (.013)	.011		----

2. Rock N = 61

MESSAGE 1.....	21 (.344)	.390	-	11.8%
MESSAGE 2.....	10 (.164)	.176	-	6.8
MESSAGE 3.....	3 (.049)	.089	-	44.9
MESSAGE 4.....	9 (.148)	.092	+	60.9
MESSAGE 5.....	1 (.016)	.019	-	15.8
MESSAGE 6.....	4 (.066)	.022	+	200.0
1/4.....	6 (.098)	.068	+	44.1
4/5.....	2 (.033)	.008		----
4/6.....	2 (.033)	.011		----
1/2.....	1 (.016)	.038	-	57.9
2/3.....	1 (.016)	.005		----
2/3/4.....	1 (.016)	.003		----

3. Hard Rock N = 49

MESSAGE 1.....	12 (.245)	.390	-	37.2%
MESSAGE 2.....	5 (.102)	.176	-	42.0
MESSAGE 3.....	2 (.041)	.089	-	53.9
MESSAGE 4.....	4 (.082)	.092	-	10.9
MESSAGE 5.....	4 (.082)	.019	+	331.6
MESSAGE 6.....	1 (.020)	.022	-	9.1
1/5.....	7 (.143)	.027	+	429.6
1/4.....	5 (.102)	.068	+	50.0
1/3.....	2 (.041)	.011		----
2/5.....	2 (.041)	.011		----
4/6.....	2 (.041)	.011		----
1/6.....	1 (.020)	.019		----
2/6.....	1 (.020)	.005		----
4/5.....	1 (.020)	.008		----

4. Pop N = 37

MESSAGE 1.....	14 (.378)	.390	-	3.1%
MESSAGE 2.....	6 (.162)	.176	-	8.0
MESSAGE 3.....	10 (.270)	.089	+	203.4
MESSAGE 4.....	2 (.054)	.092	-	41.3
MESSAGE 5.....	0 (.000)	.019	-	100.0
MESSAGE 6.....	1 (.027)	.022	+	22.7
1/2.....	1 (.027)	.038	-	28.9
1/3.....	1 (.027)	.011		----
1/4.....	1 (.027)	.068	-	60.3
1/6.....	1 (.027)	.019		----

5. Rap N = 19

MESSAGE 1.....	4 (.211)	.390	-	45.9%
MESSAGE 2.....	2 (.105)	.176	-	40.3
MESSAGE 3.....	1 (.053)	.089	-	40.4
MESSAGE 4.....	10 (.526)	.092	+	471.7
MESSAGE 5.....	0 (.000)	.019	-	100.0
MESSAGE 6.....	0 (.000)	.022	-	100.0
1/4.....	1 (.053)	.068	-	22.1
2/3.....	1 (.053)	.005		----

6. Dance N = 18

MESSAGE 1.....9 (.500)	.390	+ 28.2%
MESSAGE 2.....1 (.056)	.176	- 68.2
MESSAGE 3.....3 (.167)	.089	+ 87.6
MESSAGE 4.....0 (.000)	.092	- 100.0
MESSAGE 5.....0 (.000)	.019	- 100.0
MESSAGE 6.....0 (.000)	.022	- 100.0
1/2.....2 (.111)	.038	----
1/4.....2 (.111)	.068	----
1/6.....1 (.056)	.019	----

7. Country N = 17

MESSAGE 1.....9 (.529)	.390	+ 35.6%
MESSAGE 2.....4 (.235)	.176	+ 33.5
MESSAGE 3.....1 (.059)	.089	- 33.7
MESSAGE 4.....0 (.000)	.092	- 100.0
MESSAGE 5.....0 (.000)	.019	- 100.0
MESSAGE 6.....0 (.000)	.022	- 100.0
1/2.....3 (.176)	.038	+ 363.?

8. MOR Pop N = 14

MESSAGE 1.....11 (.786)	.390	+ 101.5%
MESSAGE 2.....3 (.214)	.176	+ 21.6
MESSAGE 3.....0 (.000)	.089	- 100.0
MESSAGE 4.....0 (.000)	.092	- 100.0
MESSAGE 5.....0 (.000)	.019	- 100.0
MESSAGE 6.....0 (.000)	.022	- 100.0

9. Dance/Pop N = 11

MESSAGE 1.....5 (.455)	.390	+ 16.7%
MESSAGE 2.....4 (.364)	.176	+ 106.8
MESSAGE 3.....1 (.091)	.089	+ 2.2
MESSAGE 4.....0 (.000)	.092	- 100.0
MESSAGE 5.....0 (.000)	.019	- 100.0
MESSAGE 6.....0 (.000)	.022	- 100.0
1/2.....1 (.091)	.038	----

10. Blues Based Rock N = 10

MESSAGE 1.....	2 (.200)	.390	- 48.7%
MESSAGE 2.....	5 (.500)	.176	+ 184.1
MESSAGE 3.....	1 (.100)	.089	+ 12.4
MESSAGE 4.....	0 (.000)	.092	- 100.0
MESSAGE 5.....	0 (.000)	.019	- 100.0
MESSAGE 6.....	0 (.000)	.022	- 100.0
1/2.....	2 (.200)	.038	----

the limited relevance (MESSAGE 1) and conservative (MESSAGE 2) categories also account for approximately half of all rock videos, this amounts to an under-representation of 12% and 7% respectively. Rock videos are also categorized as containing socially acceptable commentary 45% less often than expected. Where rock texts are over-represented is in oppositional (+61%) and postmodern (+200%) messages. Hard rock videos, by contrast, may be categorized as a more irreverent genre. Although the single largest message category is still limited relevance at 12 of 49 (25%), this is an under-representation of 37% compared to baseline expectations. In fact all categories are under-represented with the exception of MESSAGE 5, the irreverent category. Hard rock videos categorized as such appear 332% more often than expected, while the combined category MESSAGE 1/5 occurs 430% more often.

The genre of pop is significantly over-represented in only the category of acceptable social commentary (+203%) while irreverent messages were non-existent. Rap represents the only musical genre (of those with sample sizes of 10 or

more) where the single largest message category was other than limited relevance or conservative. In this genre the category of MESSAGE 4, oppositional commentary accounts for 53% of the entire sample, an over-representation of 472%. All other message categories are significantly under-represented, including the complete absence of videos categorized as irreverent or postmodern. The genre of dance may be characterized as primarily one of limited social relevance, with half of all dance videos placed in this category, a 28% over-representation. Country videos exhibit a similar lack of engagement with social issues (MESSAGE 1 = 53%) coupled with a conservative orientation. Together, limited relevance and conservative account for 94% of all country videos. MOR pop videos are an even more extreme genre in this respect, with MESSAGE 1 categorizations occurring at twice the expected rate and accounting for 79% of all videos in this genre. The dance/pop hybrid exhibits conservative messages at twice the baseline rate (+107%) while 50% of all blues based rock videos are categorized as such, an over-representation of 184%.

The relationship between 'form and content' may be explored by cross referencing message categories with visual sub-texts. In Table 6 videos containing oppositional social commentary are categorized according to the performance and imagery axes of the visual sub-text, as well as the integrated sub-text. A similar cross referencing which

considered only MESSAGE 4 videos (i.e. excluding combinations that incorporate MESSAGE 4 with other messages) revealed a surprising uniformity across visual sub-texts, with no particular sub-text represented more than twice. This is due at least partly to the smaller sample size of MESSAGE 4 alone (34 versus 69 with combinations). Although consideration of all videos containing oppositional components still resulted in 18 single occurrences, the cross referencing did reveal a marked preference for the PERF 5/IMAGE 3 visual sub-text, 90% above the expected rate. The absence of an audience, whether combined with a stage or setting performance, accounted for 59% of all oppositional component videos along the performance axis of the visual sub-text, while either pseudo-narrative or thematic/loosely-connected imagery accounted for 71% of the imagery axis categorizations.

TABLE 6 FORM AND CONTENT - CATEGORIZATION OF OPPOSITIONAL
 COMPONENT VIDEOS ALONG VISUAL SUB-TEXTS
 (MESSAGE 4, 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, 4/5, 4/6, 2/3/4; N = 69)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Prop./369</u>	<u>Δ %</u>
1. Performance Axis				
PERFORMANCE 0.....	2	(.029)	.027	----
PERFORMANCE 1.....	1	(.014)	.011	----
PERFORMANCE 2.....	7	(.101)	.084	+ 20.2%
PERFORMANCE 3.....	3	(.043)	.060	- 28.3%
PERFORMANCE 4.....	16	(.232)	.179	+ 29.6%
PERFORMANCE 5.....	25	(.362)	.317	+ 14.2%
PERFORMANCE 6.....	6	(.087)	.106	- 17.9%
PERFORMANCE 7.....	7	(.101)	.187	- 46.0%
2/5.....	1	(.014)	.014	00.0
7/5.....	1	(.014)	.003	----
2. Imagery Axis				
IMAGERY 0.....	5	(.043)	.179	- 76.0%
IMAGERY 1.....	6	(.087)	.122	- 28.7%
IMAGERY 2.....	14	(.203)	.214	- 5.1%
IMAGERY 3.....	35	(.507)	.312	+ 62.5%
IMAGERY 4.....	5	(.072)	.081	- 11.1%
IMAGERY 5.....	1	(.014)	.030	- 53.3%
IMAGERY 6.....	1	(.014)	.024	- 41.7%
IMAGERY 7.....	2	(.029)	.024	----
3/5.....	2	(.029)	.005	----
3. Integrated Visual Sub-text				
PERF 5/IMAGE 3.....	15	(.217)	.114	+ 90.4%
PERF 4/IMAGE 3.....	6	(.087)	.065	+ 33.8%
PERF 5/IMAGE 2.....	5	(.072)	.062	+ 16.1%
PERF 2/IMAGE 3.....	4	(.058)	.030	+ 93.3%
PERF 6/IMAGE 3.....	4	(.058)	.038	+ 78.9%
PERF 7/IMAGE 3.....	3	(.043)	.041	+ 4.9%
PERF 4/IMAGE 1.....	3	(.043)	.019	+ 126.3%
PERF 4/IMAGE 2.....	3	(.043)	.046	- 6.5%
PERF 3/IMAGE 2.....	2	(.029)	.011	----
PERF 4/IMAGE 4.....	2	(.029)	.008	----
PERF 5/IMAGE 4.....	2	(.029)	.046	- 37.0%
PERF 7/IMAGE 2.....	2	(.029)	.065	- 55.4%
18 COMBINATIONS AT.....	1	(.014)		

E. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

To sum up the preceding data succinctly in terms of oppositional social commentary, it may be stated that music videos broadcast on MuchMusic in early 1992 include between 10 and 20% that may be judged as engaging in such commentary. That is, about one video in ten avails itself of its potential for direct social critique while one in five is involved at least partially in such criticism. The basic demographics of language, race and gender are not particularly enlightening in other than the most basic terms. That is, while English videos featuring white males may dominate the category of oppositional videos, they do not do so to any greater extent than in the sample as a whole. The one exception to this tendency is the case of black performers, who are significantly over-represented in the oppositional category. This is largely a result of the influence of rap music, a genre dominated by black artists.

The nationality of a video artist seems to have a certain predictive power regarding the likelihood of oppositional commentary, with American performers engaging in such critique far more often than their British or Canadian counterparts. This is a rather puzzling finding, particularly given the widespread perception within the music industry that British artists are more socially 'aware' and perhaps even have more readily apparent issues to criticize (a more depressed economy, more rigid class

divisions). Punk rock, the most oppositional musical genre yet devised was, after all, primarily a British phenomenon. It is quite possible, however, that a certain degree of 'screening' by MuchMusic itself is responsible for this state of affairs. That is, videos dealing with the concerns of the British working classes may be judged as inappropriate for a Canadian audience and thus excluded (unless, of course, they are also highly successful songs to begin with). It is often commented in the Canadian media that Canadians as a people are politically rather apathetic. The truth or falsehood of this claim is difficult to establish empirically, but there may be some support for this idea if popular culture expressions are accepted as anything of an accurate reflection of social attitudes. Canadian videos are under-represented in every message category (including conservative) with the exception of MESSAGE 1, limited relevance.

It seems the strongest indicator of oppositional social commentary in music videos is musical genre. Rap, rock, hard rock and metal may be characterized as the musical genres that most consistently make use of the video medium as a platform for social critique. If these four genres are divided into two groups: rap and the rock to metal grouping, certain specific differences in structures of the genres may be revealed as crucial to their propensity for oppositional critique. While pop and pop rock are generally melodic and

euphonious musical styles, as the continuum moves toward the metal extreme, the sound of the rock - hard rock -metal genres becomes harsher, in a sense 'angrier'. It is not surprising that a lyrical sub-text wedded to a harsh and angry musical sub-text should itself become angry and challenging. The force of these two integrated sub-texts virtually demands a visual sub-text reflective of this general attitude. To employ, for example, a visual sub-text of peaceful pastoral settings with a hard rock or metal text would be a laughably incongruous juxtaposition.

The structure of the rap sub-texts similarly allow for a 'natural' movement into oppositional critique. Although the musical sub-text of a rap song is not intrinsically 'angry', it is not melodious in the same sense as pop or R&B, and a certain challenging tone is often the result. The crucial point in rap musical structure, however, is the 'conversational' form that the lyrical sub-text is allowed to take. The musical/lyrical sub-text integration in rap texts does not follow a standard verse/chorus/ verse/chorus progression; it more closely resembles one long verse occasionally punctuated with a short recurring refrain. The rap song becomes a story or a speech with much greater ease than with any other genre, and the rapid-fire style of singing, that is, 'rapping', allows for the transmission of far more lyrical information. Finally, while the rock to metal genres may be considered a white, lower middle to

middle class music, rap is generally performed and (to a slightly lesser extent) listened to by the black working class. Thus, while video texts of the former genres are classified as oppositional approximately 50% to 100% more often than expected, the corresponding figure for rap videos is between 200% and 500%.

That oppositional commentary is not distributed evenly across all musical genres is not surprising given the fragmented state of popular culture communities in the 1990s. Indeed, the very concept of a 'mainstream' popular music is becoming problematic. Listening to a top 40 radio station, one is likely to hear rock, pop, dance, rap and country records all broadcast within hours or minutes of each other, and for the first time in its history, the Billboard album chart has listed a country record at number one, followed only a few months later by a second.²⁶ So while popular music as a whole may not be capable, at present, of galvanizing an overall 'youth culture' as it was at least perceived to have done at certain points in its history, its particular 'sub-cultures' do constitute relatively coherent cultural communities. It is possible that this trend is indicative of a certain fragmentation in capitalist ideology itself; the popular cultural correlate to "post-Fordism" or what Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques

²⁶ Clint Black's "Ropin' the Wind" and Billy Ray Cyrus's "Some Gave All" respectively.

call "New Times". According to Hall and Jacques:

...Britain and other advanced capitalist societies are increasingly characterized by diversity, differentiation and fragmentation, rather than homogeneity, standardisation and the economies and organisations of scale which characterised modern mass society. (1989:11)

There is a readily apparent link from this perspective to the concerns of postmodernism, and perhaps a more optimistic way of incorporating these concerns. A heterogeneous culture may be viewed as a more 'democratic' culture; a step towards more open and flexible societal discourse. It is the notion of discourse, in fact, that represents a guiding thread running through virtually all the theories and methodologies reviewed in this study. The control of the production and distribution of cultural discourse is the implicit subject of this analysis, and a move towards a heterogeneous situation of 'many voices' the underlying normative concern. As Cubitt asserts:

Any attempt to establish the democratic credentials of the [video] medium has to begin by pressing the claims to equal privilege of all those involved in making meaning. (1991:2)

So while the continuing breakdown of the high/low culture dichotomy and the present heterogeneity of popular music may be interpreted as positive forces in the further democratization of cultural expression (and thus the hegemonic control of societal discourse), it is difficult to predict just how far this process will be allowed to progress. Laura Mulvey believed she had identified the

beginnings of this process as early as 1975:

Technological advances (16 mm and so on) have changed the economic conditions of cinematic production, which can now be artisanal as well as capitalist. [...] The alternative cinema provides the space for the birth of a cinema which is radical in both a political and an aesthetic sense and challenges the basic assumptions of the mainstream film. (1989:15)

One assumes that with the continuing technological advances of video production that the potential for an 'alternative' music video genre also exists. There is, however, a certain 'ideology of slickness' in the realm of video production, and though challenging videos may be produced, one must first gain access to the machinery capable of achieving a certain aesthetic level of visual 'packaging'. It should be noted here that MuchMusic does include a program called "Indie Street" in which artists who might not normally be broadcast on music television, i.e. those not signed with a major record label, are provided with a forum of their own. This program, however, is only 30 minutes in length (allowing time for perhaps six videos), is broadcast only once (i.e. not 'recycled' through the programming day as others are) and is shown late Friday evenings. Thus, MuchMusic's forum for an 'alternative' music video constitutes 0.8% of live programming and 0.3% of total broadcast time.

In a related concern, the exact degree of artistic input or control that is retained by artists themselves in the production of videos is difficult to determine. It is

unfortunate that MuchMusic lists only song title, artist and record label during video broadcast, lending no insight into who is responsible for video production and direction.²⁹ It may be speculated, however, that certain genres are more highly correlated with recording artist input than others, and that this input generally parallels the degree of social commentary found in these genres.

Directions for further research in this area are numerous and wide ranging. How, for example, should the 10 - 20% proportion of oppositional videos be interpreted? Is 20% 'a lot' of criticism? The medium of music television requires comparison to other popular culture media, as well as to its own immediate past. A comparison of MuchMusic with its American counterpart MTV would doubtless be enlightening, as would a comparison of MuchMusic videos to a larger sample of Québécois texts.

It is suggested here that the area of psychoanalysis be retained as an informative tool in popular culture analysis. The issue of the tension between flow and segmentation, and its psychological effects on readers bears closer examination. It has been suggested by some that as music television scheduling comes to resemble that of network television more closely, the subject becomes a moot point.

²⁹ By contrast, the country music channel CMT (Country Music Television) lists, in addition to title, artist and label: the disc from which the video is pulled; songwriter; record producer; video producer and video director.

At least 40 to 50% of MuchMusic's programming day, however, is still filled by the "video flow" format, and the constant sense of unfulfilled desire and lack of closure still permeates this portion of the schedule. MuchMusic readers receive "coming up" reminders, for example, at the rate of approximately five per hour.³⁰ The potential for examining the degree to which video imagery mirrors the workings of the unconscious mind is also an intriguing area of investigation. Lacan has consistently maintained that the unconscious is structured like a language (1977:30-113; 1990:17-25), and although the intricacies of that 'language's' form are rather complex and not readily accessible, the possibility for a 'semiotics of the unconscious' at least theoretically exists.

Perhaps the most serious limitation on this study's utility is in the necessarily subjective categorization of video 'messages', particularly as it relates to the actual MuchMusic audience, presumably not composed primarily of sociologists and media theorists. The bulk of this investigation has been taken up with a theoretical and methodological justification for these categorizations. No matter how intricate and sophisticated the approach, however, content analysis of popular culture products will

³⁰ In an average eight hour period, veejays or recorded voice-overs inform readers of what is "coming up" in the immediate future 24 times, what lies ahead in the next few days 8 times and what will be shown in the following week 11 times.

always be incomplete without the application of insights derived from audience reception research. The MuchMusic audience, for example, consists of a great number of rather young readers, including many in their pre-teen years. And while it is likely that many of these readers, socialized in a milieu of music video and video games, are capable of processing rapid-fire visual stimuli more efficiently than the preceding generation, they may also lack the sophistication to identify subtle variations that mark such distinctions as that between 'straight' presentation and parody. However, as more research designed to reveal reader interpretations is conducted, textual readings which more accurately reflect actual viewer perspectives will emerge.

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APPENDIX A1 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Monday, April 6,
1992

12:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 12:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 16:00 **video flow B 1 (Natalie Richard)**
 16:30 **video flow B 1 (Natalie Richard)**
 17:00 **video flow B 1 (Natalie Richard)**
 17:30 **The Monkees 1**
 18:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 18:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 1 (guest VeeJays)**
 19:00 **MuchWest 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 19:30 **FAX 1**
 20:00 **The Big Ticket 1 (Celebration at Big Sur)**
 20:30 **The Big Ticket 1 (Celebration at Big Sur)**
 21:00 **The Big Ticket 1 (Celebration at Big Sur)**
 21:30 **The Monkees 2**
 22:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight ?**
 22:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 2**
 23:00 **MuchWest 2**
 23:30 **FAX 2**

00:00 **The Big Ticket 2**
 00:30 **The Big Ticket 2**
 01:00 **The Big Ticket 2**
 01:30 **video flow A 2**
 02:00 **video flow A 2**
 02:30 **video flow A 2**
 03:00 **video flow A 2**
 03:30 **video flow A 2**
 04:00 **video flow B 2**
 04:30 **video flow B 2**
 05:00 **video flow B 2**
 05:30 **The Monkees 3**
 06:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3**
 06:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 3**
 07:00 **MuchWest 3**
 07:30 **FAX 3**
 08:00 **video flow A 3**
 08:30 **video flow A 3**
 09:00 **video flow A 3**
 09:30 **video flow A 3**
 10:00 **video flow A 3**
 10:30 **video flow A 3**
 11:00 **video flow A 3**
 11:30 **video flow A 3**

APPENDIX A2 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Tuesday, April 7,
1992

12:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 12:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 16:00 **Life on Venus Ave. 1 (Ziggy Lorenc)**
 16:30 **Life on Venus Ave. 1 (Ziggy Lorenc)**
 17:00 **video flow B 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 17:30 **The Monkees 1**
 18:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 18:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 1 (Teresa Roncon)**
 19:00 **MuchWest 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 19:30 **FAX 1**
 20:00 Life on Venus Ave. 2
 20:30 Life on Venus Ave. 2
 21:00 video flow B 2
 21:30 The Monkees 2
 22:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2
 22:30 The Pepsi Power 30 2
 23:00 MuchWest 2
 23:30 FAX 2

 00:00 video flow A 2
 00:30 video flow A 2
 01:00 video flow A 2
 01:30 video flow A 2
 02:00 video flow A 2
 02:30 video flow A 2
 03:00 video flow A 2
 03:30 video flow A 2
 04:00 Life on Venus Ave. 3
 04:30 Life on Venus Ave. 3
 05:00 video flow B 3
 05:30 The Monkees 3
 06:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3
 06:30 The Pepsi Power 30 3
 07:00 MuchWest 3
 07:30 FAX 3
 08:00 video flow A 3
 08:30 video flow A 3
 09:00 video flow A 3
 09:30 video flow A 3
 10:00 video flow A 3
 10:30 video flow A 3
 11:00 video flow A 3
 11:30 video flow A 3

APPENDIX A3 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Wednesday, April 8,
1992

12:00 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 12:30 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 13:00 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 13:30 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 14:00 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 14:30 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 15:00 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 15:30 **video flow A 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 16:00 **Hostess Sneak Previews (Simon Evans)**
 16:30 **Hostess Sneak Previews (Simon Evans)**
 17:00 **video flow B 1 (Simon Evans)**
 17:30 **The Monkees 1**
 18:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 18:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 1 (Teresa Roncon)**
 19:00 **MuchWest 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 19:30 **FAX 1**
 20:00 **Hostess Sneak Previews 2**
 20:30 **Hostess Sneak Previews 2**
 21:00 **video flow B 2**
 21:30 **The Monkees 2**
 22:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2**
 22:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 2**
 23:00 **MuchWest 2**
 23:30 **FAX 2**

00:00 **video flow A 2**
 00:30 **video flow A 2**
 01:00 **video flow A 2**
 01:30 **video flow A 2**
 02:00 **video flow A 2**
 02:30 **video flow A 2**
 03:00 **video flow A 2**
 03:30 **video flow A 2**
 04:00 **Hostess Sneak Previews 3**
 04:30 **Hostess Sneak Previews 3**
 05:00 **video flow B 3**
 05:30 **The Monkees 3**
 06:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3**
 06:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 3**
 07:00 **MuchWest 3**
 07:30 **FAX 3**
 08:00 **video flow A 3**
 08:30 **video flow A 3**
 09:00 **video flow A 3**
 09:30 **video flow A 3**
 10:00 **video flow A 3**
 10:30 **video flow A 3**
 11:00 **video flow A 3**
 11:30 **video flow A 3**

APPENDIX A4 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Thursday, April 9,
1992

12:00 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 12:30 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 13:00 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 13:30 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 14:00 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 14:30 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 15:00 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 15:30 video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)
 16:00 RapCity 1 (Michael Williams)
 16:30 RapCity 1 (Michael Williams)
 17:00 Mike & Mike 1
 17:30 The Monkees 1
 18:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Erica Ehm)
 18:30 The Pepsi Power 30 1 (Teresa Roncon)
 19:00 MuchWest 1 (Terry David Mulligan)
 19:30 FAX 1
 20:00 RapCity 2
 20:30 RapCity 2
 21:00 Mike & Mike 2
 21:30 The Monkees 2
 22:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2
 22:30 The Pepsi Power 30 2
 23:00 MuchWest 2
 23:30 FAX 2

 00:00 video flow A 2
 00:30 video flow A 2
 01:00 video flow A 2
 01:30 video flow A 2
 02:00 video flow A 2
 02:30 video flow A 2
 03:00 video flow A 2
 03:30 video flow A 2
 04:00 RapCity 3
 04:30 RapCity 3
 05:00 Mike & Mike 3
 05:30 The Monkees 3
 06:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3
 06:30 The Pepsi Power 30 3
 07:00 MuchWest 3
 07:30 FAX 3
 08:00 video flow A 3
 08:30 video flow A 3
 09:00 video flow A 3
 09:30 video flow A 3
 10:00 video flow A 3
 10:30 video flow A 3
 11:00 video flow A 3
 11:30 video flow A 3

APPENDIX A5 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Friday, April 10,
1992

12:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 12:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 13:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 14:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:00 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 15:30 **video flow A 1 (Steve Anthony)**
 16:00 **The Coca-Cola Countdown (Steve Anthony)**
 16:30 **The Coca-Cola Countdown (Steve Anthony)**
 17:00 **video flow B 1 (Natalie Richard)**
 17:30 **The Monkees 1**
 18:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 18:30 **video flow B 1 (Natalie Richard)**
 19:00 **MuchWest 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 19:30 **FAX 1**
 20:00 **The Coca-Cola Countdown 2**
 20:30 **The Coca-Cola Countdown 2**
 21:00 **Combat des Clips**
 21:30 **Combat des Clips**
 22:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2**
 22:30 **video flow B 2**
 23:00 **MuchWest 2**
 23:30 **FAX 2**

00:00 **City Limits (Simon Evans)**
 00:30 **City Limits (Simon Evans)**
 01:00 **City Limits (Simon Evans)**
 01:30 **Indie Street (Simon Evans)**
 02:00 **video flow A 2**
 02:30 **video flow A 2**
 03:00 **video flow A 2**
 03:30 **video flow A 2**
 04:00 **The Coca-Cola Countdown 3**
 04:30 **The Coca-Cola Countdown 3**
 05:00 **video flow B 3**
 05:30 **The Monkees 3**
 06:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3**
 06:30 **video flow B 3**
 07:00 **MuchWest 3**
 07:30 **FAX 3**
 08:00 **video flow A 3**
 08:30 **video flow A 3**
 09:00 **video flow A 3**
 09:30 **video flow A 3**
 10:00 **video flow A 3**
 10:30 **video flow A 3**
 11:00 **video flow A 3**
 11:30 **video flow A 3**

APPENDIX A6 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Saturday, April 11,
1992

12:00 Start Me Up 1 (Michael Williams)
 12:30 Start Me Up 1 (Michael Williams)
 13:00 Start Me Up 1 (Michael Williams)
 13:30 Start Me Up 1 (Michael Williams)
 14:00 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 1
 14:30 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 1
 15:00 RSVP 1 (Michael Williams)
 15:30 RSVP 1 (Michael Williams)
 16:00 Soul in the City 1 (Michael Williams)
 16:30 Soul in the City 1 (Michael Williams)
 17:00 X-Tendmix 1 (Master - T)
 17:30 X-Tendmix 1 (Master - T)
 18:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Master - T)
 18:30 X-Tendmix 1 (Master - T)
 19:00 X-Tendmix 1 (Master - T)
 19:30 X-Tendmix 1 (Master- T)
 20:00 Soul in the City 2
 20:30 Soul in the City 2
 21:00 X-Tendmix 2
 21:30 X-Tendmix 2
 22:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2
 22:30 X-Tendmix 2
 23:00 X-Tendmix 2
 23:30 X-Tendmix 2

 00:00 Start Me Up 2
 00:30 Start Me Up 2
 01:00 Start Me Up 2
 01:30 Start Me Up 2
 02:00 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 2
 02:30 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 2
 03:00 RSVP 2
 03:30 RSVP 2
 04:00 Soul in the City 3
 04:30 Soul in the City 3
 05:00 X-Tendmix 3
 05:30 X-Tendmix 3
 06:00 The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3
 06:30 X-Tendmix 3
 07:00 X-Tendmix 3
 07:30 X-Tendmix 3
 08:00 Start Me Up 3
 08:30 Start Me Up 3
 09:00 Start Me Up 3
 09:30 Start Me Up 3
 10:00 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 3
 10:30 Golden Age of Rock N Roll 3
 11:00 RSVP 3
 11:30 RSVP 3

APPENDIX A7 - MUCHMUSIC DAILY SCHEDULE - Sunday, April 12,
1992

12:00 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 12:30 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 13:00 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 13:30 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 14:00 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 14:30 **Start Me Up 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 15:00 **Outlaws and Heroes 1 (Bill Welychka)**
 15:30 **Outlaws and Heroes 1 (Bill Welychka)**
 16:00 **Cliptrip 1 (Erica Ehm)**
 16:30 **video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)**
 17:00 **video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)**
 17:30 **video flow A 1 (Michael Williams)**
 18:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 1 (Kim Clarke Champniss)**
 18:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 1 (Teresa Roncon)**
 19:00 **Backtrax 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 19:30 **Backtrax 1 (Terry David Mulligan)**
 20:00 **Cliptrip 2**
 20:30 **video flow A 2**
 21:00 **video flow A 2**
 21:30 **video flow A 2**
 22:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 2**
 22:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 2**
 23:00 **Backtrax 2**
 23:30 **Backtrax 2**

00:00 **Start Me Up 2**
 00:30 **Start Me Up 2**
 01:00 **Start Me Up 2**
 01:30 **Start Me Up 2**
 02:00 **Start Me Up 2**
 02:30 **Start Me Up 2**
 03:00 **Outlaws and Heroes 2**
 03:30 **Outlaws and Heroes 2**
 04:00 **Cliptrip 3**
 04:30 **video flow A 3**
 05:00 **video flow A 3**
 05:30 **video flow A 3**
 06:00 **The Labatt Blue Spotlight 3**
 06:30 **The Pepsi Power 30 3**
 07:00 **Backtrax 3**
 07:30 **Backtrax 3**
 08:00 **Start Me Up 3**
 08:30 **Start Me Up 3**
 09:00 **Start Me Up 3**
 09:30 **Start Me Up 3**
 10:00 **Start Me Up 3**
 10:30 **Start Me Up 3**
 11:00 **Outlaws and Heroes 3**
 11:30 **Outlaws and Heroes 3**

APPENDIX B - MUCHMUSIC PROGRAMMING

1. The Monkees

Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri - 17:30 - 30 min.

Syndicated television show from the 1960s. The Monkees was a musical sit-com exploiting the popularity of The Beatles by presenting a rather bland and ideologically safe version of the group. (Hence their common nickname: "The Pre-Fab Four"). The program is interesting in that passages in each episode resemble precursors to the music videos of today.

2. The Labatt Blue Spotlight

Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat Sun - 18:00 - 30 min.

Videos, interviews and background information featuring a different group or artist each day. Interviews are normally from appearances on MuchMusic or at other music industry events during the last two to three years.

3. The Pepsi Power 30

Mon Tue Wed Thu Sun - 18:30 - 30 min.

Videos and news related to the genres of hard rock and heavy metal music. The program is described as "raw, rebellious and rousing".

4. MuchWest

Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri - 19:00 - 30 min.

MuchMusic's Vancouver 'branch office', supposedly providing "a west coast perspective on the Canadian music scene." In practice it seems little different from the basic video flow segments from Toronto. Usually shot from various locations in and around Vancouver.

5. FAX

Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri - 19:30 - 30 min.

"Daily dispatches from behind the front lines of popular culture." Program of entertainment news including music, film, television, visual arts, fashion, "and all that is creative." Does not normally include the broadcast of music videos except as 'outros' to the program as the credits roll across the screen.

6. Life on Venus Ave.
Tue - 16:00 - 60 min.

"The glamour of romance as Ziggy [Lorenc] provides provocative conversation, intimate advice and great MusicVideos." [sic] Program focuses on love and romance in videos broadcast and discussion between videos. A relatively conventional perspective on sex roles that occasionally touches on the issues of patriarchy and sexism.

7. The Hostess Sneak Previews

Wed - 16:00 - 60 min.

Video 'premieres' and the broadcast of recently released videos. Program name is something of a misnomer, as most videos have been previously broadcast.

8. RapCity

Thu - 16:00 - 60 min.

Program concentrating on the genres of rap and closely related hybrids (rap reggae, 'hiphop' in general). A relatively 'political' program in the content of videos broadcast and VeeJay Michael Williams' commentary. "the definitive look at hiphop and rap. Documents the artists, issues and lifestyles surrounding today's most exciting new form of music."

9. The Coca-Cola Countdown

Fri - 16:00 - 60 min.

"MuchMusic's official chart" documents the current week's top 30 videos. Videos broadcast include the top five, new additions and fast - rising videos. VeeJay does not appear in front of camera, but narrates as a voice-over.

10. Mike & Mike's Excellent Cross-Canada Adventure
Thu - 17:00 - 30 min.

Mike Campbell and Mike Rhodes document a trip across Canada, often featuring smaller communities. Videos broadcast manifest no particular theme and are not exclusively Canadian, but are relevant in some way to the community or events occurring in each week's program. "Mike and Mike celebrate the nation through the faces, the voices, the varied music tastes of places great and small across Canada. Two music-minded guys with one name, an expense account and a camera." Occasionally billed during brief promo clips as a "postmodern portage."

11. Start Me Up
Sat - 12:00 - 120 min./Sun - 12:00 - 180 min.

Identical to the weekday video flow segments, but concentrating on the genre of rock music. "Start Me Up" was the title of a popular Rolling Stones song released 1981.

12. RSVP
Sat - 15:00 - 60 min.

Acronym of Requested Songs for Video Play; viewers mail or FAX in their requests accompanied by hand drawn or mechanically reproduced representations of the requested recording artist(s). VeeJays select approximately ten requests for broadcast each week and display the respective drawings. During video flow segments there are occasional "Daily RSVPs" when two requests are broadcast.

13. Outlaws and Heroes
Sun - 15:00 - 60 min.

Program featuring country artists. Not necessarily crossover 'pop country' videos. "Country music for the '90s, covering everything from traditional to fringe. Country spirit with a rock 'n' roll heart."

14. Soul in the City
Sat - 16:00 - 60 min.

Focuses on the genres often grouped under the heading of rhythm and blues. The only MuchMusic program overtly classified in terms of race. "Canada's soul music source, profiling the past and present of black music, domestic and international."

15. X-Tendamix
Sat - 17:00 - 150 min.

Program concentrating on dance music. It is primarily but not exclusively black music and intersects with such genres as reggae and R & B. This program is unique in that only here are more than three videos broadcast consecutively. As many as six videos are commonly played back to back, possibly in aid of the program's use as dance music in practice.

16. Cliptrip
Sun - 16:00 - 30 min.

Program of international videos; that is videos produced in countries other than those considered the primary sources of Western pop and rock (The United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Ireland and New Zealand). Also includes 'ethnic' music produced in the primary countries or elsewhere. "A weekly video trip around the world. International, multicultural and multilingual videos show-casing indigenous music in modern form."

17. Backtrax
Sun - 19:00 - 60 min.

An historical perspective on popular music, featuring older videos. Since music videos have been an integral part of the industry only one decade, many of the 'videos' broadcast are taken from past concert performances. "Documenting where it all came from to gain perspective on the meaning of popular music."

18. Combat des Clips
Fri - 21:00 - 60 min.

An interactive program in which viewers phone in (or FAX) to vote for one of two videos set up in opposition to each other. The 'winner' meets another video challenger the following week until dethroned. Other videos are broadcast in addition to the competitors, and the winning video is shown a second time at the program's conclusion. Viewers are charged a minimal cost for calling in their votes as is standard with 1-900 telephone numbers. In the present sample, money collected was to be donated to AIDS research.

19. Indie Street
Fri - 23:00 - 30 min.

Program featuring videos produced by performers who are not signed to a recording contract or are affiliated with a small 'independent' record company. Videos are primarily low budget productions and may be of any genre.

20. City Limits
Fri - 00:00 - 90 min.

Features "alternative musical and visual style." A rather nebulous genre, 'alternative' music is defined in opposition to 'mainstream' and grew out of the 'new wave' movement of approximately 1977-82. The designation 'alternative' is almost universally disliked by those so labelled. Most often resembles a more intelligent and irreverent pop rock and is reflective of a white, upper middle class, college educated audience; the music often heard on campus radio. Both "Indie Street" and "City Limits" are unique in that they are broadcast live only and not repeated. They also occupy anomalous late night time slots.

21. The Big Ticket
Mon - 20:00 - 60-120 min.

Live concerts and pop music movies from past and present eras. Ranges from such well-known past events as the 1969 Woodstock concert to a recent acoustic R.E.M. concert.

22. The Golden Age of Rock 'n' Roll
Sat - 14:00 - 60 min.

Syndicated 12 - part television series on the history of
rock music.

note: All quotes taken from 1992 MuchMusic press kit.
Times indicated refer to live 'first-run', Eastern
time.

APPENDIX C - CODES

VID - video
VJA - first appearing video jockey (video flow A)
VJB - second appearing video jockey (video flow B)
VJW - muchWest Video Jockey
VJS - Spotlight Video Jockey
VJP - sneak Previews Video Jockey
VJO - power 30 Video Jockey
VJR - Rap city Video Jockey
VJD - combat Des clips Video Jockey
VJL - city Limits Video Jockey
VJI - Indie street Video Jockey
VJU - start me Up Video Jockey
VJC - soul in the City Video Jockey
VJV - rsVp Video Jockey
VJH - outlaws and Heroes Video Jockey
VJT - clipTrip Video Jockey
VJE - life on vEnus ave. Video Jockey
VJK - backTrax: Video Jockey
VJX - X-tendami: Video Jockey
VJG - Guest Video Jockey

TBT - The Big Ticket
RFX - Rapid FaX
CCL - Canada Concert Listings
VDJ - Video Jungle
FAS - FASHion notes
PIN - Past Interview clip
PLP - Past Live Performance clip
GLD - GOLDen age of rock & roll (syndicated)
FCL - Film CLip
CAS - Canadian Artist Series
INF - general INFOrmation

PAD - Product ADvertisement
MAD - Muchmusic ADvertisement
FAD - Film ADvertisement
SAD - public Service ADvertisement
CAD - Contest ADvertisement

APPENDIX D - SAMPLE CODING OF MUCHMUSIC BROADCAST CONTENT

WEDNESDAY APRIL 8 1992

10:00 - 14:00 VJ A: ERICA EHM

MAD: MuchMusic
VJA: coming up (interview)
VID: "Sinking Like a Sunset" - Tom Cochrane
VID: "Pulling Back the Reins" - k d lang
MAD: coming up
PAD: Harvey's restaurants
PAD: McDonalds pizza
CAD: Caribbean
CAD: shopping
VJA: discusses articles in "Canadian Musician" magazine
VID: "Je danse dans ma tete" - Celine Dion
VID: "Great Big Love" - Bruce Cockburn
MAD: coming up
PAD: Crispers
FAD: "The Babe"
PAD: Heinz ketchup
CAD: Caribbean
VJA: coming up
VID: "Laid So Low (Tears fall Down)" - Tears for Fears
VID: "One" - U2
VID: "Lovers in a Dangerous Time" - Barenaked Ladies
CCL: Red Deer
PAD: Doritos
PAD: Tribe perfume
SAD: kids help phone
PAD: Hyundai
REF: George Lagogianes
VJA: coming up
VID: "Celebrate" - Infidels
VID: "System of Survival" - Earth, Wind and Fire
VID: "Express Yourself"
MAD: coming up
FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
PAD: chat line
SAD: science and technology
MAD: coming up this week
VJA: articles in "Rolling Stone" magazine/coming up
VID: "Picture Show" - John Prine
VID: "Human Touch" - Bruce Springsteen
VID: "A Horse in the Country" - Cowboy Junkies
CCL: Vancouver
PAD: Tribe perfume
PAD: Bold Hold
PAD: Heinz ketchup
CAD: party

CAD: Lucky Town
VJA: shows co-worker's baby/coming up
VID: "Hazard chapter two" - Richard Marx
VID: "Make You a Believer" - Sass Jordan
MAD: coming up this week
PAD: Salon Selectives
FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
PAD: Reese's peanut butter cups
PAD: "This is Music 92" disc
PAD: Pepsi
VID: "Times Like These" - The Razorbacks
VID: "All the Lovers in the World" - Gowan
CCL: Winnipeg
CAD: party
PAD: McDonalds pizza
PAD: McDonalds pizza
CAD: Paris
VID: "Je dois m'en aller" - Niagara
RFX: George L.
VJA: info on AIDS concert/coming up
VID: "America: What Time is Love" - The KLF
VID: "Hit" - The Sugarcubes
MAD: coming up
PAD: Stephen King videos
PAD: Hyper Color shirts
CAD: Caribbean
PAD: Petro-Canada
VJA: interviews school kids in studio re. books/computer books
VID: "Right Now" - Van Halen
VID: "Head Over Heels" - Frozen Ghost
MAD: coming up
PAD: Jolly Rancher candy
PAD: Noxema skin cream
PAD: Raisin Bran cereal
MAD: coming up this week
VID: "Tears in Heaven" - Eric Clapton
VID: "I'm not Blind" - Carole Pope
FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
SAD: science and tech
PAD: Nissan
PAD: "This is Music 92" disc
VJA: coming up
VID: "Chic Mystique" - Chic
VID: "Hail Hail Rock 'N' Roll - Garland Jeffreys
VID: "Combat des races" - Les Portes Mentaux
CCL: Toronto
PAD: Stephen King videos
CAD: Caribbean
PAD: Oxy5 acne skin cream
PAD: Heinz ketchup
VJA: interview & live performance: Toad the Wet Sprocket

PAD: Raisin Bran cereal
 PAD: "Hip House" disc
 PAD: McDonalds pizza
 MAD: MuchMusic programs
 MAD: Sneak Previews
 MAD: Power 30
 MAD: Mike and Mike
 MAD: Spotlight
 MAD: Monkees
 MAD: Soul in the City
 MAD: City Limits
 MAD: Outlaws and Heroes
VID: "Temptation" - The Box
 CCL: Toronto
 PAD: Molson Dry
 PAD: McDonalds pizza
 PAD: Petro-Canada
 PAD: Crispy Crunch chocolate bars
 VJA: coming up (interview)
VID: "Thinkin' Back" - Color Me Badd
VID: "World Love" - Lisa Lougheed
 MAD: coming up
 PAD: chat line
 PAD: Heinz ketchup
 PAD: Duracell batteries
 PAD: Salon Selectives
 MAD: coming up next week
 MAD: coming up this week
 MAD: daily RSVP
 VJA: RSVP letters and drawings
RVID: "Thrills in the Night" - Kiss
RVID: "Deep Deep Trouble" - Bart and Homer Simpson
VID: "Le prive" - Michel Rivard
 CCL: Toronto
 PAD: Reebok running shoes
 PAD: Pert shampoo
 PAD: Doritos
 PAD: Western Union
 RFX: George L.
VID: "Running Wild in the 21st Century" - Helix
 PAD: Reese's peanut butter cups
 PAD: Bold Hold hairspray
 PAD: Nintendo
 PAD: Heinz ketchup
 MAD: coming up next week
 VJA: interview with singer Chris Whitley
VID: "Poison Girl" - Chris Whitley
 MAD: coming up today

14:00 - 15:00 SNEAK PREVIEWS VJP: SIMON EVANS

MAD: Sneak Previews intro clip

PAD: McDonalds pizza
 PAD: "Hip House" disc
 CAD: party
 CAD: Paris
 VJB: coming up
VID: "Thought I'd Died and Gone to Heaven" - Bryan Adams
 MAD: MuchMusic

15:30 - 16:00 THE MONKEES (syndicated)

Monkees
 FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
 PAD: McDonalds pizza
 Monkees
 FAD: "The Cutting Edge"
 CAD: Caribbean
 Monkees
 SAD: kids phone
 Monkees
 MAD: MuchMusic

16:00 - 16:30 THE BLUE SPOTLIGHT VJS: ERICA EHM

MAD: Spotlight intro clip
 VJS: background info on Guns and Roses
 PIN: Guns and Roses
 PAD: Crispers
 PIN: Guns and Roses
VID: "Welcome to the Jungle" - Guns and Roses
 PIN: Guns and Roses
VID: "Sweet Child of Mine" - Guns and Roses
 PIN: Guns and Roses
VID: "Paradise City" - Guns and Roses
 PIN: Guns and Roses
VID: "You Could be Mine" - Guns and Roses
VID: "Live and Let Die" - Guns and Roses
 MAD: Spotlight
 PAD: Petro-Canada
 MAD: MuchMusic

16:30 - 17:00 THE PEPSI POWER 30 VJO: TERESA RONCON

MAD: Power 30 intro clip
 VJO: coming up next week/GnR AIDS benefit controversy
VID: "Hang Me Up" - War Babies
VID: "Brother's Eyes" - Kill for Thrills
 MAD: coming up
 PAD: Pepsi
 FAD: "The Babe"
 CAD: Caribbean
 MAD: coming up this week
 VJO: music info & news/coming up

VID: "Wake Up Dead" - Megadeth
VID: "Stop" - Jane's Addiction
VJO: heavy metal concerts:
 Vancouver/Toronto/Guelph/Pickering/Oakville/London/Windsor/
 Montreal/Hamilton/London/Toronto/Toronto/London/Hamilton/
 Medicine Hat/Lethbridge/Windsor
PAD: Pepsi
FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
PAD: Salon Selectives
PAD: Heinz ketchup
MAD: coming up next week
MAD: coming up this week
VJO: info/news
VID: "What You Give" - Tesla
MAD: coming up next week

17:00 - 17:30 MUCHWEST VJW: TERRY DAVIE MULLIGAN

MAD: MuchWest intro clip
VJW: coming up
VID: "Viva Las Vegas" - Z Z Top
VID: "In the Ghetto" - Beats International
CCL: Vancouver
PAD: Nissan
PAD: McDonalds pizza
CAD: Lucky Town
VJW: coming up
VID: "The Bug" - Dire Straits
VID: "Plastic" - Alanis
MAD: MuchWest
PAD: "This is Music 92" disc
PAD: Jolly Rancher candy
MAD: coming up next week
VJW: writing address/coming up next week/coming up
VID: "Colors" - Ice - T
VID: "I'm Showin' You" - Maestro Fresh Wes (credit roll)
MAD: MuchMusic

17:30 - 18:00 FAX MONIKA DEOL and LANCE CHILTON

MAD: FAX intro clip
FAX
SAD: kids phone
MAD: coming up this week
FAX
concerts: Toronto/Toronto/Vancouver/Toronto
FAX
PAD: Pepsi
PAD: chat line
PAD: Crispy Crunch chocolate bars
MAD: coming up next week
FAX (credit roll)

FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
PAD: Reebok
MAD: coming up next week
END OF LIVE PROGRAMMING

APPENDIX E - VIDEOS IN SAMPLE

001. "Let's Get Rocked" - Def Leppard
002. "Too Much Passion" - The Smithereens
003. "Not the Only One" - Bonnie Raitt
004. "Human Touch" - Bruce Springsteen
005. "Play Some Honky-Tonk Music" - Prairie Oyster
006. "Great Big Love" - Bruce Cockburn
007. "Heart in Danger" - Southern Sons
008. "Call My Name" - Love and Sas
009. "Vanille" - Elli Medeiros
010. "High" - The Cure
011. "Ghost of a Texas Ladies Man" - Concrete Blonde
012. "Treaty" - Yothu Yindi
013. "Mistadobalina" - DeL Tha Funky Homosapien
014. "Quicksand Jesus" - Skid Row
015. "Bohemian Rhapsody" - Queen (Wayne's World)
016. "Baby Doll" - Big House
017. "Sowing the Seeds of Love" - Tears for Fears
018. "Laid So Low (Tears Fall Down)" - Tears for Fears
019. "Sinking Like a Sunset" - Tom Cochrane
020. "Sharp Dressed Man" - ZZ Top
021. "Sauvez mon ame" - Luc de la Rochelliere
022. "Covered" - PIL
023. "Everything About You" - Ugly Kid Joe
024. "Shamus Calhune" - Sing Along with Tonto
025. "Innocent (With an Explanation)" - Luba
026. "Papa dit que j'ai la rage" - Ralph et les Baronics
027. "The Wild Life" - Slaughter
028. "How to Dance" - BingoBoys
029. "World Love" - Lisa Lougheed
030. "Make You a Believer" - Sass Jordan
031. "Faithlessly Yours" - Art Bergmann
032. "Je danse dans ma tete" - Celine Dion
033. "Save the Best for Last" - Vanessa Williams
034. "Violence of Summer" - Duran Duran
035. "Summer of 69" - Bryan Adams
036. "Maybe the Next Time" - Sue Medley
037. "Hail Hail Rock 'N' Roll" - Garland Jeffreys
038. "I Think I Love You Too Much" - Jeff Healey Band
039. "Celebrate" - Infidels
040. "Love Shack" - B-52s
041. "Nothing Else Matters" - Metallica
042. "Bitch School" - Spinal Tap
043. "Under the Bridge" - Red Hot Chili Peppers
044. "The Criminal" - Sons of Freedom
045. "One" - U2
046. "La guerre est fini" - Indochine
047. "Everything Reminds Me of My Dog" - Jane Siberry
048. "Luka" - Suzanne Vega
049. "Make it Happen" - Mariah Carey

MAD: coming up
 VJP: talks with kids in studio/Coming up
VID: "One Word" - Baby Animals
VID: "The Wild Life" - Slaughter
 MAD: Sneak Previews
 PAD: Hostess potato chips
 FAD: "The Babe"
 PAD: McDonalds pizza
 VJP: coming up
VID: "Night Train" - Public Enemy
VID: "Black Flag" - King's X
 MAD: Sneak Previews
 PAD: Hostess potato chips
 PAD: Oxy5 acne cream
 PAD: Hyundai
 VJP: coming up
VID: "Only Losers Take the Bus (Dump the Dead)" - Fatima
 Mansions
VID: "Steal Your Fire" - Gun
VID: "Take 5" - Northside
 MAD: Sneak Previews
 FAD: "Sleepwalkers"
 PAD: Bold Hold hairspray
 PAD: chat line
 CAD: shopping
 VJP: coming up
VID: "Little Wing" - Stevie Ray Vaughan
VID: "Tired Wings" - The Four Horsemen
 MAD: Sneak Previews
 FAD: "The Cutting Edge"
 PAD: Hostess potato chips
 PAD: Noxema skin cream
 VJP: coming up/coming up this week
VID: "Constant Craving" - k d lang
VID: "I Drove All Night" - Roy Orbison
 MAD: MuchMusic

15:00 - 15:30 VJ B: SIMON EVANS

VJB: coming up
VID: "Let's Get Rocked" - Def Leppard
VID: "Baby Doll" - Big House
 CCL: Halifax
 PAD: Doritos
 PAD: Tribe perfume
 PAD: Raisin Bran
 PAD: Pepsi
 MAD: coming up next week
 VJB: coming up this week
VID: "Who's Crying Now" - Randy Crawford
VID: "Not the Only One" - Bonnie Raitt
 MAD: MuchMusic

050. "Tears in Heaven" - Eric Clapton
051. "Right Now" - Van Halen
052. "I Can't Dance" - Genesis
053. "Rush Rush" - Paula Abdul
054. "Bad" - Michael Jackson
055. "Pump it Up" - Le Boyfriend
056. "THC Groove" - The Bulletboys
057. "For the Love of Money" - The Bulletboys
058. "Hang On St. Christopher" - The Bulletboys
059. "Talk to Your Daughter" - The Bulletboys
060. "Rumours of Glory" - Bruce Cockburn
061. "Hunger Strike" - Temple of Dogs
062. "Rusty Cage" - Soundgarden
063. "Low Self Opinion" - Collins Band
064. "Black Flag" - King's X
065. "Alive" - Pearl Jam
066. "(Everything I Do) I Do it For You" - Bryan Adams
067. "A Horse in the Country" - Cowboy Junkies
068. "American Music" - Violent Femmes
069. "Love Monkey #9" - Bootsauce
070. "Hazard - Chapter 2" - Richard Marx
071. "I've Got You Under My Skin" - Neneh Cherry
072. "Come as You Are" - Nirvana
073. "Born to Be Alive" - Adamsik with Soho
074. "A Tale" - Grapes of Wrath
075. "Don't ma chance" - Les B.B.
076. "Get Back" - Haywire
077. "Refuse to Die" - Too Many Cooks
078. "Wishes" - The Boomers
079. "Tammy Left Town" - Kurt Swinghammer
080. "Romeo and Juliet" - Stacy Earl
081. "My Lovin' (You're Never Gonna Get It)" - En Vogue
082. "Trust Yourself" - Blue Rodeo
083. "Quand le soleil dit bonjour aux montagnes" - Hodads
084. "Thought I'd Died and Gone to Heaven" - Bryan Adams
085. "Just Take My Heart" - Mr. Big
086. "Sex with Love" - Lee Aaron
087. "'Cause Cheap is How I Feel" - Cowboy Junkies
088. "Lettre a un cowboy" - Mitsou
089. "Too Hot" - Alanis
090. "Colour of Love" - Snap
091. "Everything Changes" - Kathy Troccoli
092. "Honestly" - Harem Scarem
093. "Viva Las Vegas" - ZZ Top
094. "Aux portes du matin" - Richard Seguin
095. "Bike" - Sara Craig
096. "A Question of Lust" - Depeche Mode
097. "Paradise City" - Guns and Roses
098. "Take it Like a Man" - Michelle Wright
099. "Drawn to the Rhythm" - Sara McLachlan
100. "Freeway of Love" - Aretha Franklin
101. "Happy Nightmare Baby" - Opal

102. "Steamy Windows" - Tina Turner
103. "Fly Girl" - Queen Latifah
104. "She's My Baby" - Travelling Wilburys
105. "Keep it in Your Pants" - Young M.C.
106. "Just Drive, She Said" - Stan Ridgway
107. "Someone to Believe in You" - Carole King
108. "The Prisoner" - Howard Jones
109. "Lift Me Up" - Howard Jones
110. "Cold Sweat" - The Sugarcubes
111. "Motorcrash" - The Sugarcubes
112. "Birthday" - The Sugarcubes
113. "Regina" - The Sugarcubes
114. "Planet" - The Sugarcubes
115. "Hit" - The Sugarcubes
116. "Walkin' Shoes" - Tora Tora
117. "Tired Wings" - The Four Horsemen
118. "Thunder Kiss '65" - White Zombie
119. "Happy Hour" - Love/Hate
120. "Angel of Harlem" - U2
121. "Brand New Lover" - Lou Ann Barton
122. "Say it with Love" - Moody Blues
123. "Pulling Back the Reins" - k d lang
124. "Lovers in a Dangerous Time" - Barenaked Ladies
125. "System of Survival" - Earth, Wind and Fire
126. "Express Yourself" - Madonna
127. "Picture Show" - John Prine
128. "Times Like These" - The Razorbacks
129. "All the Lovers in the World" - Gowan
130. "Je dois m'en aller" - Niagara
131. "America: What Time is Love" - The KLF
132. "Head Over Heels" - Frozen Ghost
133. "I'm not Blind" - Carole Pope
134. "Chic Mystique" - Chic
135. "Combat des races" - Les Portes Mentaux
136. "Temptation" - The Box
137. "Thinkin' Back" - Color Me Badd
138. "Thrills in the Night" - Kiss
139. "Deep Deep Trouble" - Bart and Homer Simpson
140. "Le prive" - Michel Rivard
141. "Running Wild in the 21st Century" - Helix
142. "Poison Girl" - Chris Whitley
143. "One Word" - Baby Animals
144. "Night Train" - Public Enemy
145. "Only Losers Take the Bus (Dump the Dead)" - Fatima Mansions
146. "Steal Your Fire" - Gun
147. "Take 5" - Northside
148. "Little Wing" - Stevie Ray Vaughan
149. "Constant Craving" - k d lang
150. "I Drove All Night" - Roy Orbison
151. "Who's Crying Now" - Randy Crawford
152. "Welcome to the Jungle" - Guns and Roses

153. "Sweet Child of Mine" - Guns and Roses
154. "You Could be Mine" - Guns and Roses
155. "Live and Let Die" - Guns and Roses
156. "Hang Me Up" - War Babies
157. "Brother's Eyes" - Kill the Thrills
158. "Wake Up Dead" - Megadeth
159. "Stop" - Jane's Addiction
160. "What You Give" - Tesla
161. "The Bug" - Dire Straits
162. "Plastic" - Alanis
163. "Colors" - Ice - T
164. "I'm Showin' You" - Maestro Fresh Wes
165. "The Wave of the Future" - Quadrophenia
166. "Quelque part" - Martine Chevrier
167. "Baby" - Lava Hay
168. "Edge of the World" - Marc Jordan
169. "Life is a Highway" - Tom Cochrane
170. "Fifteen Minute Talk" - Grace Under Pressure
171. "Girlfriend" - Matthew Sweet
172. "En amour" - Boule Noire
173. "Could it be I'm Falling in Love" - Messenjah
174. "Ordinary Man" - Mark Korven
175. "Love You All My Lifetime" - Chaka Kahn
176. "Voodoo Thing" - Colin James
177. "Angel from Montgomery" - Angel Spit Treeo
178. "Why" - Annie Lennox
179. "The Black Book" - Cassandra Vasik
180. "Never Say Never" - Triumph
181. "No Such Thing" - Annette Ducharme
182. "Tomber" - Laurence Jalbert
183. "Helluvatime" - Slik Toxik
184. "Vibeology" - Paula Abdul
185. "Ain't it Heavy" - Melissa Etheridge
186. "Open Your Heart" - Madonna
187. "Baby Baby" - Amy Grant
188. "Diamond Mine" - Blue Rodeo
189. "Si El Hombre Quiere" - Rude Girl
190. "Rude Boys Come to Play" - True Culture
191. "Sunday Afternoon" - Lighter Shade of Brown
192. "Helluva" - Brotherhood Creed
193. "Check the O.R." - Organized Rhyme
194. "You Can't See What I Can See" - Heavy D and the Boyz
195. "Return of the Funky Man" - Lord Finesse
196. "The Phuncky Feel One" - Cypress Hill
197. "Peace is Not the Word to Play" - Main Source
198. "Language of Violence" - Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy
199. "Keep the Spirit Alive" - Killer Dwarves
200. "The Race is On" - Dave Edmunds and The Stray Cats
201. "Knock Me Down" - Red Hot Chili Peppers
202. "Give it Up" - The Trees
203. "Gonna Make You Sweat" - C & C Music Factory

204. "Here We Go" - C & C Music Factory
205. "Things that Make You Go Hmmm..." - C & C Music Factory
206. "Just a Touch of Love" - C & C Music Factory
207. "Pride (In the Name of Love)" - Clivilles and Cole
208. "Rat Race" - Child's Play
209. "Switchblade Serenade" - Spread Eagle
210. "Plague of Ignorance" - Law and Order
211. "Evil Invaders" - Razor
212. "How can I Keep from Singing" - Enya
213. "Higher than the Sun" - Primal Scream
214. "Ashes to Ashes" - David Bowie
215. "Let's Talk About Sex" - Salt N Pepa
216. "The Concept" - Teenage Fanclub
217. "Inside Out" - Crash Vegas
218. "Brand New Set of Lies" - Lost and Profound
219. "Black Velvet" - Alannah Myles
220. "Whatcha Do to My Body" - Lee Aaron
221. "Danse avant de tomber" - Carole Laure
222. "She Runs Hot" - Little Village
223. "142 Through" - Thomas Trio and the Red Albino
224. "Play with Me" - Bootsauce
225. "Dr. Feelgood" - Motley Crue
226. "Mama Said Knock You Out" - L L Cool J
227. "Reste ami" - Nathalie Simard
228. "In the Ghetto" - Beats International
229. "100 Watt Bulb" - Infidels
230. "Losing My Religion" - R.E.M.
231. "Ma 'tit fille" - Buckwheat Zydeco
232. "Cream" - Prince
233. "Les yeux ouvert" - Enzo Enzo
234. "Rapper Chic" - Le Boyfriend
235. "Because I Love You" - Stevie B.
236. "I am Here" - Grapes of Wrath
237. "A Funny Place (The World Is)" - Mitsou
238. "Kid Ego" - Extreme
239. "Get the Funk Out" - Extreme
240. "Mutha (Don't Wanna Go to School Today)" - Extreme
241. "Decadence Dance" - Extreme
242. "More than Words" - Extreme
243. "Hole Hearted" - Extreme
244. "She's My Inspiration" - Barney Bentall & Legendary Hearts
245. "She Ain't Pretty" - The Northern Pikes
246. "The Globe" - Big Audio Dynamite
247. "Unforgettable" - Natalie Cole
248. "The Best of Me" - David Foster with Olivia Newton-John
249. "Centerfield" - John Fogerty
250. "To Be with You" - Mr. Big
251. "Rock N' Roll" - Led Zeppelin
252. "Baba O'Riley" - The Who
253. "We Will Rock You" - Queen
254. "Addicted to that Rush" - Mr. Big

255. "Enter Sandman" - Metallica
256. "Talk is Cheap" - Rise Robots Rise
257. "Black Glove" - The Fluid
258. "The Statue Got Me High" - They Might be Giants
259. "Down with the Bass" - Firehouse
260. "She's So High" - Blur
261. "Look Into A Stranger's Eyes" - Human Drama
262. "Siva" - Smashing Pumpkins
263. "Leave Them All Behind" - Ride
264. "Ticket to L.A." - Urge Overkill
265. "Captain Ahab" - The Didjits
266. "Garbage Man" - The Cramps
267. "Bikini Girls with Machine Guns" - The Cramps
268. "Creature from the Black Leather Lagoon" - The Cramps
269. "Deadman's Curve" - Nash the Slash
270. "She Gives Me Love" - The Godfathers
271. "Love to Rain" - Mack Mackenzie/Three O'Clock Train
272. "The Waiting One" - Annette and the Revtones
273. "All I Need is You" - Lynne and the Rebels
274. "Memories of You" - Rock 'N' Horse Band
275. "The Feeling of Love" - Ronnie Prophet
276. "Slippin' Away" - Tineta Couturier
277. "Save Me" - Joanna Petty
278. "Smokestack Lightning" - Lynyrd Skynyrd 1991
279. "Satisfied" - Richard Marx
280. "Blanche comme la nuit" - Nicolas
281. "Tu tombes en amour" - Revolver
282. "Blow at High Dough" - The Tragically Hip
283. "Pump it Up" - Elvis Costello
284. "Hanger 18" - Megadeth
285. "Take it All" - The Outfield
286. "My Love Life" - Morrissey
287. "Rock of Ages" - Def Leppard
288. "Suicide Blonde" - INXS
289. "Tonight" - New Kids on the Block
290. "Boy in the Box" - Corey Hart
291. "I'm Crying" - Shanice
292. "Goodbye" - Tevin Campbell
293. "It's Not A Love Thing" - Geoffrey Williams
294. "Take Time" - Chris Walker
295. "Lift Every Voice (Take Me Away)" - Mass Order
296. "Trapped" - Colonel Abrams
297. "Till We Meet Again" - Inner City
298. "They Can't Cope" - E.Q.
299. "I'm the One You Need" - Jody Watley
300. "Don't Lose the Magic" - Shawn Christopher
301. "Two White Girls Pon A Mini Bus" - The Word
302. "Life is What You Make It" - Frighty and Colonel Mite
303. "Take Me Like I Am" - Spunkadelic
304. "Boomerang" - Spunkadelic
305. "Wherever U R" - Spunkadelic
306. "A.K.I.K.O." - Emeline Michel

307. "Scatterlings of Africa" - Johnny Clegg
308. "You Called and Told Me" - Jeff Redd
309. "Don't Leave Me" - The Winans
310. "Take My Advice" - Kym Sims
311. "The World Keeps on Turning" - Candi and the Backbeat
312. "Rockin' Over the Beat" - Technotronic
313. "Rico Suave" - Gerardo
314. "Mentiroso" - Mellow Man Ace
315. "Wiggle It" - Two in a Room
316. "La Raza" - Kid Frost
317. "Let the Beat Hit 'Em" - Lisa Lisa and Cult Jam
318. "Sex Cymbal" - Sheila E.
319. "Killer" - Seal
320. "Take Me Back to Love Again" - Kathy Sledge
321. "Home is Where the Hurt Is" - J.C. Lodge
322. "Panama" - Van Halen
323. "Rocklandwonderland" - Kim Mitchell
324. "Hold Her Down" - Toad the Wet Sprocket
325. "God is A Bullet" - Concrete Blonde
326. "The Fly" - U2
327. "Wild Thing" - Jimi Hendrix
328. "Animal" - Def Leppard
329. "Photograph" - Def Leppard
330. "Boomtown" - Andrew Cash
331. "Don't Make Me Dream About You" - Chris Isaak
332. "Twice As Hard" - Black Crowes
333. "Suck My Kiss" - Red Hot Chili Peppers
334. "Mama I'm Coming Home" - Ozzy Osbourne
335. "Janie's Got A Gun" - Aerosmith
336. "Jolie Louise" - Daniel Lanois
337. "Dans la jungle des villes" - Michel Robert
338. "Don't Take Me Away" - Too Many Cooks
339. "The Night the Lights Went Out in Georgia" - Reba McEntire
340. "Hey Good Lookin'" - The Mavericks
341. "Will I Do (Till the Real Thing Comes Along)" - Prairie Oyster
342. "Don't Go Near the Water" - Sammy Kershaw
343. "Lonesome Kind" - Mark Koenig
344. "Some Girls Do" - Sawyer Brown
345. "Rockin' Years" - Dolly Parton and Ricky Van Shelton
346. "Time to Come Back Home" - Lisa Brokop
347. "Waiting for the Deal to Go Down" - Dixiana
348. "Coincidencia" - Cheo Feliciano
349. "Diamonds and Pearls" - Prince
350. "What was Going Through My Head" - The Grapes of Wrath
351. "Chain of Fools" - Little Caesar
352. "Clouds in My House" - Voivod
353. "Outskirts of Life" - Blue Rodeo
354. "Feel Your Love" - Alanis
355. "Walk Away" - Alanis
356. "Bedroom Eyes" - Yngwie Malmsteen

357. "Shout it Out" - Shotgun Messiah
358. "All Lips and Hips" - Electric Boys
359. "2000 Miles" - Reptile Smile
360. "Before the Creation of Time" - Unleashed
361. "Black Coffee in Bed" - Squeeze
362. "Rock It" - Herbie Hancock
363. "Rock Around the Clock" - Bill Haley and the Comets
364. "Pinball Wizard" - Elton John
365. "Sara" - Starship
366. "Suzanne" - Leonard Cohen
367. "As Long As We're Together" - Al Green
368. "History of the World in 3 Minutes Flat" - Michael Mills
369. "At the Feet of the Moon" - Parachute Club

APPENDIX F - VISUAL SUB-TEXT CATEGORIZATION

PERF 0/IMAGE 0.....0	PERF 1/IMAGE 0.....4
PERF 0/IMAGE 1.....3	PERF 1/IMAGE 1.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 2.....1	PERF 1/IMAGE 2.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 3.....2	PERF 1/IMAGE 3.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 4.....1	PERF 1/IMAGE 4.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 5.....2	PERF 1/IMAGE 5.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 6.....0	PERF 1/IMAGE 6.....0
PERF 0/IMAGE 7.....0	PERF 1/IMAGE 7.....0
PERF 2/IMAGE 0.....9	PERF 3/IMAGE 0.....3
PERF 2/IMAGE 1.....5	PERF 3/IMAGE 1.....6
PERF 2/IMAGE 2.....3	PERF 3/IMAGE 2.....4
PERF 2/IMAGE 3.....11	PERF 3/IMAGE 3.....5
PERF 2/IMAGE 4.....0	PERF 3/IMAGE 4.....0
PERF 2/IMAGE 5.....0	PERF 3/IMAGE 5.....1
PERF 2/IMAGE 6.....0	PERF 3/IMAGE 6.....1
PERF 2/IMAGE 7.....1	PERF 3/IMAGE 7.....2
PERF 4/IMAGE 0.....10	PERF 5/IMAGE 0.....14
PERF 4/IMAGE 1.....7	PERF 5/IMAGE 1.....9
PERF 4/IMAGE 2.....17	PERF 5/IMAGE 2.....23
PERF 4/IMAGE 3.....24	PERF 5/IMAGE 3.....42
PERF 4/IMAGE 4.....3	PERF 5/IMAGE 4.....17
PERF 4/IMAGE 5.....1	PERF 5/IMAGE 5.....4
PERF 4/IMAGE 6.....3	PERF 5/IMAGE 6.....4
PERF 4/IMAGE 7.....1	PERF 5/IMAGE 7.....2
PERF 6/IMAGE 0.....14	PERF 7/IMAGE 0.....4
PERF 6/IMAGE 1.....3	PERF 7/IMAGE 1.....12
PERF 6/IMAGE 2.....6	PERF 7/IMAGE 2.....24
PERF 6/IMAGE 3.....14	PERF 7/IMAGE 3.....15
PERF 6/IMAGE 4.....1	PERF 7/IMAGE 4.....8
PERF 6/IMAGE 5.....0	PERF 7/IMAGE 5.....3
PERF 6/IMAGE 6.....0	PERF 7/IMAGE 6.....1
PERF 6/IMAGE 7.....1	PERF 7/IMAGE 7.....2
PERF 0/IMAGE 1/4.....1	PERF 3/6/IMAGE 0.....1
PERF 2/IMAGE 3/5.....1	PERF 4/6/IMAGE 0.....1
PERF 2/IMAGE 7/2.....1	PERF 5/1/IMAGE 0.....1
PERF 5/IMAGE 1/3.....1	PERF 6/7/IMAGE 0.....1
PERF 5/IMAGE 3/5.....1	PERF 7/5/IMAGE 3.....1
PERF 2/5/IMAGE 0.....4	
PERF 2/5/IMAGE 3.....1	PERF 2/3/5/IMAGE 2.....1